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National Identity of Arab Citizens in Israel: A Socio-Educational Study of the Palestinian Minority in the "Hand in Hand" Bilingual Schools

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September 2021

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Abstract

This research study shows the formation of the national identity of the Arab student in the bilingual schools in Israel. This research study continues the assertion of most researchers, as presented in the review of the literature, about the situations and quality of the Arab education system in Israel, in terms of teaching-pedagogy, achievements, and the development of the personality and the identity of the Arab student. It was found that the "core" studies, the textbooks and their contents, and the goals of state education in Israel ignore completely the needs of the Arab student in the state public Arab schools in Israel, in personal, social, cultural, and national terms. As a result of the disappointment of intellectual Arab society with the situation and quality of teaching in the Arab schools with all the areas, there began to develop recently the trend of "alternative education", in which the Arab parents begin to search for and even to establish themselves private schools as an alternative to the public schools. Since in the public Arab schools there is no national education, whether formal or informal, the research field addressed the development of the national identity in the bilingual schools that belong to the Hand in Hand Association. The research method is qualitative. The research instruments were semi-structured interviews, when the research population consisted of twelve Arab teachers, twelve Arab graduates, twelve Arab parents, and three Arab principals, all from the bilingual schools. The research result is the development of a trend of alternative private education in Arab society. In addition, it was found that the bilingual schools, which are binational schools, succeeded in implementing their role in terms of the quality of education, in the pedagogical, social, and cultural aspects in general and in the formation and reinforcement of the Arab student's personal and national identity in particular, more than did the single-national public Arab schools. The secret of this success is the "quality" of the parents who send their children to these schools, both Jews and Arabs, most of whom belong to the upper class in social-economic terms and who recognize the importance of a good education for their children in the aspects of the formation of the student's personality, the student at the center, the values of a humanist education, as well as good instruction.

Introduction

This research study shows the alternative national education for Palestinian students, citizens of the State of Israel, in the private schools, since it was found in most research studies that the Arab public schools do not develop a national identity among the Palestinian students who are citizens of Israel, in the learning contents, in the learning aims, and in the informal education. This research study attempts to show the reasons why an answer has not been provided for this vital need of students for the formation of their national identity. In addition, this research study attempts to examine the educational alternatives to state education, if they exist, for the Palestinian minority who are citizens of the State of Israel.

It is important to show who determines the learning contents and learning goals of the public state education and of the alternative educational 'framework', such as the schools of the Hand in Hand Association. This research examines the case of schools that belong to the Hand in Hand Association, which is a bilingual binational education system, like the Naveh Shalom School in Jerusalem, and attempts to answer the questions of who are the parents who chose for their child to learn in this alternative school, what are the reasons and factors that led to this choice, what is the personal, economic, and social background of the parents who chose a unique school for their child, and what is their sense of satisfaction with the bilingual school in the formation of their child's identity. In addition, this research addresses the formation of the national, social, civic, and religious identity of the school graduates and on the sense of satisfaction and personal, social, cultural, and national experience of the Palestinian students who are citizens of the State of Israel who studied in the bilingual school.

Therefore, the purpose of the research study is to get to know the perception of the opinions on the national identity and the social and educational situation of the Palestinian minority in the "Hand in Hand" bilingual schools in Israel. The research study focuses on the opinions of the researched group on their perception of the national identity and the socio-educational situation of the Palestinian minority in the "Hand in Hand" bilingual schools.

The doctorate presents in the theoretical part the importance of the school role in the definition and development of the identity in its different types, and the importance of the formation of the national identity in the post-colonial era in general. In the continuation, there is reference to the definition of the state of Israel and multiculturalism, as well as the uniqueness of the Palestinian minority who are citizens of the State of Israel, as a national minority with unique needs as a native minority. Then there is a discussion of the situation of the Israeli

education system in general and the Palestinian Arab education system in Israel in particular, since the establishment of the State of Israel, from the education policy at the time of the military government until today, and the realization of their right as a “national minority” to cultivate their identity that is unique culturally and nationally. It becomes clear from the review of the literature that the Arab education system in Israel suffers from a crisis of identity among its students. The crisis of the identity among the Arab students who are “products” of the Israeli education system caused the need for and development of alternative education, in order to meet the need for the development and cultivation of the identity in its types and mainly the national identity.

1. Nationality and Identity in the Post-Colonial Context

1.1 The Theory of Post-Colonialism

The intention of this section, which reviews the theory of post-colonialism, is to present the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel, who are depicted as Oriental, weak, primitive. Since the State of Israel defines and sees itself as a European country with a Western culture, it marginalizes the Palestinian/Arab culture and forces on it the Western-Jewish culture, language, and values. In other words, this theory reflects the type of relationship of dominance between the majority and the minority, between the enlightened Jewish culture and the primitive Arab culture. Thus, the situation of the Palestinian minority in Israel is presented according to postcolonial theory (Robert, 2003), which demands the right of all people in the world for equal material and cultural wellbeing. Contemporary reality in Israel indicates inequality and a gap expressed in the difference between the Arabs in Israel and the Ashkenazi Jews who immigrated from Europe. This difference between the Oriental Arab and the European Jew is expressed in resources and decisions in educational policy in Israel.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, religion was a very central element in Europe. It was the 'task of culture'. The idea at that time was that the barbarians around the world were devoid of culture and the burden of the white man was to disseminate culture. The countries of Europe worked very hard to disseminate the culture they thought was the right culture, which saw the non-Western person as inferior and needing culture. This is colonialism. (Jinoy, n.d.). Anthropological theories legitimized colonial and imperial control. They presented the ruled nations as inferior, childish, unable to care for themselves, and needing for their wellbeing the paternal control of the West and needing development. The main concept of these anthropological theories is race. The relation between West and not-West was perceived in terms of whites versus non-whites. Therefore, white culture was considered in essence the ideological source of legitimate government and law, economy, science, language, music, art, and literature. In other words, white culture was the source of civilization (Robert, 2003). Colonialism was fundamentally European societies that embarked on the conquest of the new countries (Africa and Asia, and then America). The European countries sent delegations to other countries so as to achieve two things: control over the resources and dissemination of Christianity/culture. One of the ideas behind colonialism is to take the resources (both natural resources and slaves) and to disseminate Christianity and Western culture (Jinoy, n.d.).

Neo-colonialism is a phenomenon that is expressed in the continuation of the economic dependence of the former colonies on the colonial powers. This dependence can be expressed in special trade relations or the exploitation of these developing societies through their reliance on foreign capital through the parts of their economies that are controlled by foreign companies or governments. In both cases, the concept of neocolonialism shows that advanced societies continue to intervene in the economic lives of the former colonies as if these colonies had never achieved independence (Jinoy, n.d.).

During the colonial period, the controlled peoples protested this control in many ways of active and passive resistance. This struggle lasted into the 20th century, until national sovereignty was at last achieved, and every country shifted from a colonial status to an autonomous, post-colonial status – independence. This independence symbolized only the beginning, a relatively minor transition from direct control to indirect control, a transition from colonial rule to a status that was not real independence but rather dependence (Robert, 2003). Post-colonialism sees ethnic and racial hierarchies as a later product of the colonial era (Jinoy, n.d.). Thus, in post-colonialism when a Western person looks at the non-Western world he sometimes sees the reflection of himself and his perceptions and not necessarily the true reality of this world or the true feelings and self-perceptions of people outside of the West. If the person is not Western or does not identify himself as Western, he will feel that he is excluded from the dominant culture. Thus, post-colonialism proposes language and politics that put this person's interests not in the first place but in the last place (Robert, 2003).

The post-colonial perception demands the right of all people in the world to equal material and cultural wellbeing. However, reality is that the world of today is a world of inequality, and a large part of the gap is expressed in the general division between the Western nations and the non-Western nations. This division between West and not-West broadened in the 19th century, following which 90% of the continental land on the planet was under the control of European forces or forces of European origin (for example, the United States). Post-colonialism is the name of a politics and philosophy of activism that erodes this gap and thus continues in a new way the anti-colonial struggles of the past. This perception maintains that the nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have a right not only to resources and material wellbeing but also to the dynamic power of their cultures, cultures that are today taking parts in Western societies and changing them. Post-colonial theory entails change of the conceptual orientation towards needs and perspective of knowledge developed outside of the West. This theory addresses the development of ideas that motivate political practice that is committed

morally to the change of the conditions of exploitation and poverty that are a part of everyday life of large parts of the world population. Post-colonialism aspires to intervene, to force its alternative knowledge on the power structures of the West and the non-West together. It aspires to change the ways of thinking and behavior of people and to create just and more equal relations between nations of the world (Robert, 2003).

Post-colonial theory describes a variety of practices and ideas and engages more in the relations between practices and ideas, such as relations to harmony, relations of conflict, and productive relations between different people and cultures. Therefore, post-colonialism addresses a changing world, a world in which a change of way has occurred, where a world order has been upset, where there is a struggle against excess privilege and power. It refuses to recognize the supremacy of the West and demands equality and wellbeing for all people in the world. Post-colonialism, which is tri-continent, is a general name for this revolutionary knowledge, which comes from the downtrodden, from the oppressed, and aspires to change the terms according to which we all live (Robert, 2003). Post-colonial approaches do not argue that colonialism has ended. Post-colonialism sees the ethnic, racial, and economic relations between the different parts of the world as a byproduct of colonialism.

Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* constituted a turning point in the colonial discourse (Jinoy, n.d.). Therefore, Said is considered one the main theoreticians of the post-colonial approach. He researched travel books and maintained that the construction of the non-Western other was a part of the building of the 'Western us'. His book *Orientalism* addressed the construction of an object built for the purposes of investigation and control, which made the object at the margins a place where one can be heard, express the self, and even be represented. Therefore, Said maintained that the cultural West used the East to define what it itself is, what is bad in it, what is not rational in it, what is primitive, and showed how the implicit project of this literature that characterized the 18th and 19th centuries is entirely the labeling of the other. The definition of the oriental is described regularly as emotional, wild, and exotic, the environment is always described as dirty, there are many children – the picture produced by this corpus of literature is a picture that defines the East as one cultural unit. (Said, 1978). The argument of Said is that this literature does not describe the existing reality but structures reality in a binary way, in which the East is described as a homogenous cultural unit while the West, which did not exist beforehand (binary thinking of 'East-West' did not exist) establishes itself as one unit, in which there is prior cohesion. This situation defines the East as a different cultural unit with identical characteristics and the West as a different cultural unit,

orderly and intelligent. Every group defines itself through the definition of the other. Said (1978) states that members of different nations perceived themselves as very different from one another. The Europeans found the common denominator among themselves through the comparison to the East. It is as if there are two very different civilizations, enemies, and there is a natural clash between civilizations and this clash will never end (Said, 1978).

Jinoy (n.d.) summarizes Said's arguments that Orientalism as a style of thinking is based on the distinction between the Orient and the West. The concept of post-colonialism is supposed to speak about the period after the colonial rule but in essence it blurs the fact that the national independence of societies that lived under colonial rule did not end the hegemony of the First World. Hence, the term of post-colonialism inspired criticism that doubted its degree of sensitivity to power relations in today's political situation (Jinoy, n.d.).

1.2 Nation, Nationality, and Nationalism

According to Anderson (1991), for a *nation* to exist there is an essential need to imagine it and the need to maintain actively the image that represents the national collective and not to invent something from nothing, like a baseless fantasy. When defining the concept of *nation*, we encounter a number of difficulties, for instance, the lack of application of the principle of self-definition in a sweeping manner. The argument that "every nation has one country, and in every country there is one nation" is not applicable. International law does not recognize the principle of "every nation has one country, and in every country there is one nation" as an absolute right in the process of self-definition. However, in all the decisions of the United Nations on the topic there always are passages that qualify this right for the cases in which it does not harm the principle of the integrity and sovereignty of the existing countries (Randle, 1970).

Anthony Smith (1986) maintained that the *nation* is something existing and real that is essential to the creation of nationalism. In his opinion, a nation is a community based on desire and emotion and even if in nationalism there are fictive elements, its basis is real and true. Smith held that it is necessary to define a nation according to the following criteria: shared territory, language, religion, culture, and ethnic origin. Some nations lack one or more of these elements; however every nation has a shared past, even if sometimes this past is at least in part imagined. On this matter, the convincing presentation of the past that the members of the national community create for themselves is important (Smith, 1986).

The *modern nations* (history, memories, shared origin, language, and sense of collectiveness) are, according to Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawn (1990), 'imagined'. The political authority of the modern state and its intellectual elites force and build artificially the nation. Anderson (1991) coined the concept of *imagined communities* to explain modern nationalism and the formation of the national identity. According to Anderson, this concept is created when a group of people collects around shared ideas or perceptions that cause them to act like a uniform group for a shared goal, regardless of the relations between them in reality (in Frochter-Ronen, 2012). Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawn (1990) defined the building of the nation as a process in which "the institutional and ideological infrastructure of the existence of a community that sees itself or imagines itself to be a nation is established". The creation of the *nation*, according to Anderson (1991), in essence is done by the national movements. Historians of the national movements address historical events selectively, sometimes even manipulatively, so as to create a narrative that will justify the establishment of a new social entity – the nation – and the future it aspires to create for itself. Therefore, in the national-historical narrative all the events and aspects of events that support the shared definition for the group of people who see itself as a nation are emphasized (Anderson, 1991). The theory of Anthony Smith shed light on the way in which the past influences the present and the present the perceptions of the past. Smith (1986) maintained that members in the nation feel that their community had existed before them and will continue to exist after them. This argument emphasizes the importance of the relationship between pre-modern ethnic communities and the creation of modern nations and focuses on the dynamics of continuity and change in nations (Rosoux, 2001).

In nation states, the political discourse tends to emphasize the unity of the nation against internal divisions, especially in situations of crisis or when the national identity is attacked and threatened. Collective memory is the capstone of the national identity. It does not provide objective history of the past but a story about the functional past relevant to the existence of the society in the present or its aspirations in the future. Thus it creates a socially-understood narrative that has a certain basis in real and true events but it is biased, selective, and distorted, with the objective of obtaining social goals in the present (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). Nations, like countries, depend on circumstances and not on a universal reality. Nations and countries did not exist at all times and under all conditions. Moreover, nations and countries are not dependent on the circumstances in the same way. Nationalism maintains that they were intended for one another, that one is not complete without the other, and that the lack of one is

a tragedy. Nationalism is first and foremost a political principle that asserts that the political unit needs to overlap the national unit (Gellner, 1994).

In the modern era, the national principle gradually became established in political thought, determining that every nation has the right to national self-definition. On this background, in the 20th century large empires disintegrated and many dozens of new countries were established, and until today around the world there are conflicts and national demands (Danspeckgrubers, 2002). On the background of the national struggles, there have always been irrelevant considerations. Throughout the entire modern period the national struggles have been accompanied by outside interests that influence the definition of the nations and their ability to realize the principle of self-definition (Malach, 2011).

In the research of nationalism there is an argument on the question of whether nations and nationalism are 'natural' and 'organic' developments or whether they are artificial creations, built out of political motives. Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm (1990) held the latter position, arguing that nationalism and nation states are modern phenomena that grew out of previous systems and in response to them. There are two theoretical approaches on the meaning of the concepts 'nation', 'nationality' and 'national state', the essentialist approach and the constructivist approach. The essentialist approach places at the center the ethnicity as promoting loyalties and collective identities and makes them what they are today – a nation and a state (Shlonsky, 2010). In parallel, the constructivist approach (or the modernist approach) emphasizes the impact of politics on nationalism and challenges the assumption that nationalism is a continuous cultural tradition or is based on ethnic identity (Ram, 1993). According to this approach, in the political context, nationalism may be a tool also in the hands of the dominant groups, through which they increase their power and realize their goals (Shlonsky, 2010). Nationalism constitutes political legitimization that demands that ethnic boundaries will not cross political borders and more strongly that ethnic boundaries in a given country will not separate those with power and the rest of the residents (Gellner, 1994).

Modern nationalism creates a significant need in all nation states "to invent the nation" or "to imagine it", to disseminate the fact of this invention publicly in the most effective way so as to recruit the citizens of the nation state to awareness and to shared activity. The perception of nationalism as modern emphasizes most the need of the nation state to connect between the cultural characteristics of citizens from different groups, to differentiate them from characteristics of other nationalities, and to merge the different cultures into the kettle of

nationalism. The melting pot indicates that one of the goals of the nation state is to remove all differences and to create one national culture in activities of building (Connor, 1994).

Anderson (in Dinor, 2009) showed that at least in the European format of nationalism the nationalists presented themselves already from the beginning of the 19th century as 'wakening from sleep', as if the national element had been latent in the local culture, and only now in the modern era is it again emerging into the light. Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm, and Shenhav all believed that nationalism is a modern phenomenon: this is a relatively new political mechanism, used to concentrate and recruit power in the hands of certain groups in society (Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1994; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1996; Shenhav, 2005).

The definition of nationalism not only relies on a previous and agreed-upon definition of the state but also appears in an environment where the existence of the state is already completely understood. The existence of centralized political units and the existence of a moral-political climate, in which such centralized units are seen as obvious and are addressed as the norm, are an essential condition of nationalism, though not at all as a sufficient condition (Gellner, 1994). One argument states that nationalism is a unique type of patriotism, which becomes widespread and dominant only under certain social conditions. These conditions reign in the modern world, but not in other places or times. Nationalism is a type of patriotism whose uniqueness lies in a number of most important characteristics. The singularity of this type of patriotism, namely nationalism, is its loyalty and cultural homogeneity, based on a culture aspiring to be lofty, in which there are only a few rigid sub-groups. The individual belongs to society directly, because of his cultural style and not because he belongs to a sub-group belonging to this society (Gellner, 1994). Gellner (1994) ascribed the spread of nationalism to processes of modernization; these processes weakened the existing community frameworks and enabled the creation of new political frameworks, such as social movements and states. In these frameworks, including in the education system under the control of the state, a new culture is created and inculcated to all members of society (Gellner, 1994).

Trianafyllidou (1998, 2001) maintained that the understanding that the identity of nationalists is shaped and clarified through the marking and identification of the 'others' was one of the most consistent conventions among the researchers of nationalism. Almost in every discussion of the meaning of nationalism the nation is perceived as a component in a dual system of relations that exists between the national self and the other person. These theories almost entirely direct that the national awareness introduces meaning in inclusion, in cooperation, and in identity and in exclusion and in difference. In other words, the existence of

the nation assumes ahead of time the existence of others who do not belong to the identification group and thus its members must differentiate themselves.

The national awareness is thus built not only on the identification with the culture, language, origin, territory, and additional characteristics that belong to 'my' collective but also on the awareness that others have a different language, culture, origin, etc. The national identity, in other words, is built both towards the inside and towards the outside. Therefore, Trianafyllidou (1998) proposed to focus the attention on their role that she calls 'significant others' in the structuring of the national identity. These significant others are 'nation or other ethnic group which is close to the national community or even is found in it and threatens (or is perceived to threaten) the national and/or cultural purity of the national community or its independence" (Yadgar, 2009). Trianafyllidou (1998) assumed that at any given moment there is only one significant other 'in actuality' for every nation that influences the shaping and development of its identity more than any other group. In her method, the trait that makes a given group into an actual significant other is the fact that this group is perceived as threatening the very existence of the nation – whether in terms of independence or in terms of its self-definition. Namely, the significant other may also threaten the uniqueness of the national group and cast in doubt the very authenticity of its collective identity or threaten what is identified as the formative values of the group. The transformation of this threat into an open and significant threat is what leads to the actualization of the potential of significant otherhood of a specific group. This process occurs for the most part on the background of critical periods in which the identity of the nation is cast in doubt or is found under threat. These crises and the identification of the significant other lead to the development, updating, and change of the national identity.

In contemporary society, there is a multiplicity of the individual's identities. Everyone has a political stance, political positioning, and gender positioning. There are many identities and the politics we create is less organized according to the class positioning and is organized more according to gender, sexual inclination, religious perception, and other aspects (Enoch, 2002). In the following chapters we discuss different issues of identity.

1.3 Identity in the Context of Culture, Society, and Nationalism

Identity is a multidimensional and complex construct (Mana, 2011). Therefore, the identity according to Miller (1963) is composed of three circles:

1. The core circle, in which the identities are the earliest and most significant
2. The intermediate circle, in which there are 'sub-identities' that are related to social roles

3. The external circle, in which there are the ‘presented identities’, which change according to the audience before which they are presented.

Erikson (1968) defined the identity as a self-feeling of continuity and consistency accompanied by a feeling of belonging and comfort and internal confidence in the individual’s acceptance by others. He described the identity as a configuration that gradually combines conventions, unique needs, significant identities, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent functioning. Other approaches to identity speak about an interactive and developing process and not about a static situation (Wood & Kroger, 2000). According to Bruner (1990) and Amsterdam and Bruner (2002), the individual’s identity is not a stable and fixed structure during life but an emerging process, whose main expressions lie in the life story of autobiographic story that the individual tells. The life story reflects a given identity but concurrently establishes it. The life story is also influenced by the cultural conditions and the period traditions in the environment of the person telling the story. Different variations may intervene in the processes of the development of the identity, such as the encounter with different cultures (Mana & Mana, 2004). The person’s identity is shaped by his connection and personal history, by his cultural reality, by his social heritage, and by his reference to others (Mounter, Sagi, & Shamir, 1998). The identity is connected to a certain place, where the person feels belonging, comfort, or ‘sense of being home’, since certain traits in this place symbolize a part of the person’s self-definition (Rose, 1990).

Berry (1990) proposed an acculturation model that describes the different coping strategies between individuals in the encounter between two cultures. He proposed a model of two axes. The first axis addresses the question of whether the individual wants to preserve his identity and cultural characteristics. The second axis examines whether the individual is interested in holding social relations with other groups. The crossing of the two axes in the model creates the following four patterns of coping:

1. Integration. The individual wants to preserve his identity and cultural characteristics but is also interested in maintaining social relations with other groups. Thus integration is created between the origin identity and the absorbing society identity.
2. Separation. The individual is interested in preserving his origin identity and in rejecting the identity of the absorbing society.
3. Assimilation. The individual rejects his origin identity and is interested in assuming the new identity.
4. Marginality. The individual is interested in rejecting both cultures.

According to the social-psychological approach of Miller (1963), identity is a pattern of traits that are absorbed through observation or conclusion, which facilitate the identification of the person, both in his own eyes and in the eyes of others. The concept of identity includes the way in which the person sees his traits, his self-image in the framework of his roles, the group identities, and the collective identities. According to Liblich (2011), every individual shapes his identity from a given 'menu' in the culture and the time period and there are reciprocal influences between the processes on the level of the individual and on the level of society. Thus, in an endless process of formation and change, elements of belonging, identity, story, and memory are mixed on the personal level and in the collective space (Liblich, 2011).

1.4 Types of Identity

This section presents a discussion of identity according to different types or aspects – religious, national, social, ethnic, civic, and narrative.

Religious Identity

There is no personal identity that is not historical and is embedded in a field of social values, behavioral norms, and collective symbols. Therefore, in the framework of the shaping of the identity, religion is the most available resource. The reason is that the religion constitutes a natural store of symbols and beliefs innate in the collective memory of the nation. Religion also has political importance, such as, for example, the Islamic identity in which there is the Utopian ideal that symbolizes historically a wonderful past that lives in the imagination of the masses (Baliver, 2006).

Many research studies have recently discussed the dialectic relations between nationalism and religion, and a critical attitude has formed towards the presentation of modern nationalism as a secular project that was intended to take the place of the religious mechanisms of collective organization. This criticism indicates mechanisms of binary separation between religion and secularism as mechanisms that establish the national story through hybridization and mixture between nationalism and religion (in Avrai, 2009). Shenhav (2005) analyzed the relation between modern nationalism and religion. He showed that the argument on nationalism enables the social structuring of the past to be indicated, as the modernist approach asserts, but modernism itself is perceived by the sides in the dispute as a given and natural matter and not as a product of invention. Thus asymmetry can be found in the relation between religion and secularism: the argument that religion is a product of social structuring while secularism is a given and natural entity is frequently heard (Shenhav, 2005). Religion is perceived as a main

and significant component of national projects outside of the West – a significant example is the Islamic Republic of Iran (in Avrai, 2009).

National Identity

According to social psychology, nationality is identity. Nationality as a discourse creates a process of the construction of identities and creates a conceptual framework that leads to certain uses in mental perceptions and inspires ideas regarding ourselves as nationalists (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). The social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal emphasized the feeling of national uniqueness, which enables the differentiation between internal groups and external groups and the definition who belongs to us and who does not belong. He maintained that the sense of national uniqueness is a social-psychological need to create a global social order and to allow the individual to understand his place in the world. However, this feeling is not fixed and stable but dynamics and is built anew in the context of relations with other identities that exist in the national space (in Fruchter-Ronen, 2012).

A national identity connects the individual to his past and to his community and empowers him and gives him a sense of belonging and meaning. Therefore, national narratives inculcate in the members of the nation one version, partial, biased, and controversial, of the historical past (Ben Shemesh, 2010). The national identity is a dynamic concept associated with reciprocal relations between the different structures of the state, agents of socialization, economic structure, and political structure. The conclusion is that 'national identity' is largely an outcome of processes of social structuring. The main components of the national identity, therefore, are the customs, homeland, territory, and religion (Kelman, 1997).

The existence of the national identity obligates the frequent definition of the symbolic borders of the nation. The national group holds not physical, geographic space but symbolic space, space of meaning, values, and identity. It is important to note that in contrast to the geographic borders, which are easy to identify and understand, the symbolic space is ambiguous and nebulous. The borders that define the national 'us' for the most part lack unequivocal and clear definition, and therefore definition and 'maintenance' are necessary to establish, preserve, and re-establish them. As aforementioned, one of the main instruments for this task is the identification of the other, of the one who remains outside of the national group, who defines and redefines who is found inside it (Hosking & Schopflins, 1997).

The theory of Anthony Smith (2000) enables to position at the center of the discussion the national identity in human society according to the social psychology approach. Smith

(2002) maintained that belonging to the nation gives meaning to the social and political order into which the individuals are born or in which they live, since the institutions, laws, norms, and roles are all perceived as deriving from social and political definitions of the nation state. Following Smith, it is possible to argue that the national identity is not solely a modern phenomenon, it cannot be 'found' and to acquire such a strong status, but relies on some previous basis. Hence, there is continuity between emotional traditions, religious perceptions, and even time perceptions (and these, according to Smith, in contrast to Anderson, did not exist in the ancient world but only cyclicity and Messianism) and the development of nationalism (in Assaf, 2010). Anderson maintained that the fact that many ancient nations cope today with a steadily increasing number of sub-nations that seek to separate from them proves that "nationalism is the most accepted prevalent value in the politics of our time (Anderson, 1991). If so, and if this 'nationalism' may also be ethnic-particular identity, in the manner displayed in Congo and Africa in general[1], then occurrences in Congo mesh well into the mosaic and are not an exceptional case. If we look at the constellation of power relations that Congo still is struggling to be freed from, then we will see that before us is not a case of a nation that Anderson (Assaf, 2010) called a 'tangible and desired community'. Anderson (1991) maintained that the relationship between history and nationalism has been close since it was first recorded. One of the prominent topics prevalent in the writing until World War I was the national question. Many historians addressed the cultivation of national myths, which raised the level of popularity of nationalism in the public of the readers. This fact has decisive importance since he relationships of a person with another person in society is not limited to those of his time period. The use of historiography as an instrument to reinforce nationalism created a world of symbols, which can be expressed through a language that determines the course of the history that occurs in it, unites events, and creates an agenda of awareness shared by all its members (Anderson, 1991, in Zalkovitz, 2008).

According to James Anderson (1986, in Zalkovitz, 2008), nationalism is a product of territorial ideology. In other words, the territory is linked to the past, since it connects it to the present and in essence is helped by it to define its areas. The desire to belong to a nation derives from the human need to belong to a framework that gives the individual confidence and protection and enables the state as an institution to reach objectives and defend its interests (Kelman, 1997). Therefore, the national identity is a product of the feeling of identification and belonging to a group. This process symbolizes shared awareness and recognition of the

[1] Where in the past and today there are civil wars

collective members, all of whom has the social identity (Bar-Tal, 2000). The nation needs epeated ‘reminders’, through symbols, rites, and myths, which are repeated through agents of the state and its creators and disseminators of the popular culture, regarding the nature that defines it. These reminders are both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’. They address not only the identification and representation of the positive, which include the values that identify the national collective, but also the negative, exclusionary facets. Thus, they define and confirm our boundaries, our very selves, and simultaneously indicate and create the ‘them’. Hence, the identification of this part of the culture (Geertz, 1990), in the creation, in the updating, and in the confirmation of the national identity, is central to the understanding of the phenomenon of nationalism. The national culture is the one through which ‘the delineating lines of society are drawn into the bodies of its citizens” (Carey, 1998). The memorial ceremonies, for instance, are considered an instrument of the construction of national identity. Therefore, the nation state is helped by the strategies of the structuring of collective memory so as to reinforce the individual’s national identity, and thus to confirm the existing social order (Connerton, 1989). The national memorial ceremonies are powerful and stable instruments used by the nation state for community cohesion of the state and society (Anderson, 1991; Connerton, 1989). They embody and emphasize the basic principle of the nation and constitute an emotional experience that awakens the national identity and the commitment towards the nation (Smith, 1991).

The structuring or representation of a national identity means the delineation of its outline through exclusion and controversy. Cultural processes inspire negative emotions of strangeness and hostility but also rebuild and confirm the positive core of the identity, even if this is more limited in the scope of the community. Others who threaten are found not only outside of us but also inside, called the ‘internal other’, which is perceived as presenting a threat that is not physical-existential but identity-cultural and it is an important part of the structuring of the identity of the group. ‘External’ others are those who by definition of their identity (national, ethnic, racial) cannot belong to the group of ‘us’. These are members of another nation or members of a different ethnic group or another race. By the very definition of their identity at a given time, there is no doubt that they are not a part of us. Even if the members of this group do not identify significantly with the entire system of symbols and values that establish the ‘us’ (national, ethnic, etc.), then they share essential parts of this system and from the perspective of the dominant group, there is significant closeness between them and us. Internal others, like these, tend to blur the borders of belonging and otherness. They are found in a vague field, when they too are a part of us and are separate from us. The decision between

these two dimensions of their identity occurs when facing historical events that encourage the rejection of the group of others from the group of the us or alternatively its beginning in it (Yadgar, 2009).

These indications of identity primarily have social, cultural, and symbolic components and in certain periods in the history of the nation they create the sense of nationalism. However, they are not permanent and do not pass from generation to generation without change, rather the reverse is true. For the most part, they are forgotten and for some reason or another reappear and are used by the political elites to create and shape the identity. The meaning and importance that the nation members, through the political elites, give them sometimes change radically (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012).

One of the characteristics of the collective national identity is a feeling of shared fate, which reflects the belief that members of the nation belong to the same collective despite the differences between them. According to this perception, the common denominator of the collective members exceeds the differences between them. This is a feeling of 'togetherness', the 'glue' that unites individuals and social groups into a national unity, so that the fate of each and every one in society is perceived as dependent on the fate of all. In a research of nationalism, the perception of the shared fate is perceived as one of the cornerstones of the national identity and includes the myth of the roots and shared origin (Johnson, 1997).

Social Identity

The social identity is internalized through the absorption of the social order or the expectations from him in the society that is similar to him. Our position in the social order is not innate but is acquired in a process of socialization. According to the functionalist approach, the collective awareness is shared by all of society and people internalize the collective awareness in the framework of the family and the education system, regarding which there is consensus. According to this approach, the process is of internalization of a shared awareness (Enoch, 2002).

Social identity is an elusive and multidimensional concept. It is composed of many sub-identities, sometimes segmented, conflicting, and changing according to context and time (Gergen, 1991). According to the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the main factor that motivates people is the desire to strengthen their self-esteem. The personal identity is one factor that shapes the self-identity, while the social identity is the other factor. The social identity is composed of all the social groups in which the individual is a member. As the

identification with the group is stronger and the social evaluation that the group receives from other groups is more positive, the self-esteem of the group members grows stronger.

Turner (1984) noted that different organization dimensions, such as the reciprocal dependence among the group members, the social structure, and the amount of interaction, are applicable only to small groups, in which people know one another and hold face-to-face reciprocal relations. However, he argued that it is clear that a little of the most important social belonging addresses the social frameworks to a large degree, such as gender, race, religion, status, occupation, and political party. The social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986) differentiates between the personal identity and the social identity. Tajfel (1981, in Prego, 2011) defined social identity as "the part of the individual's self-concept that derives from his membership in a social group, along with the esteem and the emotional meaning associated with this membership". Therefore, the community belonging is important to the formation of the personal identity. However, there are different ways to forge a collective identity and diverse ways to promote the personal identity through a collective relationship (Sagi, 2003, in Ben Shemesh, 2010).

According to many research studies, people put forth efforts to build and define their social identity (Brown, 2000; Erikson, 1968) and ascribe considerable importance to the differentiation and separation between the identity of their group and the identity of other groups (Turner, 1982). Therefore, it was found that individuals and groups attempt to shape or reshape their collective identity in the overall social context (Nagel, 1994).

The identity of any group is the examination of the way in which this group builds or 'produces' its 'others'. Collective figures serve the group as a screen upon which the main components of its identity are broadcast, in a process of reversal: the other represents and embodies what does not belong to us, what we have reservations about, and what is not a part of the values that define us, through which, through the negative image, we, the main group of reference, learn who we are, what our positive values are, what the nature of the components that establish our identity is, what the boundaries of the collective to which we belong are, and what the main outlines of our conduct appropriate in the political and historical arena are (Yadgar, 2009).

Despite the tendency prevalent in our time to think that the collective identity of the national community is the only collective affiliation or is the most powerful one, in essence it is only one of many possibilities. In addition, the concept of the national identity itself can be

interpreted in different ways (Sagi, 2003, in Ben Shemesh, 2010). The borders of the collective have a main role in the definition of the identity, and the fact the borders of ethnic and national collectives are largely liquid and update frequently and last makes the identity of somebody who 'is from us' and somebody who is 'outside of us' more complicated. Moreover, the others are the main factors that shape the borders of the collective. The local culture, 'ours', engages in a lasting manner in the production of the image of the other, in his lasting and developing presentation, in the continuous shaping and endless updating. The role of the other in the building of the group identity is accorded greater importance in the research of nationalism and the national identity (Yadgar, 2009).

Nationalism as a political ideology is a modern phenomenon but national identities were not created from nothing. The roots of many of them are found in the pre-modern ethnic identities, which can be defined through a common name, inherited myths, and historical memories, which explain the origin of the group, its uniqueness, its relation to its place in a certain territory, its language, and other tangible and intangible cultural elements (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). There are national groups whose shared identity is based on ethnic-cultural partnership, while there are national groups whose shared identity is based on political partnership as citizens of the same state. Therefore, there are two types of meanings of nationalism: ethnic-cultural nationalism, based on origin, language, culture, customs, traditions, lifestyles, and history and sometimes also a shared religion, is state nationalism, based on the citizenship in one country (Ministry of Education of Israel, 2012).

Ethnic Identity

The theory of social identity of Tajfel (1978) emphasizes that the encounter with the other influences the process of development of the ethnic identity and the relation between the structure of society and the relations of power in it (primarily relations of minority-majority) and the shaping of the identity. Through a process of internalization, which occurs already at a young age, social structures become structures of the personal identity, and a person develops awareness of the 'internal group' and prefers it over 'the outside group'. Tajfel (1978) emphasized the strategies of coping of the minority groups versus the negative messages of the majority group towards them, as a tool for the formation of ethnic identity. Anthony Smith (2002, in Assaf, 2010) maintained, in contrast, that there is no necessary contradiction between multi-ethnicity and nationalism in its Western sense and that there are different possibilities of this connection between different ethnic identities to national unit.

Ethnic identity is a component in the self-identity of the individual that is derived from his ethnic group, which has a connection based on shared heritage of race, religion, language, blood ties, or shared origin – or on shared heritage of a number of them (Phinney, 2000). The shaping of the ethnic identity has three stages, which exist in a profound connection to the social-economic status of the community and its symbolic marginality. In the first stage, the youths experience the ethnic identity as having inferior value. These experiences lead to the creation of what we call 'identity wounds'. In the second stage, the youths are allowed active investigation of their ethnicity, as in the context of a course for Caucasus dance. The existence of a course under the cover of the ideology of multiculturalism is an expression of the influence of the ideologies of absorption on the processes of the shaping of the identity. In the third stage, the youths describe the ethnic identity as an identity present in their lives. The findings are discussed in connection to the theories of the development of the ethnic identity and in connection to the ideology of multiculturalism in Israel (Malka & Krumer-Nevo, 2011).

The discussion of the development of the ethnic identity mainly addresses the presentation of the process as a personal process. The argument is that the development of the ethnic identity is a process influenced by social, ideological, and cultural contexts through a look up close at processes of identity formation (Malka & Krumer-Nevo, 2011). Some see a relation between national identity and ethnic identity and maintain that ethnicity is both one type of nationalism and an essential resource of nationalism (Bashara, 1991). Ethnic identity has been investigated primarily from the perspective of minority groups. As long as the hegemony of the majority culture is not threatened, this group does not often engage in its identity and sees it to be understood, while members of the minority group are forced to cope with their identity consciously and more frequently (Helms, 1989).

Civic Identity

One of the main components of the shaping of the national identity is citizenship in a country, which becomes an obvious part and an innate trait. The nature of citizenship is not permanent and is shaped in the specific political culture, which is influenced by historical events. The civic identity is a significant part of the individual's identity and constitutes a main part in the way in which society defines it relative to the state (Avnon, 1998). Therefore, the identity of the state and its constructs constitute an important element in the development of its citizens' sense of belonging but they do not necessarily constitute their sole legitimate object of identification. The argument is that as the state will adopt for itself a national, ethnic, or cultural identity of one group it will weaken the sense of belonging of other minority groups to

it. Instead of the minority groups developing identification with the state in which they live, they will attempt to develop alternative and more particular feelings of belonging. In other words, identification or lack of identification with the state is context-dependent – political, economic, and cultural (Tamir, 1997).

Citizenship in one country is compared to membership in a club that gives its members duties and rights, and in certain boundaries even dictates the rules of behavior. The partnership in citizenship is the right to participate in the political process, to vote and to be elected, to have opinions on issues on the public agenda. The political framework, with its laws and regulations and unofficial rules of behavior created around them, create a social-public order that dictates to a great extent the life arrangements for the citizens, despite the differences between them in cultural, national, or religious aspects (Kaufman, 2010). Thus, the question is asked. How is the identity of the ethnic minority shaped in light of the effort of the state to include the dominant culture?

Narrative Identity

The narrative turning point, which led to the recognition of the narrative as the main lens for the understanding of human reality, effects a dramatic change in the concept of 'identity'. It changed the single and unifying perception of the identity in the perception that sees it to be an imagined structure that is produced in a defined context, through the various stories that we tell about ourselves. However, the determination that the story expresses the identity is still present in the narrative literature and sometimes directs researchers in the interpretation of their findings. The 'narrative identity card' is proposed as a special case of the life story intended for the 'world', a representative portrait that we present publicly. The characteristics of the context that invite this narrative type and an initial portrait profile is proposed based on three couples of duality: change and consistency, culture and uniqueness, and separation and belonging (Spector-Mersel, 2012).

Despite and alongside the postmodern outlook that characterizes the present stage in the theory of narrative identity, the idea of the story that expresses the identity is still present, even if not directly and explicitly, in theoretical discussion and sometimes even guides interpretations of story findings (Spector-Mersel, 2012). Instead of the perception of the identity as a static entity or as a collection of traits and characteristics, it was proposed to understand it as a developing story. The link between identity and story was not new. The perception of the story as reflecting a real identity that exists ahead of time, the current

understanding relies on post-modern ideas and emphasizes that stories build identity or more precisely they build a feeling of identity (Spector-Mersel, 2012). The discourse on identity and narrative emphasizes pluralism and the idea of the story that reflects the identity is still present in it (Spector-Mersel, 2012). McAdams (1985) discussed the connection between identity and story and incorporated the developmental model of Erikson, along with the narrative idea that bean to penetrate into psychology, and proposed a model of the life story for the understanding of the development of the identity.

The national narrative is a homogenous and whole story, which focuses on the points of breakage and split that divide the narrative into secondary parts, some of which live in harmony with one another and others of which create disturbances and contradictions from the imagined narrative unity. Thus, it tends to blur the internal contradictions and the conflicts between the different groups that comprise the nation and between the individual and the collective (Bhabha, 1994, in Avrai, 2009). According to Latour (1993, in Avrai, 2009), nationalism as practice and discourse forms and hybridizes the identities that undergo processes of purification and adjustment to the supra-narrative in parallel to processes of hybridization of ethnic, class, and national identities. However, in the process of the construction of the national story, nationalism is imagined as a homogenous and uniform unit purified of such hybridizations. One of the main mechanisms through which the national discourse organizes a uniform and homogenous narrative is the structuring of the collective memory in the framework of the writing of the history of the nation. This process entails, alongside the processes of the building of the memory, the processes of forgetting, erasing, and repressing of 'historical' memories. The biography of the nation, like the biography of the individual, was written as a part of the creation of the national culture, in which certain memories are emphasized and other memories are erased (Anderson, 1991).

1.5 The Place of the School Society in the Category of the Identity

The process of the construction of the national identity is closely related to the education system in which the person is found, which serves as the strongest and most meaningful mechanism in the transformation of the young people into citizens with a significant national connection. Patriotism and civil religion are the two aspects that are expressed in education as cultivating the connection between the citizen and the State and the homeland (Shlonsky, 2010). The importance of the processes of the structuring in the shaping of the national identity transforms the education system into a main tool in the hands of the state for the promotion of the shaping of the collective identity of its young citizens. The

effectiveness of the education system in this context derives from the fact that most of the population passes through its gates and in addition the young age of the children who sit on the school benches provides a platform for the shaping of their perceptions.

Generally the education system can reflect the values of the state and inculcates them explicitly or implicitly through the conveyed contents, which symbolize the ceremonies and the language and the emphasis of certain values over others. In a situation of profound national-social-cultural division and in a situation of conflict between two societies, it is possible to build a complex identity, which enables in the end to engender belonging out of choice at least to certain parts of the origin culture, alongside the acceptance of parts of the 'counter' culture and from a critical outlook on both cultures (Ghanem & Levin-Rosales, 2015). The school has an important role in the definition of the identity (Aspachs-Bracons, Clots-Figueras, Costa-Font, & Masella, 2008) According to the perceptions of the identity that assume interaction between internal and external processes, the school has a great potential of influence over the perception of the reality and the definition of the identity. Al-Haj (2002) found that the learning contents influence the identity. For instance, the Arab children in Israel learn in schools where the language of instruction is Arabic and not Hebrew and the curriculum includes chapters in the culture, heritage, history and religion of the Arab population. The studies of language and Arab literature are not always congruent to those of the schools in the Jewish sector (Tzartzur, 1981). The separation in the education system is preserved in the mixed cities as well, both in the language of instruction and in some of the curricula. Mixed schools in Israel are few (Landau, 1993).

The textbooks have an important role in the creation of the historical memory and the collective consciousness of the nation and they change over the years according to the social and conscious changes that occur in the elites. The textbooks written under the supervision of the State and taught in its institutions are therefore agents of memory important in this process and are perceived as devices for the inculcation of abilities, values, and attitudes (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). Therefore, the role of the education system, which includes schools and textbooks, as a device of the State, is to disseminate the image and the heritage of the 'nation' and thus to reinforce the connection of the citizen to the State (Podeh, 1997).

The steadily increasing exposure of the young generation to electronic media and to the use of the Internet has without a doubt lessened the centrality and importance of textbooks as an educational device. However, nevertheless the textbooks continue to shape the student's outlook, since they are a part of the process of socialization and acculturation, through which

the young generation internalizes the values and norms of society (Nasser, 2002, in in Zalkovitz, 2008; Podeh, 1997). The knowledge presented in the textbooks is not objective or neutral but reflects the power relations in society and especially the discourse of the dominant group – status, ethnic group, or a number of dominant groups (Giroux, 1988). Textbooks in history are largely part of the official historiography of the state and are one example of the attempt of the elite to create collective focuses of memory. History books have especial importance, since for the student they are the primary source of knowledge about the past and his image regarding other nations or regarding himself will express in the end the history he learned as a child (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012).

2. The State of Israel in the Context of Multiculturalism

2.1 The State of Israel – Background

The Law of Return (State of Israel, 1950)[2] and the definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state prove and implement postcolonial theory, according to which the Jewish nation/race is preferred over the Palestinian nation in Israel, thus creating inequality and gaps between the Palestinian and Jewish citizens in Israel. Therefore, it is important to develop awareness and cultivate the State of Israel as a multicultural state where the state systems are multicultural, with equality and mutual respect between all the cultures in the state, the Palestinian culture and the Jewish culture (Ben Ari, 1999).

In September 1948, Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of the Jewish State that had been established during the war, suggested that the West Bank be conquered, but most of the ministers of the government did not support this proposal (Lavid, 2012). The war ended in July 1949 and during it, as aforementioned, the establishment of the State of Israel was declared, which was defined in its Declaration of Independence as a 'Jewish national state', in which there was a Jewish majority and a Palestinian Arab minority.

The goals of the Zionist movement encountered many problems, such as, for example, the identity between nation and religion, and the conflict between them, but the focus of the debate was regarding the Palestinian nation and its national aspirations. In essence, in this period the Zionist movement completely ignored the fact that Israel is populated with Arabs, who are natives to the land (Yaar & Shavit, 2001).

Therefore, in Israel a distinction and a separation exist in many areas between citizens according to their national and cultural origin, including in the field of the engagement. In addition, in the State of Israel, which is defined as a multinational country, there is a situation in which the national affiliation is not uniform for all the national groups who live therein, and the same groups develop different patriotic connections. The citizenship in Israel is presented as joint and uniform for all the citizens, but it is possible to see from the professional literature that the universalism and uniformity are but outside camouflage for hierarchical cultural patterns and perceptions built into the citizenship itself (Jamal, 2004). The State of Israel is a Jewish state in the sense that most of the citizens are Jewish (people), it serves as the nation

[2] State of Israel, 1950, Law of Return, https://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/heb/chok_hashvut.htm (Hebrew)

state of the Jews (nation), and has a Jewish religious affiliation, which is expressed in the assimilation of parts of Jewish religious law into the state law (Zilbersheid, 2009).

Before the 1948 War, the Jews in the Land of Israel consisted of 650,000 people and the Palestinian population consisted of 1,250,000 people. After the establishment of the State, for different reasons, the number of Jews exceeded the Arab mass (Bar-On, 2012). After the war and the establishment of the State of Israel (an event known also as the Palestinian Nakba), the Palestinian population, which was the majority until 1948, became a minority in the Jewish population (Al-Haj, 1988). This minority remained living in the borders of the State of Israel (Babiya, 2007; Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009; Jiryis, 1976; Saadi, 1997). This minority is considered a minority in terms of nationality and language (Smooha, 2004), in which there is another division according to the religious definitions, or Muslims, Christians, and Druse (Noyberger, 1995).

The establishment of the Jewish State was supposed, it would seem, to clarify the question of the Jewish national identity. The concentration of a dispersed group in one place, the assignment of full political responsibility to its shoulders, and the creation of cultural hegemony in the public sphere were supposed to serve as foundational materials for the construction of the Jewish nation (Stern, 2012). The Citizenship Law of Israel was legislated in 1952. This law determines that citizenship for Jews in Israel is granted because of the Law of Return[3] (living in Israel, birth in Israel), adoption, naturalization, or acquiring citizenship. The acquisition of Israeli citizenship is applied in a broad manner on Jews (Joppke & Rosenhek, 2002). The law differentiates clearly between the granting of citizenship to Jews and their descendants and the granting of citizenship to non-Jews, who are entitled to citizenship since they were born in Israel or because they married a citizen of Israel, after the approval of the Ministry of the Interior (Helman, 2007).

Those with an Israeli identity card are found among three national groups: most are Jews who are born in Israel, Jews who immigrated to Israel from other countries (many from the countries of the former Soviet Union), and Arabs. Israeli citizenship is not identical to nationality. The information on the nationality and the religion of each one of the citizens of Israel appears in the Population Register of the Ministry of the Interior, a situation that does not exist in any other democratic state (Oron, 2013). The discourse on the divisions in Israeli society reveals the state mechanisms that establish ethnic, national, religious, and gender

[3] The Law of Return https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b4ea1b.html [accessed 9 April 2021]

categories (Yonah & Goodman, 2004). Therefore, in the State of Israel, as a multinational state, there is a situation in which the national affiliation is not uniform for all the national groups that live therein and these groups develop different patriotic connections. 'Judaism' has always been perceived as denoting a people, a nationality, and a religion. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the term "Jewish state' is supposed to reflect the multiplicity of the facets of Judaism itself. It is necessary to read in it a cultural criterion that includes the three components together: the State of Israel is a Jewish state since it is a political-organizational framework in which main aspects of Jewish civilization in our generation are preserved and cultivated – people, nation, and religion (Zilbersheid, 2009).

The tension and struggle between the sub-identities in Israeli society remain open and will remain that way in the meantime (Oron, 2013). Horowitz and Lisk (1990) maintained that Israel is a divided society and listed five divisions in Israeli society: the religious-secular division, the national division, the ethnic division, the social-economic division, and the ideological division. Their main argument is that the Israeli collective identity is shaped all the time regarding the issues at the basis of these divisions. According to Koresh (2012), the most prominent division of them all is the religious-secular rift, which divides Jewish society in Israel. What makes this rift unique is that it divides the majority society (Jewish society) and constitutes a basis for social and cultural separation and political power.

Mishilov (2012) maintains that the Six Day War and the euphoria that swept over the public in Israel led to and strengthened the confidence of the national religious public that the State is moving in its direction. The social and political reality in Israel in the years 1969-1973 were influenced directly by the results of the Six Day War. The victory in the war gave the Israeli public and the leadership a sense that the strength of the State of Israel depends on its military power (Portogez, 2013). The Yom Kippur War and its difficult results shattered the complacency and eroded the strength of Israeli society and exacerbated the disputes and sharpened the cultural tensions (Mishilov, 2012). The Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinian Authority were the result of the aspiration of Israeli society for peace and calm and led to a crisis among parts of the national religious public regarding the perception of the State of Israel as fulfilling the redemption (Mishilov, 2012). The agreement, which was signed on September 13, 1993, was considered one of the important events in the Middle East and a political upheaval in the relations of Israel with the Palestinians and with the Arab world. The issue is still found in historiographic distress (Raz, 2012).

According to the research of Oron (2010), in Israel there are four models of Jewish-Israeli sub-identities: non-religious-secular, traditional, national religious, and Ultra-orthodox religious. Alongside and opposite them, the research presents the Israeli Arab (Palestinian) identity, which also is obviously not a single piece (Oron, 2010). Identity and policy of the State of Israel towards the Palestinian minority of Israel caused confusion and distortion in their identity, especially in the shadow of the struggle between integrating politically in the Zionist framework and the desire to be closed and isolate themselves through the dynamic Arab parties (Smooha, 1997). Tzartzur (1999) maintains that the Arabs of Israel have a problem in their Israeli-Arab identity, since they are perceived by the Jews as a hostile minority that does not accept the existence of the State. Following the perception of the Palestinian minority as a security risk that threatens the construction of the new Jewish State, whose neighbors did not recognize its existence (Amara & Saban, 2004; Stendel, 1992), the Arab minority was distanced and alienated, and military government was imposed on this minority in the first decade of the establishment of the State of Israel (1949-1966), which shaped the existence of the Arab sector (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009; Stendel, 1992). The military government was established through the Emergency Defense Regulations legislated in the Land of Israel by the British Mandate government in 1945. This government was perceived as the main device through which it would be possible to have close supervision and control on the Arab minority and enabled the exclusion of Israeli Arabs from the different systems of the State (Boymel, 2002). With the end of the military government in 1966, a change occurred in the political awareness of the Arabs of Israel (Al-Haj, 1992; Katoryamo, 2002) and a new leadership began to grow among young Arabs, who acquired their education in universities (Al-Haj, 1992; Arian, Ben-Nun, & Barnea, 2004).

The military government on the Arabs of Israel, which was eliminated in 1964, was imposed after the Six Days War on the Palestinian population in the territories of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. This situation casts in doubt the possibility for peace between the State of Israel and the Arab countries. In this period there was a decline in the relations of Israel with the nations of the world and anti-democratic trends were noted (Portogez, 2013). The end of 1969 constituted a low point in the relations between Jews and Arabs, after the ceasefire agreements between Israel and Egypt were cancelled and the war of attrition between the two counties began (Portogez, 2013).

Israel of 2014 is about 75% Jews and about 20% Arabs, but in most areas of life there is a considerable separation between the two groups. The absolute majority of Israeli lives in

single-national communities, works in separate workplaces, and learns in separate institutions in the education system. However, the reality of separation is found in a process of change and in different areas more integrative spaces are created (Shwade et al., 2014). The values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state make it unique from other democratic states. There are many democratic countries in the world, but only the State of Israel is a state that is not only democratic but also Jewish. This value, "Jewish state", leads to the conclusion that the values of the State of Israel, as a Jewish state, have two main aspects: the Zionist aspect and the Halachic[4] aspect or the heritage aspect (Barak, 2011).

2.2 Israel as a Multicultural State

Ibn Khaldun (a renowned Muslim scholar from the 14th century and the father of the science of sociology) defined culture as living and residing together in the city or in the village for the purpose of a company of friends and satisfaction with needs. Thus, he focused culture on the social association (Ilam, 2012).

According to Taylor (1871), the individual acquires and learns the knowledge and the belief, in the framework of a social group. According to other researchers, culture is composed of a system of values, norms, customs, ideas, and certain patterns of behavior conveyed in the process of learning to the following generations (Ben Eliezer, 1989; Bronislov Malnivsky, 1944, Shapira, 1988, in Mounter, 2012). The ability to convey knowledge from generation to generation is made possible because of communication that includes language and symbols (Geertz, 1973; Kuper, 1994; Monaghan & Just, 2000). Language is perceived as the main instrument through which the person manages his life, which expresses social reality and includes cultural reality. Therefore, the language is related also to cultural identity, since through the accent, vocabulary, structure of the conversation, and more, the speaker identifies himself as a part of the group (Kramsch, 1998).

According to additional definitions, the culture belongs always to a certain society or group of societies, a certain race, a certain region, or certain period in time (Margaret Mead, 1937, in Mounter, 2012). According to Levy-Strauss (1983), culture is not natural and it is not artificial. It does not derive from genetics or from logical thinking, since it is based on the laws of behavior that were not invented and their role is not understood to people who fill them (Levy-Strauss, 1983). Culture, therefore, is the artificial environment that was created by man and includes all the works and deeds of man – material, spiritual, technological, scientific,

[4] Halachic refers to Halacha, the body of traditional Jewish religious law.

ideological, artistic, organizational, and institutional, customs and morality – and intends to enable the existence of human society versus nature and versus rival human societies and to give government, identity, and meaning to this existence. The primary role of culture is to provide a protected framework towards the outside, which is at the same time an action framework towards the inside. The effort of the cultural circle is the development of relations of cohesion that deviate from blood relations – the relation of religion, relations of dependence, relations of commerce, civic relation. Therefore, culture is considered the display of power (Ilam, 2012). Culture is primarily a constellation of ways in which society ensures for its people wellbeing over time. What complicates the picture is the fact that every society is composed of different interests and it is possible that culture serves a number of them at the expense of others (Haviland, 1999).

Every culture is a system of ideals, values, and shared rules of behaviors and therefore it cannot exist without society: a group of people concentrated in a certain site and dependent on one another for their existence. The relations that connect society are determined by the social structure or the social organization. For a culture to exist, it must meet the basic biological needs of its members, to ensure continuity of the group, and to maintain order among their members and between them and people from the outside. All cultures change over time, because of changes in the environment that it must cope with or sometimes a result of the intervention of foreign factors and sometimes in response of change of values. Cultural changes for the purpose of the adjustment to new conditions are a necessity, and nevertheless the unexpected outcomes of these changes may be disastrous (Haviland, 1999).

The modern definition of a culture is a system of rules or values, whose realization by the members of a certain society yields behavior found in the field considered by the members of those society to be appropriate and accepted (Haviland, 1999). According to Zimel (in Regev, 2011), modern culture has effected changes in the relation between the subjective dimension and the objective dimension of culture, of the reality. The perception is that culture is a tool through which people, in the reciprocal relations between them, engage with perseverance in the structuring and definition of the reality, of situations and in light of these definitions their behavior is established (Zimel, in Regev, 2011). Theories of culture, according to Berry (1990), address the coping of minority groups (immigrants, natives, and temporary residents), without reference to their status in their encounter with the majority groups. The process of culture was defined as a phenomenon that occurs when groups of individuals, who come from different cultures, come in direct and extended contact, which creates change in the

original cultural pattern of one or more of the groups. This definition is neutral at its basis because of the assumption that the change may occur in each one of the groups. In essence, the processes of the change deriving from the culture generally lead to change in the minority group and not in the majority group, which generally is homogeneous.

There are two main models for the process of culture, but the difference between them is expressed in the relation between the origin culture and the hegemonic culture in the environment. Attitudes of culture are the ways in which an individual or cultural group addresses another culture. These attitudes are the result of the integration between two dimensions: the first, the extent to which the group wants to maintain its culture and the second, the extent to which the group wants to acquire the culture of another group. The individuals who transfer culture are perceived as removing themselves from the characteristics of the origin culture through the acquisition of the dominant culture (Berry, 1997). The model of Berry describes four strategies that combine among the dimensions:

- Assimilation. Integration of the desire to acquire the hegemonic culture and the absence of the desire to maintain the origin culture.
- Separation: The opposite to assimilation – the integration of the desire to maintain the original culture and the absence of the desire to acquire the hegemonic culture.
- Integration: The desire to maintain the original culture and to acquire the hegemonic culture.
- Marginality. The outcome of the absence of the desire to maintain the original culture but also the absence of desire to acquire the hegemonic culture.

2.3 The Palestinian Minority Citizens of the State of Israel

The uniqueness of the Palestinian minority in Israel is that it was a majority before the 1948 War and become a minority in the State of Israel after the war, but nevertheless the Palestinian national minority belongs to the Arab majority of the Middle East. At the end of the mandate in the Land of Israel there were approximately two million people, about two-thirds Arabs and one-third Jews. There are different estimates of the size of the Arab population in the geographic space that became the State of Israel in May 1948 (Gabizon & Abu Ria, 1999). In the period of the British Mandate, these two groups lived side by side. The two national communities both did not have formal representation in the institutions of the mandatory government, which were managed directly by the Ministry for the Colonies in London. Both had different standards of living and different cultures. All this changed

following the War of Independence, which was a territorial struggle between the two national groups (Suan, 2012).

The territorial struggle of the Jewish community in the Land of Israel that led in 1948 to the establishment of the State of Israel and its settlement by immigrants and Holocaust survivors caused a drastic change for the local Arab population. The establishment of the Jewish State constituted for the Palestinians the Nakba. Many Palestinians were evicted from their homes and became refugees and an Arab minority was created in the Jewish State. Moreover, the 'narratives of the others' were many and different from one another: those who remained in place, those who built their village anew but not in the same place, those who became refugees or exiles (Jamal, 2009). Therefore, in parallel to the processes described previously, which pertain to the shaping of the national Zionist culture and its attitude to the land, its vistas, and its maps, the Palestinians did not stop looking at the land and its vistas from their own national-territorial longing that found its expression in Palestinian song, literature, and art. After the 1948 War, the Nakba, the Palestinian Arab population, which was the majority until 1948 became the minority (a minority is a group of people in the majority population, separated from the majority in national, ethnic, religious, cultural, language, and other characteristics) (Al-Haj, 1988). This minority consists of about one million people, who constitute about 20% of the citizens of the State of Israel (Saar, 2007; Babiya, 2007; Haj Yahia & Arar, 2014; Horowitz & Lisk, 1990). This minority is considered a national and language minority (Smooha, 2004), in which there is an additional division according to the religious definitions – Muslims, Christians, and Druse (Noyberger, 1995), 82% Muslims, 9% Christians, and 9% Druse (Saar, 2007). The citizens of the State of Israel are Jews as well as the native Palestinian minority, who are also called 1948 Arabs. In addition, in the year 1967 Jerusalem was annexed by Israel, and the State of Israel "recognized" the residents of Jerusalem as "residents" and not equal citizens. (Eldar, 2012)

2.3.1 The Palestinian Arab Minority as a Native Population

The Arab minority has additional uniqueness, since it has a homeland. This is a native Palestinian Arab population, which lived in its homeland - along with members of its people – even before the establishment of the State of Israel, when it was found in the majority group (Gavarin, 2010). This fact influences the struggle for the borders of the collective identity of both Jews and Arabs in Israeli society. The struggle is related not only to the fact that Israel is a country of immigrants but also to its place in the Middle East and it emphasizes the issue of

the complex relation between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority (Eisenstadt, 1989, in Ghanem & Levin-Rosales, 2015).

Most of the Palestinians who became citizens of the new State of Israel did not lose their homes but they also suffered greatly from the loss of lands and livelihoods and often were disconnected from their close family. Since 1948, the agricultural industry decreased, when this had been the source of livelihood of the Israeli Palestinian, following the expropriation of their lands, and thus caused a process of proletarization. However, the Israeli Palestinians continued to live in their villages, which grew into towns and cities (Hamisi, 1998; Zahalka, 1998). The Arab population that remained in the boundaries of Israel belonged to the weaker parts of the original population (many others, including political and economic leaders, left or were evicted from Israel) (Kimerling & Migdal, 1999; Morris, 2003). In essence, the results of the 1948 war collapsed every representative Palestinian political organization and the Palestinian political leadership entered a situation of stagnation. The Palestinian tragedy is a tragedy of social-political-organizational destruction, which might have led to an identity crisis. The coping of the young Palestinians with the given situation was to adopt broader political identities than the national identity (in Arabic *vetanya*). In this spirit, it is possible to explain the growth of different groups and parties that see the supra-national identities to be a tactical instrument to hasten the liberation of Palestine. Thus, it is possible to identify the active involvement of Palestinians in the leadership and establishment of parties under the Jordanian government and around the Arab world, for example "Alkomion El-Arav", the Communist Party, the Muslim Brotherhood, and "Hazav El-Tahrir El-Islami" (Cohen, 1980, in Zalkovitz, 2008).

The 'Green Line' was determined in the framework of the agreement signed in Rhodes in 1949 for the ceasefire between Israel and Jordan. It existed in actually as the border line between the two states for about 18 years and was supposedly erased in June 1967, when communities were built on it, roads crossed it, and it disappeared from the maps, atlases, and textbooks. However, the line continued to exist in the awareness of people as a cognitive border line and even had an important role: the "Green Line' defined the settlements and differentiated the Arabs of Israel from the Arabs of the territories added to Israel to the Six Day War (Medzini, 2012). The population of the 'interior Arabs', in other words, Arabs with Israeli citizenship, is characterized by considerable complexity. In addition to being a minority among a Jewish majority, its composition is heterogeneous, when its Muslim majority is especially prominent. The Christians in their communities are found primarily in the Galilee, where there also are

some of the Armenian community, who, because they do not belong to the Jewish majority, are attributed to the Arab minority. In the 'triangle[5]' the population is entirely Sunni Muslim, as it is in the Negev. In the Triangle the origin of the majority is *fellah*[6], and in the Negev the origin is Bedouin. The Druse, members of the Arab culture, are not Muslim and define themselves as an ethnic community and not as a nationality. The Druse, like the Circassians, serve in the IDF according to the law. The Circassians are Sunni Muslims but are not Arabs in their heritage and in their nationality. Although more than 90% of the population of internal Arabs is Muslim by religion, it is difficult to ignore the religious and ethnic mosaic that composes it. Aside from the Druse and Circassians, who as aforementioned serve in the IDF through mandatory induction, some Bedouin serve in the IDF on a voluntary basis, and there are volunteers in the IDF from all segments of the population of the citizens of Israel who are Arabs. The service in the IDF is an antithesis of the main Palestinian goal, to act against the State of Israel (Koren, 2009).

Ghanem and Mustafa (2009) indicate the loss of the city in 1948, which made the Palestinian population in Israel a village population lacking in basic confidence and poor in resources. Ghanem and Mustafa maintain that the Palestinians in Israel position themselves as a part of the Palestinian national body that is outside of the boundaries of the country, in the civic dimension they are a part of the Israeli civic body, in the cultural dimension they are found between hegemony of the village culture and Ashkenazi Jewish hegemony, and in the historical dimension they are a product of the Nakba. Ghanem and Mustafa further assert that some of the Palestinian intellectuals hold the possibility of the realization of full citizenship alongside the retention and strengthening of the Palestinian Arab affiliation, which is perceived as a condition of full equality. For instance, Dr. Aziz Heider explains that today when the Arabs seek or require that the State become a state for all its citizens, they do this on the basis of the recognition that the Arabs want to be Israelis. Heider also explains that the Palestinians stopped being a significant national identity in the lives of the Israeli Palestinians and has no significance aside from among the elites, people do not know it, and it does not interest them (Barnea, 2011) The very life in this country, which has received international recognition, has an admission of defeat and failure, while increasing the disconnection from the surrounding Arab world, the outside Arabs. These factors are joined by the mockery of the outside Arabs,

[5] A concentration of communities in the North of Israel, which include primarily Israeli Arab population. The communities of the Triangle are situated near the Green Line.

[6] Fellah is a name in Arabic for a worker of the land. Fellahim are the residents of the villages who engage in agriculture with their very hands in the Arab countries.

their alienation from the interior Arabs, and their assessment of them as traitors. Therefore, no wonder that the feeling of the interior Arabs, who are found in a pincers of pressures, in practical and emotional terms, was difficult (Koren, 2009).

The Arab citizens of Israel live in a culture with heterogeneous characteristics in a democratic regime responsible for ideological pluralism. As such, the internal Arabs find it difficult to present a monolithic objective. Two goals would appear to be prominent: peace and equality. Over the years the Arabs of 1948 have realized the durability of Israeli democracy and have shown signs of increasing integration in Israeli society. The opportunities that they faced as a minority in a Jewish state exceeded the declarative commitment of who is acting as guarantor for the Palestinians. Moreover, the Arabs of the interior were the only ones of the Arabs of the Middle East who could vote and be elected democratically for the different institutions in Israel and even for the *Knesset* (Israeli Parliament). The separation between the two communities, Arabs of the interior and of the exterior, created segregation, which emphasized that the interior Arabs were above the Palestinians in every area. The Arab citizens of Israel became entrepreneurs and conveyed cheap manpower from the territories to their Jewish employers in Israel. Many of them improved their status after 1967 (Koren, 2009).

The Arabs of Israel also constitute a peripheral minority, which is a numerical and sociological minority, lacking in power and influence. Despite the fact that they constitute about one-fifth of the population, the Arabs of Israel do not have representation in the economic, governing, military and cultural elite of the State. Therefore, they also are not partners in the circles of decision makers in it. It is not surprising, therefore, that they feel a sense of profound discrimination, which leads to steadily increasing frustration (Suan, 2012).

As aforementioned, the Palestinians in Israel are the only group in the modern history of the Arab nation that became a minority in its homeland, under a foreign regime identified with the West. They did not reach this status by choice or consent or international compact but by force of arms and following the Palestinian disaster, the Nakba. This historical fact becomes even more important since both the Jews and the Palestinians rejected the possibility that they would become a minority group in Israel (Gavarin, 2014).

All these factors joined the feeling of the necessity to live in a society with a culture and nationality that defeated both the internal Arabs and the external Arabs, and therefore is considered an enemy of the Arabs in sweeping terms, at least until the Sadat initiative in 1977 and the Camp David Accord (Koren, 2009). Attempts at survival of the Arabs inside of the new

state forced them to address issues relating to everyday coping. They refrained from engaging in the political context of their issue and remained passive in the engagement with the problems of the region, despite the fact that they were directly and significantly influenced by the regional Israeli-Arab conflict. (Koren, 2009).

Residents of Jerusalem

In 1967, East Jerusalem and its Arab residents, about 250,000 in number, were annexed to Israel. Since 1967 these Arabs have Israeli identity cards and enjoy the many rights of the citizens of Israel, but cannot vote for the Knesset and be elected to it[7]. The uncertainty in their status, which depends on the future agreement between Israel and its Palestinian neighbors, puts them in a situation of daily coping with the issue of the identity. They must confront the Israeli identity that they come in contact with every day and the internal Arab identity they developed and its own identity characteristics. Overcoming the complications of the identities is not simple and is the problem of additional populations in the Middle East (Koren, 2009).

2.3.2 Chain of Events for the Palestinian Minority in Israel

A Short History of the Occupation

The modern origins of the Jewish-Arab conflict began in 1882, with the first wave of the return of Jews to their ancient homeland. From 1882 to 1948, the number of Jewish residents in the Land of Israel increased, constituting a threat from the Arab viewpoint, which negated the historic relation between Jews and Palestine. In 1949, after the War of Independence / the Nakba, the State of Israel was proclaimed as the State of the Jewish people. In the years 1948-1967, Palestinian Arab terrorist units attacked the State of Israel as a part of the struggle to 'liberate Palestine', or in other words, to eliminate the State of Israel, before the Six Days War (June 1967) and before Israel controlled the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Shwarzberg, 2009).

Military Government over the Palestinian Minority in Israel

Following the perception of the Palestinian minority inside the State of Israel as a security risk that threatens the establishment of the State and the construction of the new Jewish State, whose neighbors did not recognize its existence (Amara & Saban, 2004; Stendel, 1992), the Arab minority was distanced and alienated and military government was imposed over it in the first years of statehood (1949-1966), which shaped the existence of the Arab Sector

[7] The Palestinian citizens of the State of Israel, since 1948, can vote and can be elected.

(Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009; Stendel, 199). The Arab citizens of Israel lived in the years 1948-1966 as a minority in the Jewish majority, under a military government, in a state that began to form its identity and decided that it would be democratic (Koren, 2009).

In the period of the military government, the confidence and need of the Palestinians in Israel arose to integrate into Israeli society, to develop their status as Israeli citizens, to find solutions to their problems, and to think about their future (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). The main goal of the Arabs of Israel was to survive. Therefore, in this period there was no real political activity among them and there was cooperation between the heads of the Arab clans and the leaders of the Jewish parties (Smooha, 1989). Lustik (1980) described the Arabs of Israel in this period as 'quiet and submissive'.

The situation of the Palestinians outside of Israel in the parallel period (1948-1960) was different. They shared the sense of humiliation following the Nakba as did their fellows, the Arabs inside Israel, and even were forced to absorb refugees in camps nearby. However, they were residents of Jordan (West Bank) and Egypt (Gaza Strip) and they could attempt to realize the sense of vengeance that beat in them against the 'Zionist enemy' outside, without a Jewish society that forces on their internal brothers limitations, primarily the 'military government' in the years 1948-1966. In addition, the Palestinians felt the support and sympathy of their Arab brethren in the countries where they lived (Koren, 2009).

In this situation, the Arabs inside Israel had no option but to attempt to survive in their state in an optimal manner. They understood that they must stay close to their lands and examine the meaning of their existence in a state with a Jewish majority that calls for democracy. For this purpose, they began to learn Hebrew and the culture of the Jewish majority in the Arab education system and in the first decades there were attempts to fit into the Israeli job market. In this way, the Arabs inside Israel believed that they would advance as individuals and as a community. The first means were in the field of education and employment (Koren, 2009).

The Six Day War

Until the Six Day War the Arabs of Israel were isolated, under a military government, and far from communication with the Jews (Smooha, 2001). However, with the end of the military government in 1966 there was a change in the political awareness of the Arabs of Israel (Al-Haj, 1992; Katoryamo, 2002) and there began to develop a new leadership among young Arabs, who had acquired their education in the universities (Al-Haj, 1992; Arian, Ben-Nun, &

Barnea, 2004). The presence of the Arab citizens in the State of Israel was more prominent in the media and the discrimination against their rights and their energetic struggle for equality on the one hand and the exemption from the obligation to perform military or civic service on the other hand became issues for public discussion (Smooha, 2001). After the removal of the military government from the Arab population in Israel and with the exposure to modern Jewish society, the important of formal education steadily became more important. As the demand for education increased, the government of Israel established more schools for the Arab sector (Reichal, Neuman, & Abu-Saad, in Abu-Saad, 2007).

The military government of the Arabs of Israel, which was cancelled in 1966, was imposed after the Six Day War (1967) on the Palestinian population in the territories of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza (Portogez, 2013).

The Six Day War (1967) was a formative event in the life of the two communities, the Arabs of Israel and the Arabs of the territories. The reconnection between them with the occupation of the territories revealed the reality of life of these communities to one another. The acceptance of authors and poets such as the Palestinian Mahmoud Darwish, and the Israelis Samih Elkasam and Taufik Ziad as main poets that represent Arab nationalism indicates the healing of the rift between the two communities, even if only in part and primarily in the cultural dimension. This healing was accompanied by a gradual process of understanding that there is something in common but also something different between the two communities (Koren, 2009). In parallel to the renewal of the identity relation between the two communities from 1967, each one of them walked in a different channel: the Palestinians concluded from the defeat of 1967 that they must shift to the stage of guerilla warfare and terrorism against Israel as the clear and defined enemy, with the support of the Arab countries while the Arabs inside of Israel increased the integration in Israel in the fields of employment education, social mobility, and adoption of indications of Israeli identity as a mechanism for their personal and community advancement towards equality in the State where they live. The process of the striving for their equality as Israelis, as long with their recognition of the durability of the Israeli democracy, enabled them to openly and proudly bear their Palestinian and Arab heritage (Koren, 2009).

The status of the Palestinian minority in Israel is reflected in the sharp value-oriented differentiation between the Green Line and the border of the territories conquered in 1967. In this distinction the Green Line is democratic while the borders of the territories conquered in 1967 are colonial borders or borders of an occupation government and constitute in essence

support of the conceptualization of the Green Line as the border of a democratic state (Gaviran, 2014).

Already at the beginning of the 1970s, because of the renewed exposure of the Palestinians to the Arabs inside of Israel, their recognition increased that they must change their attitude towards the Arabs of Israel, involve them more with their troubles, and perhaps even exploit their status in the State of Israel and muster them to their struggle. In 1972 the decision was made in the Palestinian National Council to support the struggle of the Arabs in Israel to 'keep alive their national Arab identity' (Koren, 2009; Reches, 1993).

Beginning in September 1970 (Black September) the Palestinians experienced rejection accompanied by anger on the part of the Jordanian government and from 1975 on the part of the Lebanese government. Despite their identification with their struggle, the regimes in the Arab countries found it difficult to allow the Palestinians to fit into society in a symbiotic manner and endanger their government institutions. These occurrences, along with the feeling of the Palestinians from 1967 that they under siege, caused them to adopt the Arab citizens of Israel as partners in their fate and as natural allies, in contrast to their previous condescension and contempt. This is a milestone in the relations of the two communities (Koren, 2009).

According to Smooha (1992), the Yom Kippur War in October 1973 was a formative event for the Arab states and the Palestinians because of the image of the victory over Israel, while for the Arabs of Israel the change occurred on March 30, 1976, Land Day. These two formative events (1973 and 1976) increased the shared awareness of the Palestinians and the Israeli Arabs and increased the shared identity that was supported by the Arab world (Smooha, 1992).

Land Day

Land Day, legislated in 1976 as a significant the Palestinian/Arabs(1948) of Israel in their struggle against discrimination and in the striving for equality, became a shared symbol for them and the Palestinians and ethos of a minority facing the occupation of the majority – national occupation and physical occupation of the land. According to this ethos, an occupation that begins with territory aspires later to uproot the identity and will end with the eviction from the lands of both communities. However, most of the Arabs of Israel understood at the end of the 1980s that they may endanger their many achievements in Israel, recognized the limits set by democracy, and did not actively join terrorist activity, as the Palestinian side did. Moreover, the leadership of the Arabs of Israel, represented by the heads of the Arab local governments

(Al-Haj & Rosenfeld, 1989) emphasized the loyalty of the Arabs of Israel to the country. The Palestinianization of the Israeli side was expressed not only in the shared celebration of Land Day with their Palestinian brothers but also in the support in word and deed of the Palestinians during the Intifada, by sending medical equipment, food, and clothing to their brothers during the struggle with Israel. The extreme expressions of Arab politicians, citizens of Israel, in favor of the Palestinians became more defiant against Israel and since they reached the edge of legitimacy they often led to lawsuits against them that reached the Supreme Court (Koren, 2009).

Expectation of more active involvement of the 1948 Arabs in the Palestinian struggle developed. The myth of Land Day called for freedom for the ethos of the land, which was prevalent among the 1948 Arabs as a motif that focused mainly on holding to the land as a homeland. This motif appeared in the genre of 'land literature' in the 1950s (Boskila, 1992, in Koren, 2009), which focused mainly on the dispossession attempt on the part of the Jewish majority, as perceived by the minority, and in the struggle between the majority and the minority in the Israeli arena. Simultaneously the Israelization[8] among the Arabs of Israel increased, in parallel to the increase of their awareness of the dimension of the national inheritance (Reches, 1993; Smooha, 1992).

1982 was a formative year in the relations between Israel and the Palestinians, with the elimination of the PLO State in Lebanon. In this year, following the events in Lebanon and the transfer of the focus of the Palestinian struggle to the territories, the international interest and involvement on the Palestinian issue increased. The increasing recognition of the Palestinians of the value of the Arabs of Israel made them an important factor that knows Israeli society well and thus is of valuable instrumental potential to the Palestinian struggle, through the exploitation of the field of the democratic discourse in Israel. At the end of the 1980s there appeared initial attempts of the 1948 Arabs outside of Israel to operate terrorist cells that were recruited from Arabs inside of Israel. When the Intifada broke out in December 1987, a formative date for both communities, the ground was laid for cooperation between them. (Koren, 2009)

Thus, while the Palestinian community focuses its activity against what was defined by it as the Israeli occupation, the Arab citizens of Israel, members of the second generation and

[8] Israelization is a term in sociology, study of culture, and politics of Israel that refers to the processes occurring among minority groups in Israel in which minority groups adopt, at various levels, the lifestyle, language, culture, political and other characteristics of the dominant group in Israel – Israeli-born secular Jews.

the beginning of the third generation, who were born in Israel and were raised in its secure in themselves, displayed considerable identification with their Palestinian brothers. When they are supported by the confidence given to them by democracy and know Israeli culture and the Hebrew language, members of the second and third generation support, on the one hand, the Palestinians and on the other hand, their demand for equality in Israel. In parallel to the accelerated process of Israelization, a process of Palestinianization of the Arabs of Israel is occurring – and influencing their identity (Koren, 2009).

These dates in the life of both communities drew them closer to a shared identity in certain aspects (heritage, language, culture, family closeness, and so on) and sharpened the differences between them, on the one hand, a minority that lives in the framework of democratic rules of the game in a nation state of the majority and on the other hand, a rather homogeneous majority community that lives without a nation state and under political uncertainty. This complexity and duality are examined under the constraints of the outside geographic circle, the Arab, and the national State, Israel (Koren, 2009).

The Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine

From the middle of the 1990s onwards, there was the expectation among the Palestinian citizens of Israel to receive full equality of rights and to integrate into Israeli society (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). Therefore, their struggle in this period was to fulfill the principle of the equality of rights and equality of opportunities between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority (Katoryamo, 2002), to obtain official recognition in the multicultural and national reality in Israel and cultural autonomy that would enable the realization of their self-identity (Jamal, 2004). This expectation that Israel would transform into a State of all its citizens was not realized (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). The Oslo Accords in 1993 created a feeling among both communities that for the first time they could heal the rift, when the Palestinians would realize their nationality with the establishment of a state and this would resolve the cognitive dissonance of the interior Arabs (Koren, 2009). During the 1990s the ‘upright generation’ of interior Arabs grew up, confident in themselves and defiant towards the State of Israel and supporting the Palestinian community, which is helped by its loud and demanding activity towards Israel to promote its issues (Koren, 2009).

Al-Aksa Intifada, the 2000s

The events of October 2000 greatly influenced the connection between the national identity and the Islamic identity. The Arabs of Israel, following these events, maintained

strongly that they suffer from discrimination and inequality and not only arguments of national identification (Koren, 2009). In these events 13 Israeli Arabs were killed when fired upon by the Israel Police during turbulent demonstrations held during ten days in different towns. The result was the feeling that the entire system of relations between the Jewish majority group and the Arab minority group had changed, "what once was will no longer be" (Bechor, 2000). The 2000 Events focused the attention on the sense of impasse of the Arab minority group in Israel, a feeling that only has intensified since then. Afterwards, an attempt was made to examine the element of the Israeli identity in a group of Arab students who learn in one of the Israeli campuses (Suan, 2012). Until the wave of violence in September 2000 it was possible to identify a lasting process of the shaping of the other in the Israeli-Jewish national identity, which was mainly the transfer from outside otherness to inside otherness, from the 'Arab attacker' to the 'religious extremist', opposing peace (Yadgar, 2009).

The fifth stage, from the year 2000, began a turning point in the position of the two communities. A process of the healing of the rift was accompanied by violence and terrorism, which are the province of Palestinian nationalism, aimed directly at Israel, with increasing identification of the Arabs of Israel. This identification was expressed in the cells of Israeli citizens who joined passively and in a few cases actively the terrorist attacks in the name of their nationality against their State (Koren, 2009). While the self-definition of the Palestinians was also nurtured by the use of terrorism and violence against Israel, the process of confusion and embarrassment among the Arabs of Israel has increased since October 2000. The interior Arabs responded to significant national processes with arguments that they are mainly discrimination and inequality in contrast to the Jewish majority (Koren, 2009).

Riots and Strikes during the Military Operations in the Gaza Strip

In the present decade, with the development of Arab associations in the spirit of NGOs in Israel, a dynamics has been created at the center of which is the recruitment of support also from Jews in Israel and abroad. The demonstrations of the identification of the inside Arabs with the residents of Gaza during the Cast Lead Operation in 2008 emphasizes their suffering under the IDF attack and ignored the continuous fire of rockets and mortars on the South of Israel intended to harm as many Israeli civilians as possible (Koren, 2009).

The ongoing wave of violence and armed struggle between Israel and the Palestinian people and Authority, which began in September 2000 (the Second Intifada), confronted the system of identity built about the image of "humanistic peace", around which had coalesced

the otherness of those found with the ‘extreme right’, ‘peace objectors’ with a dissonant and hard to understand reality and solution. What was perceived and interpreted for the most part as a result of unjustified, violent, and ungrateful behavior on the Palestinian part and obtuseness and lack of understanding on the part of the nations of the world of the difficulties of Israel fit well in the framework of the national identity that denotes the Arab as the outside other, who presents an existential threat to Israel, but it seems to conflict with the foundations of the structure of the cross-national identity that presents the Arab side, at least in part, as belonging to ‘our’ side, the peace camp (in Yadgar, 2000).

3. Minorities and the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel

3.1 The Minority and Its Rights in the Democratic States

In every country or large society there are ethnic minorities, which do not belong to the prevailing majority group. The minority has physical, national, religious, or social characteristics that differ from the majority group and it has a common and different historical or cultural identity that is therefore subject to discrimination (Ministry of Education, 2012; Noyberger, 1995). Hence, the minority needs defense on the level of the group, so it can realize its heritage and culture. The cultural group belonging of a person is frequently the source of his identity, and it nurtures life with meaning that greatly influences a tremendous part of his choices (Gabizon & Balfour, 2005; Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

The Convention for Civic and Political Rights also discusses the rights of ethnic, religious, and lingual minorities. This Convention protects the right of religious minorities to maintain the commandments of religion, the right of lingual minorities to use their language, and the right of national minorities to maintain their culture. It determines that the state has the active obligation to enable an ethno-national minority to cultivate freely its national-cultural identity (Thornberry, 1993). Citizens who belong to a minority in a democratic state are also entitled to be elected as members in the government and to participate in the decisions that obligate both the majority and the minority. The basis condition for this reciprocity is the existence of non-hierarchical relations among the citizens, which derive from an equal attitude by law (Donyets Kedar, 2012, in Gavarin, 2014). Saban (2002) linked between the group rights given to a minority group, so that it can protect its group difference and express in practical terms its uniqueness, and the ability of this group to influence in the framework of the democratic process on the course of the public life in the State (in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Lawrence (1998) maintains according to the transformative approach that it is necessary to dissolve the centers of power and control in society, since these are nurtured by historical discrimination against deprived minority groups. In his opinion, this is the way to achieve true equality in society. Bruner and Peled (1998) hold that granting autonomy to individuals who belong to a minority culture necessitates a political arrangement coming from respect for these individuals. Peled (2006) further adds that if the heritage of a minority encounters exclusion on the part of the State, the ability to achieve individual autonomy and prepare plans for rational life may be harmed severely (in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

A number of researchers have indicated differences between native minority groups and minority groups that derive from immigrants. Kymlicka (1995) maintains that the tension between the minority and majority groups tends to be intensified when the minority group is native. In his opinion, native national minorities aspire to maintain their uniqueness and public spaces of their own and therefore they demand the State give validity and support to different forms of autonomy in the internal spaces in the realization of their collective rights and primarily their autonomous rights in the dimension of management (in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). According to other researchers, the original native character of a minority group needs to give their rights and justifications further validity, both legal and moral, as opposed to minority groups that immigrated to the country where they live (Gavarin, 2012; Jamal, 2005; Saban, 2003, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Noyberger (1995) notes the rights of ethnic minorities in a democratic state to maintain their language, heritage, culture, and nationality, through the official education system that enables a certain degree of autonomy for the purpose of intergenerational transfer of cultural contents to minorities, without assimilation into the majority. This chapter will discuss the background and meaning of the national identity in the person's life and the importance of formation of the national identity for every citizen, socially, politically, and culturally, especially in cases of minorities.

One of the basic tenets of the ideology of Jabotinsky is minority rights. He maintained that opposite the rights of the minority there are the obligations of the majority towards the minority and its rights. According to Jabotinsky, the majority in a multinational country has an objective need, perhaps because of historical necessity, to grant autonomy that is as broad as possible to these national minorities, to prevent resentment and demand for political separation from the majority. Jabotinsky, in the Marxist spirit and on the basis of the statements of Engles, negated assimilation and repression of national minorities as a means for the stabilization of systems of government. He even justified nationalism and the demand for self-definition and saw the particular expressions of nationalism to be a collective realization of individuality, including self-definition of the national minority in a multinational country. Thus, he in essence merged nationalism and liberalism (Neor, 2014). Jabotinsky saw the aspiration for national self-definition and the objective need of a multinational state to give each one of them autonomy not only as a need but also as a right. Therefore, the national minority by its very existence has the right to cultural autonomy in the state framework and a multicultural regime will ensure that all ethnic groups, both majority and minorities, will receive an opportunity for the expression of their selfhood (Neor, 2014).

3.2 The Palestinian Minority as a National Minority in the State of Israel

According to Barnea (2011), a modern democratic state which is a 'state of all its citizens' applies its citizenship on all its sectors without exception. In such a state there can be cultural autonomy for the citizens with a different cultural nature, according to the multicultural model. To differentiate from the multicultural model, the basic problems in relations between the Jewish majority group and the minority Arab group derives primarily from the fact that the perception of the founding fathers of Israel assumed ahead of time a special system of relations between Israel and the Jewish diaspora. Israel is not only the State of the Jews who live in it but also the State of the Jewish people as a whole. The State of Israel was defined as the state of the Jewish people in the Law of the Foundation of the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament). The Law of Return, enacted in 1950 and enabling the immigration and full citizenship for every Jewish person, is the primary legal expression of the fact that the State of Israel is the state of the Jewish people (Suan, 2010). The Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel (1947) says that:

> The State of Israel … will be based on freedom, justice and peace …; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

However, the tension that exists in Israel was created in these elements that were promised in the Declaration of Independence. On the one hand, Israel is an ethnic nation state, the state of the Jews, and on the other hand, it is committed to democracy and to granting equal and full citizenship to the Arabs of Israel (Suan, 2010; Zand, 2000). In actuality, despite the strengthening of the freedom of expression in Israel and in contrast to the position of most researchers of law in Israel, who maintain that individual rights in Israel are realized equally, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' created with the establishment of the State continues to exist until today (Gavarin, 2014). This doctrine, according to Gavarin (2014), is expressed in four focuses: the process of citizenship, the right to vote, the right of property, and the service in the military. Gavarin (2014) maintains that the citizenship of the Palestinians in Israel is fundamentally colonial, as such that is based on an institutional ethnic hierarchy. According to many researchers, such as Ghanem (1997), Hojirat (2006), and Suan (2012), the Palestinians are still excluded from the centers of power in the State, which adopt towards them a policy of rejection and suspicion.

Alongside the supporters of hierarchal Zionism, according to which the State will be identified in public as solely Jewish, there is the post-Zionist approach. This approach counters the Jewishness of Israel and indicates the contradiction between the Jewishness of the State and the fact that it is democratic, a contradiction that makes it an unequal state (Ganaz, 2014). The post-Zionists support granting equal constitutional status to the Arab minority, alongside the Jewish majority. Many Arab intellectuals support the approach according to which Israel will become a "State of all its citizens". This approach is divided into two outlooks, when the first outlook says that Israel must implement cultural autonomy for all its citizens and the second outlook seeks to create a binational state, Jewish and Arab, when the two groups have a shared civic identity (Barnea, 2011).

The space of the Middle East, in which the nation state of Israel lives with a Jewish majority and a minority similar in culture, customs, and identity to the majority in this space, which surrounds its nation state, presents a more complex viewpoint than the model of the majority-minority relations. The tension between the pan-Arab nationalism called in Arabic *kumia* and the particularistic territorial nationality called *votanya* is also added to their cognitive situation that is already more complex than that of their neighbors, which places the Israeli citizens and the Palestinians, in their historical development from 1948, on an axis between uniqueness and uniformity: heritage, culture, and collective memory on the one hand and political development in different frameworks on the other hand (Koren, 2009). From this perspective, the Arab citizens of Israel do not belong to the field of the accepted model of majority and minority relations but to the model of a minority in a minority in a majority, in the model of circles (Koren, 2003). The meaning of this model is that a minority of the Arab citizens of Israel is found in a Jewish majority in Israel but this Jewish majority is itself a minority in the Arab population that surrounds Israel like a ring, both in terms of territory and in terms of the awareness of the self-definition (Koren, 2009).

Certain researchers define the State of Israel as a state anxious about its uniform cultural character. The need for this uniformity lies, in their opinion, in the battle situation in which Israel is found, in which the need for the existence of the mechanisms of supervision and propaganda is pressing (Dinor, 2009; Shenhav, 2001). According to Yiftachel (2002), Israel is unique: on the one hand the elite attempted to build a culture that is as if open and absorbing and on the other hand the elite adopted a policy of Judaization, appropriation, and de-Arabization of Israel and its culture, while pushing the non-Jewish populations to the margins and excluding the Arabs from the shaping of the identity in Israel (in Suan, 2012).

Arab-Palestinian existence in Israel has experienced many processes in its development, when on the one hand there is the strengthening of the trend of the cultural division and the distance from the 'melting pot' that characterized Jewish society in the past and on the other hand there is a continuum of conflict and negotiation between Israelis and Palestinians on the borders and sovereignty. The two processes, according to Kaufman (2014), have significant implications on the lives of Palestinian Arabs in Israel. The status of the Palestinian Arab society in Israel is complex, because of its unique characteristics in social and political terms. The Arab citizens are a part of the Israeli collective that is defined through citizenship but the citizenship takes only the second place in the lifestyle in Israel in culture and politics. As aforementioned, from the perspective of the law the state is defined as a 'Jewish' state and therefore in the civic mechanism the distinction between the majority identified as belonging to the Jewish collective and the Palestinian minority that belongs to another nation, the Palestinian nation, is created ahead of time (Kaufman, 2014). Ghanem addresses the status of the Arabs in Israel as a problem that derives from the national aspect and not as inequality (Barnea, 2011). According to Smooha (2004), the struggle of the Arab citizens of Israel for civic and national equality appears in the eyes of the Jews as eroding the legitimacy of the state and as an expression of disloyalty. An attempt at such a national expression is perceived as a security risk that threatens the existence of the State and as an obstacle in the construction of the new Jewish state, whose neighbors have not recognized its existence (Amara & Saban, 2004).

3.2.1 The Uniqueness of the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel

There are two main characteristics that make the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel unique in comparison to other weak groups in Israel. These characteristics need to stand at the basis of the discourse on the rights to which this minority is entitled and they have implications on the scope of the defense given to it by the Courts. These characteristics are intimately related to every discussion of the status and rights of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel. The first characteristic is the inherent normative duality, which exists in Israeli law regarding the Palestinian Arab minority and acts to the detriment of this minority. This normative duality is reflected in the existence of laws that openly discriminate against the 'non-Jewish' citizens. The second characteristic is the fact that the Palestinian Arab minority is a native population that is a minority in its homeland (Gavarin, 2001). As a result, the Arab minority is an especially vulnerable minority in Israeli society, and thus it needs judicial protection that is sensitive to

this unique vulnerability and can balance it with the power of the majority group (Gavarin, 2001).

The special status of the Arab minority in Israel and the complexity of the relationship between it and the Jewish majority were at the center of the work of the Or Committee, which was established to investigate the events in which thirteen Israeli Arabs were killed in October 2000. According to the Or Committee (2003):

> The relations of minority and majority are problematic everywhere, and especially in a state that defines itself according to the nationality of the majority. The dilemmas that arise in such a state in essence do not have perfect solutions, and some argue that there is an essential contradiction between the principles of the sovereign nation-state and the principles of liberal democracy. In any event, the establishment of reasonable harmony in the majority and minority relations is a difficult task assigned to all the sectors in society. This task obligates special effort on the part of the state institutions, which express the hegemony of the majority, and this to balance the vulnerability of the minority as a result of its structural inferiority, in terms of both numbers and influence. The avoidance of such an effort or an inadequate effort creates in the minority feelings of discrimination and a reality of discrimination that may worsen over time. These characteristics also hold regarding the situation of the Arab minority in the State of Israel, which in many aspects suffers from discrimination.

3.2.2 Social Economic Status of the Palestinian Minority Citizens of the State of Israel

Neor (2014) maintains that the repression of any nation will not lead to the assimilation of this nation but to its weakening and the harm of its economic abilities. The economic harm will lead in the end to the aspirations for independence, which will lead to an improvement of the economic situation of this minority. In social economic terms, the data of the Arab population indicate the peripheral position of extensive parts in it, in comparison to the Jewish population, and the difference in the patterns of life and the level between the two groups (Kaufman, 2014). From the establishment of the State, the national interests stood at the basis of the economic activity in the Jewish community, which was dictated by considerations in the favor of the nation, called the 'Jewish economy', or in other words, economy that serves the interests of the Jewish community alone. The Arabs filled only a complementary role in this economy, according to the circumstances of the Jewish-Arab conflict. The Jewish economy was obvious and this in light of the complete political separation between the two national communities. This approach continues to exist in the State of Israel, even though the Arabs are equal citizens in it (Yaar & Shavit, 2001).

In essence, it is possible to say that in Israel two different and separate societies developed, when one, the Jewish majority group, has the help of the strength of the State to promote its collective interests (Bashara, 1995). Therefore, the Arab minority remains outside

of the division of power and resources. It fell victim to the approach of 'first of all Jews'. There was prominent Jewish control of the resources of Israeli society (Yiftachel, 1993, in Suan, 2012). In the end, there is broad agreement that this control reinforced the social-economic gaps, as well as differences of power between the two sectors. These differences yielded clear exclusion of the Arab minority in Israel (Yiftachel, 1993, in Suan, 2012). Hilhel (2008) maintains that Arab society in Israel suffers from pressures deriving from both internal and external factors. It is undergoing a transformation in most areas of life, including structure, functions, and status of the family in all its forms. Mahajana (2013) maintains that the ability of the institution of the family, in all its forms, to provide appropriate solutions to its members in the economic, social, educational, and emotional aspects, has deteriorated.

The social economic reality of the Arab minority in Israel indicates the existence of ongoing historic discrimination against the Arab population, including in the areas in which the legal norm is supposedly equal. Many official documents on the part of the state authorities themselves and on the part of the human rights' organizations in Israel and in the international community indicate most clearly this discrimination, such as the repeated failure to realize the promises of the government to improve the living conditions of the Arab citizens (Osaki-Lazar & Ghanem, 2003). According to Gavarin (2001), the allocation of the public budgets is not equal and discriminates socially and economically against the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel. The issue of discrimination against the Arab population in the allotment of public budgets requires a systemic and comprehensive solution. The socioeconomic level of the Arab citizens of Israel is significantly lower than that of the Jewish citizens. The level of employment among the Arab population is higher (14% in the Arab sector versus a national mean 9%), the level of income is also lower than that of the Jews, and the rate of children living in poverty is double that of the situation in general of Israeli society (National Insurance Institution of Israel, 2001, in Abu Saad, 2007).

The formal political institutions responsible legally for the supply of an adequate solution for the needs of the Arab population in Israel are characterized by the existence of conditions of entitlement, scope of services, and differential quality of assistance to the detriment of the Arab population. The social resources that the government conveys to Arab society are very limited and the conditions of entitlement to the political services are rigid and for the most part do not depend on criteria of need, insurance, or compensation. The distribution and place of the social institutions make the access of the Arab population to the services

difficult and use is made of discriminatory political and cultural criteria in the allocation of the resources for Arab society (Mahajana, 2009a, in Mahajana, 2013).

At the basis of the transformative approach to equality there is the basic principle of true and equal partnership of the Palestinian Arab minority in the public resources of the State and primarily the allocation of budgets. These resources belong to all the citizens of the State, and therefore it is necessary to see to their division in an equal and fair manner (Gavarin, 2001). The broad focus of Gavarin (2001) focuses on the collective experience of the deprived community, takes into account the broad social context, and addresses the historical wrong. Thus, in his opinion, only such a perception may promote the profound changes required to achieve true equality (Ben-Shemesh, 2010).

The group transformative position assumes that the social change can be accomplished only with the mediation of the national collective: the way of the individuals to equality passes through the national identity. This collective identity is what will provide the individual with the awareness of his past, will anchor him in the broad social context, and will lead him to the desired equality. In this perception, an Arab whose sole desire is to improve his standard of living, the quality of his residential environment, and the education of his children is a flawed Arab, a product of the manipulation of the Zionist establishment which, as a part of the project of the establishment in Israel, engaged energetically in the erasure of the national Arab identity and its substitution with the fictive identity of the Arab who is a citizen of Israel. (Ben-Shemesh, 2010).

Ben-Shemesh (2010) maintains that the Israeli Arab citizens who seek to live in a Jewish community (for example, the Kadan[9] couple) do this not from the desire to right a historical wrong but from economic, social, or educational personal considerations. In other words, the motive is the desire to find quality of life that does not exist in the Arab communities.

[9] Supreme Court Kadan: The Kadan family is a Palestinian Israeli family who lived in the Arab community Baka ElGarabiya and sought to move to live in the Jewish community Katzir, since it felt that there the family would have a higher quality of life. The cooperative association of Katzir rejected their request to live in the community because they were Arabs. The Kadan family appealed to the Association for Citizen Rights for representation against the State on this matter. In their suit, they argued that the Katzir community is discriminating between Arabs and Jews regarding land that belongs to the State. The Court Ruling determines that while the State of Israel is a Jewish State, it must hold as holy the value of equality. Therefore, the establishment of communities for Jews alone is a violation of the principle of equality and creates unacceptable discrimination. The decision of the President of the Supreme Court was not to obligate the Katzir community to accept the Kadan couple but instructed it to weigh the matter again (Kadan Supreme Court – Protecting Human Rights, The Center for Educational Technology).

Cases of this type illustrate the existence of the close relation between the personal aspect and the political aspect.

The alienation of the Arab world, and in it the Palestinians, to their brothers who are citizens of Israel after the establishment of the State in 1948, which was enrooted in their consciousness as the Nakba, led to the reference of the Arab world to its brothers in Israel as traitors and collaborators with the newly born country, sometimes to the point of their exclusion from the Arab agenda and their exclusion from the Arab cultural discourse (Koren, 2009). However, the meaningful advance among the 1948 Arabs and the changes that occurred in their lives (in areas such as education, employment, economic progress, and changes in society) were not hidden from the eyes of the Palestinians who were second class citizens in their countries (Jordan and Egypt).

Emile Habibi criticized the Arabs who surround the State of Israel, the 'Arabs of the outside', about their attitude towards the Palestinian citizens of Israel. In his view, the alienation, contempt, and mockery of outside Arabs derived from the removal of these traits from the shoulders of the Palestinians and their shift to the interior Arabs (Koren, 2009). The signs of the increased integration of the interior Arabs in Israeli society, who received greater recognition among the Jewish majority, found expression in the economic and social dimension. The processes of change were assessed in the transition from the status of fellahin to proletariat, which led to economic advance, change in the status of the woman, and gradual transition from survival to politics of identity (Koren, 2009). Rabinovitz (1998) noted that the Palestinians who are citizens of the State of Israel shifted from their regular status as quiet listeners obeying the directives and orders from Israelis to being impressive and dominant, who are secure in themselves and in their professionalism, and sometimes even threatening, who give orders and directives to Israelis.

3.3 Cultural and Educational Autonomy in the State of Israel

The topic of the rights of the minority groups has been anchored in the past two decades on two declarations of the United Nations Council: the International Declaration on the Rights of Minorities (1992) and the International Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007). These two declarations anchor the right of the minority groups for self-management in the fields of education and culture and their right to establish independent educational and cultural institutions of their own (Edie, 2000, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). The Convention on the Rights of the Child anchors the child's right to identity; in other words, the right to

influence the contents of education and its objectives is related essentially to the right to identity, since the school has a main role in the development of the child's identity. The right to identity is further validated in a multiethnic and divided society, since the principle of equality obligates the equal fulfillment through the equal recognition of the diverse group identities in society, their history, and their unique narratives (Eide, 2000, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Rabin (2002, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014) notes that Israel is a signatory of three international conventions: the Convention on Economic-Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Civic and Political Rights, in which there is explicit reference to the right of education in its three elements: the right to obtain an education, the right to equality in education, and the right to influence the contents and objectives of education. However, it seems that Israeli law does not have essential recognition of the collective identity and national uniqueness of the Palestinian Arab minority (Gavarin, 2010). This is contradictory to the aforementioned international standards, which ensure protection of the uniqueness of a minority group and opportunity equal to that of the majority group (in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

In the 1990s there was the awakening of the preservation of the local and national ethnic heritage in Arab society in the State of Israel. This awakening is expressed in certain fields of culture: literature, poetry, music, and theater. The awakening in the heritage, material culture, and ethnography was in this period part of the ethnic awakenings in the entire world, in the ethnic communities of Israel, and is related to the Palestinian national awakening (Cohen, 2002, in Shy, 2011). According to Bashara (1994), it is necessary to enable collective cultural autonomy for the Arab citizens in Israel (in Koren, 2009).

The formation of the identity of the student in general and the student who belongs to the minority in particular is a very critical stage in personal, psychological, social, and civic terms. Thus, it is important to review the formation of the identity in the Arab student who belongs to a national minority in Israel. The next chapter discusses the status of the Palestinian minority in the education system in Israel.

4. The Israeli Education System

4.1 The Right to Education

When human rights are addressed, it is customary to divide them into three groups: liberal-classic rights, social rights, and group rights. Of these, the right to freedom and liberty as a central right, which constitutes a 'classic right', is prominent. Deriving from it, the right to education is also prominent, since it gives the cognitive tools and the knowledge required for the existence of freedom. Therefore, the right to education is also a part of the 'classic' rights and not of the social rights. This means that even in regimes that reject social rights as human rights the right to education has a main place among the protected constitutional rights (Kalai, 2014). According to Rom (2009), education is one of the foundation stones of every society and is related in an inseparable relation to the cultural, political, and social environment in which it is implemented. According to many researchers, the right to education goes hand in hand with social justice and constitutes a significant component on the way to the closing of gaps and the promotion of society (Abu Shindi, 2010; Dahan, 2010; Lautman, 2009), since the right to equal education is vital to the promotion of the principle of equality of opportunities (Dahan, 2010). Dahan maintained that for the most part social and economic gaps are translated into the classroom and therefore a just educational reality depends on a just social and economic reality. The education system is supposed to reduce and even eliminate the social inequality that exists in the State and to reduce the gaps between the different groups that comprise it (Abu Asba, 2004).

Hence, the right to freedom by its very nature obligates the existence of the right to education, disconnected from the scope of the appropriate intervention of the State in the 'private sphere'. Moreover, the duties of the country to education do not end with the accessibility of the population to education, but rather there is commitment to encourage the individual's participation in the education system and in the shaping of the right to learning in the spirit of the right to freedom (Kalai, 2004).

Education is also perceived as a tool for the accumulation of political power. Zisnavin (2011) argued that there is a close relationship between politics and education: "The educational choice is for a value-oriented and political world…" Michaeli (2014) presented four ways of the integration of political education in the education system: the inculcation of historical knowledge, the cultivation of critical thinking, the creation of group identity and moral thinking, alongside an active position that invites students to social involvement, which

strengthens the democratic awareness and the practical fate of democratic activity. A democratic society sees public education to be a bridge that helps lead the young generation to their lives as citizens in a democratic country. This type of education, which is included in the areas of responsibility of the State, will facilitate the normal functioning of democracy and will preserve its existence for many years (Ichilov, 2010).

According to the model of Tomasevski (2004), education is a real right only when it is available, accessible, acceptable, and adjusted. In his opinion, acceptable education is education that satisfies the students' parents in terms of its quality and in terms of the relevance of the learning contents and the values conveyed to their children. For education to be acceptable, the State must avoid political or religious indoctrination and cultivate open education that is forgiving towards different voices and competing narratives. Adjusted education is education in which there is adjustment to the needs that change from group to group in society and to the students' local context, language, and culture. Simultaneously, the State must ensure that the contents and messages of education are available and accessible to the students in an equal manner, without any discrimination (Tomasevski, 2004).

As aforementioned, the education system and the schools in essence serve as a main instrument for the training of the future citizens of the democratic state. This training makes the national unit sovereign over the educational citizenship process of its future graduates. The structure, contents, national environment and organization of the studies of the system are one unit, focusing on education for citizenship in a democratic regime (Talshir, 2006).

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)[10] from the year 2007 speaks unequivocally about the right of a native minority group for self-management in issues that pertain to its internal and domestic issues, including the right to government financing for this. This declaration ensures the right of a native population to establish and manage a unique education system. It determines that native peoples have the right to establish and operate their own education systems and institutions, with the goal of providing education in their language and in a way that suits their culture of learning. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the culture, traditions, past, and hopes for the future of native peoples will be expressed in the educational contents.

[10] http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

4.2 The Schools in Israel: A Snapshot

In the education system in Israel, different types of schools operate in parallel, when these schools are different from one another in their owners' identity, in their legal status, in the degree of State supervision over them, and in the laws that apply to them (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). A report submitted to the *Knesset* (Weissblay, 2013) presents the complexity of society in Israel and the diverse human fabric reflected in its education system. The heterogeneity of the education system is expressed in different dimensions in the structure of the system and its budgets and in the existence of many types of educational institutions suited to the needs of the different sectors (Weissblay, 2013). It is customary to present the structure of the education system in Israel in a division by four main criteria: age, legal status of the educational institution, type of supervision, and type of sector (Weissblay, 2013).

Division by Age

It is possible to divide the education system in Israel into four main stages of education according to the students' age:

1. Primary education: The stage of preschool through pre-kindergarten, for children aged three to four, and the stage of kindergarten, for children aged five.
2. Elementary education: Grades one to six, for children aged six to eleven or grades one to eight, for children aged six to thirteen. Some elementary schools include the kindergarten, when this may be a separate class or there may be a 'Young Division' in the school, for children from kindergarten to second grade.
3. Secondary education: The middle school, grades seven to nine, for children aged twelve to fourteen, and the high school, grades ten to twelve, for children aged fifteen to seventeen, or the secondary school, for grades seven to twelve, for children aged twelve to seventeen. Sometimes the high school may be grades nine to twelve, for children aged fourteen to seventeen. Some schools continue further, including grades thirteen and/or fourteen.
4. Post-secondary school and academic studies: For students aged eighteen and above.

Division by Legal Status

The Education Law in Israel recognizes three types of educational institutions, according to the degree of their subordination and responsiveness to the State Supervision (Weissblay, 2013).

1. Official education: The official schools are the most 'public' schools (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). The state and state religious education institutions are owned by the State (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012; Weissblay, 2013) or the local governments and declared to be official institutions in the records. Generally these are the educational institutions from primary education through the middle school. The teachers in this group for the most part are state workers or local government workers (Weissblay, 2013). The State supervises them fully, and the Ministry of Education determines the curriculum in them (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).
2. Recognized but not official education. This is customarily called in public discourse private schools, which are owned by a local entity (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). These institutions are not owned by the State (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012; Weissblay, 2013) but accept a certain degree of State supervision. They receive budget from the State at a rate less than that given to the official education institutions (up to 75% of the budget per student in an official institution) (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012; Weissblay, 2013) and from the local governments (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). Because of the partial supervision of these institutions, there is greater freedom in accepting students, employing teachers, and determining curricula (Weissblay, 2013). They are supervised partially and are required to teach the core curriculum, at least in part. They are entitled to classify students in the process of the acceptance to the school (but not to discriminate[11] against them) and to charge fees from the parents. The high schools in Israel for the most part belong to this category, since the State does not have schools for these grades but provides education for this age group through educational networks or the local governments. Although the upper schools have the status of 'recognized but not official', many of them provide 'public' education in all respects, or in other words, education that is open to all for free and subject to the obligating educational contents of state education. It is important to emphasize that the obligation of the parents to send their children to the school according to the 'Compulsory Education Law' (the violation of which is a criminal offense) can be fulfilled in the recognized school or in the official school. Therefore, the recognition is essential to the unique

[11] Student Rights Law, 2000; Unique Cultural Education Institutions Law, 2008; Supervision of Schools Law, 1969

private schools, since without it the students cannot learn in the school without being in violation of the law[12]. (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012)

Many of the institutions of recognized education that is not official belong to the Ultra-Orthodox sector and primarily to two large educational networks in this sector, the Independent Education Center and the Maayan Torah Education. However, some schools of this status belong to other religious communities (for instance, the Christian Arab schools), and a small number of schools in Arab education belong to one of three types of supervision. The four-year secondary school institutions and the upper school for the most part are not official institutions, since they were not recognized as such in the records, although some are owned by the local government or the State (Weissblay, 2013).

3. Exemption institutions. Section 5 of the Compulsory Education Law 1949 enables the exemption of students from the provisions of the law under certain conditions (Weissblay, 2013). Exemption institutions are Ultra-Orthodox schools that operate under a license but without recognition and students receive an exemption from the compulsory study. The exemption institutions are funded at the rate of 55% by State funds, and they must teach 55% of the basic curriculum and the supervision is very lax (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). On the basis of this law, Talmudei Torah (a type of school focusing on Jewish religious studies) were established for students in grades one to eight, and the education system recognized them as institutions exempt from the general conditions of the education system. Special conditions that exempt them from the fulfillment of the provisions of the Compulsory Education Law were determined. These institutions do not accept the State's supervision, but the State still finances them at the rate of 55% of the budget for a student in the official education institution (Weissblay, 2013).

In addition to the education institutions included in these three categories, there are study frameworks for children that do not recognize at all the existence of the State, when the people in charge of these frameworks do not request to obtain an exempt status. Moreover, following the Unique Cultural Education Institutions Law, 2008, in essence a new type of education institution was created, in which the students are exempt from the compulsory study. It is intended for *Yeshiva* (religious secondary school) students in grades nine to twelve, when

[12] This does not include the Ultra-Orthodox schools, which can operate without recognition, as exempt institutions, as will be explained in the continuation.

the licensing conditions of these institutions are arranged separately and they are entitled by law to a budget at the rate of 60% of that of the official schools (Weissblay, 2013).

Harel Ben Shachar (2012) adds another two categories to the types of schools in Israel:

4. Unique cultural institutions also act with a license but without recognition. These schools are not obligated by the study of the basic curriculum and the supervision is very lax. The State participates in the funding at a rate of 60%[13]. At this time, by law only Ultra-Orthodox schools can be declared unique cultural educational institutions, but the law leaves an opening for the Minister of Education to determine in the future additional unique cultural groups (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).
5. Supra-regional unique schools. This is a different category from the previous category, since it is not a legal category and official and recognized schools are included in it. These are schools (or study programs in schools) with pedagogical or ideological uniqueness and they are open for registration of students not according to registration zones. To become a supra-regional school, official schools must receive the permission from a designated committee in the Ministry of Education but there are official schools that operate as unique supra-regional schools even without this permission and they even have classifications and charge fees from the parents unlawfully (and therefore they are also selective schools[14]). The unique schools that are recognized and not official are not limited regarding the absorption of students from outside of the registration regions and the charging of parent fees (as aforementioned) and they can classify students in the acceptance to the school. One of the reasons that it is difficult to obtain numerical data on unique supra-regional schools is that they can be official schools and also recognized and unofficial schools and many of the official schools that function as unique schools do so without permission. A survey recently conducted among the heads of the departments of education in the local governments (Vargan, 2011b), for instance, shows that in about one half of the local governments there are unique schools that charge the parents higher than usual fees. The number of unique

[13] According to the Unique Cultural Education Institutions Law. It should be noted that this law was legislated three days before a ruling on a petition to obligate the Ultra-Orthodox schools to teach the basic curriculum as a condition of the funding of the Ministry of Education and is intended to bypass such an obligation, if the Courts so rule. See Supreme Court 4805/07, the Center for Jewish Pluralism – Movement for Progressive Judaism in Israel v. Ministry of Education and others (July 27, 2008).

[14] See, for example, Keshti (2011) on the Nature School in Tel Aviv.

schools in the survey is considerably larger than the number of schools that the Committee has approved as unique supra-regional schools (Harel Ben Shcar 2012).

Danieli (2012) notes different types of alternative schools in Israel, such as the anthroposophical school, the democratic school, and the bilingual school (in his opinion, there are about six such schools).

Division by Supervision Type

The schools in Israel can also be classified by division according to type of supervision (Weissblay, 2013):

- State: Non-religious institutions in the Jewish and non-Jewish sectors. State education is provided by the state regardless of political party, ethnic affiliation, or any other association and under the supervision of the Minister of Education.
- State religious: The Zionist religious Jewish education institutions. This is state education whose institutions are religious in lifestyle and in the curricula. The teachers and supervisors are religious.
- Other supervision. The Ultra-Orthodox Jewish education institutions. In the education institutions under 'other' supervision, there are no official institutions but there is division into the institutions collected in two educational networks and institutions not in these networks. The exemption institutions and the unique cultural learning institutions are also in this category (Weissblay, 2013).

Division by Sector

Weissblay (2013) also notes a division according to sectors in Israeli society. This division is the Jewish sector, where most of the children who not Jewish and are not Arab also study, and the non-Jewish sector, which includes Arabs, Bedouin, Druse, and Circassians. (For further general information about the Israeli education system, see Appendix Number 1.)

Analysis of the high school matriculation examination data in the division according to sector over time indicates that despite the increase in the achievements of the students in the Arab sector in recent years there is still a considerable gap in achievements in favor of the Jewish sector. The analysis of the data of the high school matriculation examination for the year 2010 according to the social-economic cluster of the residential community indicates that in Jewish education the achievements of students from weak groups are lower. This is expressed in the percentage of those who take the examinations, the percentage of those entitled to the high school matriculation certificate, and in the meeting of the threshold criteria of the

universities. In Arab education, in contrast, the differences between the students according to social-economic groups are small (Weissblay, 2013). (See Table Number 5, in Appendix Number 1.)

The eligibility for the high school matriculation certificate can be divided as follows. In the Jewish sector (without the Ultra-Orthodox) there was an increase of 1.6% in the percentage of students entitled to the high school matriculation certificate from 73.5% (2013) to 75.1% (2014) (Weissblay, 2013). In the non-Jewish sector (Arab, Druse, Bedouin, and Circassian), the non-Jewish sector (without East Jerusalem) there was an increase of 3.5% in the percentage of students entitled to a high school matriculation certificate from among the learners, from 55.5% in 2013 to 59.0% in 2014. In the Druse sector, there was an increase from 68.6% in the year 2013 to 73.1% in the year 2014. In the Bedouin sector, there was a decline, from 50.3% in the year 2013 to 47.5% in the year 2014 (Weissblay, 2013)

Ben David (2011) summarizes the situation of the State, which has a great influence of education on the standard of living and the income gaps, and presents and emphasizes the importance of education for society and economy in Israel and its implications.

Regarding the level of achievements in Israel and in the Western world, it was found that Israel is the last state in achievements, in comparison to 25 countries. It was found that the achievements of the Arab students in Israel were lower than the achievements of the countries of the third world, such as Jordan, Tunisia, Indonesia, and so on. In addition to the students' achievements in the high school matriculation certificate, the *meitzav*[15] tests, and the international tests the phenomenon of violence is prominent. It was found that school violence, in the comparison between Hebrew speaking schools and Arabic speaking schools, is found at greater rates in the Arabic speaking schools. The Arabic students report the phenomenon of violence more (RAMA, 2011, in Weissblay, 2013).

Don-Yahia (1997) emphasized the centrality of the field of education in the secular-religious schism in general and in Israel in particular. The field of education is one of the main dividing factors in a society that is divided on a religious background. This field leads to the institutionalization of the schism in that the arrangements that were agreed upon in the struggle

[15] The meitzav test is a system of tests conducted in the elementary schools and middle schools in Israel in the subjects of Science and Technology, mother tongue (Hebrew or Arabic), mathematics, and English. The tests are held every year in one-third of the schools, so that every school participates in the test once every three years. The word is an acronym in Hebrew meaning Measures of Efficiency and School Growth.

about the nature of education in essence grant legitimacy to the two sides and thus anchor the division and the difference.

In the year 1953 the Israel *Knesset* (Parliament) passed the State Education Law, which was legislated to put an end to the struggle around the elimination of the sectors in education. The law details the following objectives for education in Israel: to establish the education on the values of Jewish culture and the achievements of science, on the love of the homeland and loyalty to the State and to the Jewish people, on work in agriculture and in craft, on trust, and on the struggle to create a society based on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance, and love of humankind (Mari, 1978).

The character of the state education sector was influenced largely by Western perceptions, from the perception according to which it is necessary to adhere to Western culture, which inculcated the values of enlightenment and education that characterize the modern era (education for aesthetics, education for art and music, and physical education). While state education included the focus on the Zionist and Jewish doctrine, Western general education was accorded greater weight than that of Zionist and Jewish education. The emphasis placed on the Western values was so prominent that it as possible to call this perception 'Eurocentric' (Shenhar Committee Report, 2012).

The State Education Law, with the changes that occurred in it, arranges the structure of state education in Israel into two main sectors: state education and state religious education. The state religious education sector incorporates Jewish religious values, which were an inseparable part of the historical identity of the people of Israel (Gross, 2004).

The law anchors the status of another sector as a non-state sector – the independent education sector. This sector is primarily in education institutions that belong to the Ultra-Orthodox sector (Feldman, 2007). The recognition of Ultra-Orthodox education as an independent sector gives it the right to enjoy the State budgets at an increased rate without its institutions being obligated to the learning contents set by the State. Although the law determines that the Minister of Education has the authority to obligate for these institutions 75% of their curriculum, this does not happen in actuality and the contents learned in these institutions are not influenced by outside factors. The attempts of the Ministry of Education to change the situation have failed since the political ranks (the Ultra-Orthodox parties, and the Shas Party at their head) have refused to cooperate (Abu-Saad, 2007).

The Arab education system, which had existed before the establishment of the State of Israel as a separate system for the majority of the Palestinian Arabs, was made subordinate after the establishment of the State to the Ministry of Education and in essence became an inseparable part of state education in the country (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Therefore, in Israel there is a division into a Jewish education system and an Arab education system (Al-Haj, 1995; Mari, 1978). As aforementioned, the State Education Law emphasizes the cultivation of the Jewish identity and values but does not determine any parallel objectives in Arab education in Israel, although there were attempts in the 1970s-1980s to do so in committees headed by Jewish educators (Al-Haj, 1995).

(Further discussion of the division into types of schools in Israel appears in Appendix Number 2.)

4.3 The Core Studies in the Israeli Education System

The process of socialization according to the functionalist theory sees in every component in the system a role that contributes to society. Therefore, the process of socialization has the role to convey the cultural heritage from generation to generation, to ensure that the individual learns the social functioning so that the next generation is trained to function in society (Regev, 2011). Sociology defines the process of socialization in which different factors are involved, individuals and groups. All the factors that contribute to the process of socialization are called agents of socialization, who mediate between the person and society and teach the person how to behave and act in society. According to this definition, the individual is required to learn extensively so that he can function as required in society. In modern society, the individual is required to acquire greater learning than in a simple society with little technology. In this society there are many more frameworks that fill this important role of socialization in comparison to a simple society (Regev, 2011).

The goal of the process of socialization is to ensure the continuation and stability of society. Since the process is from society to the individual, the individual is trained for a cultural life using agents of socialization, which are the family and the school as primary agents, the peer group and the media as secondary agents, and so on. Society has the interest to create uniformity in the process of socialization, and therefore people who received the same type of socialization will behave similarly. If this does not happen and there is a deviation, the theory of socialization holds that the process of socialization has failed, since the agents of socialization did not properly socialize the person or the person did not internalize the process

(Regev, 2011). The process of socialization is culturally dependent (people who come from different cultures will undergo a different process of socialization). Socialization is a means for the individual's integration into the social system and therefore it contributes to the stability and continuity of the social system. The process is functional for society, since it maintains the social order and enables the individual to integrate into society. (The criticism of this approach is that it ignores the individual's active role in the socialization process and finds it difficult to explain changes in the process). (Regev, 2011).

The most important agents of socialization in modern society are the family, the kindergartens and schools, and the peer group. Agents of socialization can be divided into primary and secondary agents:

- Primary agent of socialization: This is a figure or group of significance in the process of socialization, responsible for the basic shaping of the identity, with reference to the constellation of the areas of life. The common example of a primary agent of socialization is the family. However, there are other cases that serve as a primary agent of socialization, for instance, a personal commander in the military or an 'influential person'.
- Secondary agent of socialization: This is a factor in the process of socialization that is responsible for the shaping of a specific area of identity, for instance, the workplace, military, youth movement, etc.

The family, the school, the peer group, the means of mass media, and so on all are considered agents of socialization. This research study will focus on the role of the school as a main agent of socialization. In the school the child acquires knowledge and skills, and in addition he recognizes the culture in which he lives. The formal education system (the kindergarten and the school) is one of the first agents of socialization outside of the family that the child encounters. They inculcate education and knowledge so as to train the child to function in society. In addition, the child acquires norms accepted in the school such as achievement orientation, competitiveness, obedience of authority, social relations, and construction of value in others' eyes.

Socialization in the school emphasizes conformity to the rules of behavior and the patterns of authority. While the school in the modern era and post-modern era is based on ideals of the equality of opportunities, in actuality it often serves as a factor that reinforces inequality (when students come from diverse and different social background). Those who come from a low socioeconomic status pay the price of inequality (Regev, 2011).

The role of the school as an agent of socialization is in two dimensions, formal and informal.

1. Socialization for achievement through the reward of achievements and the encouragement of competition among the students (not formal).
2. Socialization for independence and reduction of the dependence on the family – the school provides tasks with which the individual copes in his role as a student (not formal).
3. Universal socialization – education for values accepted in society such as equality, democracy, and freedom (formal).
4. Socialization for integration in the peer group – the school is a social environment for the achievement of this goal through the formal tasks it assigns and through the informal activities that occur in it, such as the recesses (formal and not formal).
5. Socialization for different social statuses – gender, profession, and citizenship (not formal).

To conclude, the characteristics of different schools influence the process of socialization (for instance, schools with one culture or schools with one religion or same sex schools, and so on).

Kalai (2014) maintained that 'free' education must include at least three components: shared social-cultural knowledge infrastructure, instruments for criticism and development of independent thinking, and instruments for the filtering of information and choice of learning horizons. The justification of the existence of this type of core components is not because of equality and it is not based on the argument that a different education creates in actuality inequality in opportunities. It also does not rely on liberal outside arguments, for example, the need for social and cultural cohesion. The justification of these core studies is anchored in the right for freedom, namely, the core of the liberal being and existence.

Before and after the establishment of the State of Israel, Jewish society was helped by the core programs to strengthen national goals and to shape the Zionist identity in the young generation and to provide legitimacy to the new country, create unity in the people, and preserve it (Tadmor-Shimoni, 2010). According to Piron (2011), the core studies are supposed to meet two main needs: learning of the basic nature of the country and determination of the contents that should be inculcated in the children. In other words, what is the educational product we seek to establish in the 21st century? The idea at the center of the core program is the establishment of a shared basis for a multicultural society and creation of social solidarity.

However, in the political reality in Israel it serves for the exclusion of Arabs and Ultra-Orthodox, groups that threaten the hegemony of the dominant class (Markman & Yonah, 2010).

Until today, full agreement among educators and in the Ministry of Education on the topic of the nature of the core program has not been formed (Bargouti, 2011). Piron (2011) described a number of different approaches regarding the core programs. According to one approach, core studies are important to the individual student, so as to convey to him the knowledge, the tools, and the opportunities required for personal growth and self-fulfillment. A second approach maintains that core studies are necessary for society, as an anchor of the assets of the culture as well as its objectives and goals. According to the third approach, the core studies are essential so as to create a basic common denominator in all the frameworks of education, which will allow the creation of a national educational infrastructure. Such an infrastructure can facilitate the reduction of the scholastic and social gaps and ensure the quality of the education system.

The core program is composed of a collection of select contents, when it was decided that these would allow the school to achieve the objectives determined by the Ministry of Education (Katz, 2006). The basic goals of the core program are to maintain the social stability and to preserve the cultural uniqueness that characterizes the groups in the country (Rottenberg, 2006). Two of the goals of the formation of the core program in Israel were to influence the collective identity of Israeli society and to assimilate values of unity and social cohesion (National Task Force for the Advancement of Education in Israel, 2005).

The objectives of value-based education in Israel discuss the need to instill in the student the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, without reference to the fact that in this society there is an Arab minority, with its own nationality, and its right is to be an integral part of this society (Bargouti, 2011). The Jewish schools greatly emphasize the development of the national identity, the active affiliation with the Jewish people, and the promotion of the Zionist aspirations – and all these while granting the most minimal recognition to Arab history. Bar-Tal (1998, in Abu-Saad, 2007) studied the textbooks in the elementary schools and middle schools and found that the Jewish textbooks (grammar, Hebrew language, history, geography, and civics) present a uniform position – the Jews are involved in the just and even humane war against the Arab enemy, which refuses to recognize the existence and rights of the Jews in Israel and to accept them. Where the curriculum mentions the Arabs, for the most part it tends to present them and their culture in a negative light. More than a few research studies have

been conducted on textbooks intended for Jews in Israel and for Israeli children's literature and they discovered that the Palestinians and Arabs are presented in many cases as 'murderers', 'rioters', and 'suspects' and in any event as weak and not productive (Bar-Tal, 1998, in Abu-Saad, 2007; Meehan, 1999, in Abu-Saad, 2007). Requests to formulate goals that recognize the Arab minority in the Jewish democratic state submitted by Arab intellectuals have always been rejected (Bargouti, 2011). Therefore, in the present situation of the education system in Israel, it is impossible to crystallize a core program shared by Arabs and Jews. The educational discourse in Israel, official and public, is based on the principle to cultivate educational values based on the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (Bargouti, 2011).

Markman and Yonah (2010) maintained that at the basis of the 'core idea' there is the recognition of the multiculturalism that characterizes society and the need of these cultures to maintain their identity and heritage. However, the engagement in the topic of the core, as reflected in the public and political arenas in Israel, is guided by a different logic. This idea serves as a means for the coping with the threat that multiculturalism supposedly presents to the nation state and as a means of preserving the supremacy of a collective that excludes many social groups.

Therefore, it is possible to form a shared core for the different Jewish sectors – secular, religious, and Ultra-Orthodox – since they form around shared values. The issue is that this type of program does not include the Arab citizens. Hence, as long as the educational discourse discusses the State of Israel as a Jewish state and the contents and objectives of the education system are thus determined, the Arab public will find it difficult to fit into the general core program (Bargouti, 2011).

4.4 Multiculturalism in the Education System in Israel: Political Agenda vs. Reality

Multiculturalism is necessary in societies characterized by cultural heterogeneity, since the individuals in this society go in and out of different cultural contexts. Multicultural competence needs to include the ability to communicate, to understand, and to participate in cultural frameworks that are distinct from the personal cultural framework. It implicitly assumes the development of language expertise and the acquisition of knowledge on other cultures in this sociopolitical framework (Aikman, 1996, in Abu-Saad, 2007). According to Paul and Reingold (2013), the discussion on multiculturalism addresses the national aspect, but it should also discuss ethnic and gender issues. Multiculturalism is a process of abilities that

enables the person to develop abilities to function in a variety of cultures simultaneously and in general multiculturalism adopts the idea of cultural pluralism. Regular topics in the curriculum in a multicultural society include the understanding of the culture, esteem of the cultures of different groups, and the training for life in a pluralistic society (Watkins, 1994, in Abu-Saad, 2007).

The school is the ideal place in which it is possible and it is even necessary to implement multiculturalism. The main benefits of multiculturalism in education include greater relevance of the contents and educational experiences and cultivation of cultural democracy, which can also serve as a means of defense against racism, cultural chauvinism, and inappropriate ethnocentrism and even reduce the chances of the growth of cultural imperialism (Mari, 1978).

The multicultural perception caused the fear of the loss of the unifying ethos of society. Therefore, the phrasing of the core program in Israel, in its different appearances, is supposed to constitute a counterweight to this threat. In other words, the core program is supposed to provide a common denominator that can prevent the dissolution of society. It is apparent that the core program in Israel reflects an attempt to confirm the hegemonic culture and the existing social order, with its distortions and its wrongs (Markman & Yonah, 2010).

The fact that the education system in Israel is divided into two, the Jewish education system and the Arab education system, gives the state education system the appearance of adjustment to the cultural difference and pluralism in education. However, despite the heterogeneity of Israeli society itself, its education system is still mono-cultural and not multicultural (Mari, 1978; Al-Haj, 1995).

According to Berry (1992), all modern societies are multicultural. In historical terms many societies are uniform in cultural aspects. This situation contributed to the development of the outlook according to which societies can or need to be uniform – this is what today is at the basis of the political perception that calls for assimilation or the melting pot. Today it is more accepted to think about a pluralistic society.

Berry (1992) presents two models of society composed of a number of cultural groups. The first model is a society composed of a dominant unit or a main sector, when at the margins there are different minority groups. The assumption is that these groups need to be assimilated into the mainstream until the level of disappearance. If the mergence is not achieved, then the groups on the margins become marginal and excluded. The second model addresses a society composed of a mosaic of ethno-cultural groups, which maintain a sense of cultural identity and

participate in the social constellation (constitution, economy, and state) and concurrently gives legitimacy to the institutions that serve different group interests.

In multicultural societies, peoples of different cultural backgrounds can live together successfully. How?

1. Acculturation education. This is education for binding values accepted in the dominant culture. In the perception of acculturation, the culture dictates the list of values and their place in the list. The place of the values implies what the individual must do when two values conflict with one another. Hence, a process of cultural change is required, when this is a product of the encounter between different cultural groups. The changes occur in all the groups, although generally there is one group that is more dominant and changes a bit less.
2. Multicultural ideology. This concept belongs to the research of ethnic relations, which addresses the general perception that can characterize individuals who live in a multicultural society for some it adds a point to life while for others it is a bother in everyday life. This perception addresses the understanding of way in which the individuals perceive and evaluate one another in ethnic groups and outside of the boundaries of the group.

Therefore, in multicultural groups people do not address one another in the same way. Our understanding regarding intercultural behavior is based on the psychological understanding of the research of differences between individuals and groups.

Berry conducted in Canada a series of research studies with groups of immigrants, groups of natives, and ethno-cultural groups. The main topics were:

- Cultural preservation. The degree to which people appreciate their identity and cultural practices and seek to retain them.
- Cooperative contact. The degree to which people appreciate others outside of their group and seek contact with them and their interest in participating in the everyday life of society at large.

From these two topics, Berry defined a space of four strategies for holding different relations that exist in an intercultural society:

1. Assimilation. The individual does not seek to maintain his cultural identity and is interested in daily interaction with other cultures.

2. Separation: The individual considers it important to maintain his original culture and seeks to avoid interaction with others.
3. Integration: The individual is interested in maintaining his original culture and in having daily interaction with other groups. This strategy maintains a certain degree of cultural integrity while aspiring to partnership in the broader social constellation.
4. Marginalization. There is little interest in maintaining the culture and little interest in relations with others.

These strategies are based on the assumption that the individual has the possibility of choosing the way in which the process of acculturation will occur. For example, the strategy of integration will happen only if the dominant society is open and encourages integration. Therefore, it is necessary to have adjustment or reciprocal coordination so as to achieve integration. It is necessary for the groups that are not dominant to adopt the basic values of the society at large and for the dominant group to adjust national institutions and to respond to the needs of the different groups.

It can be said that the strategies of integration and separation are more collective, while assimilation is more individualistic. According to the original anthropological definition of the process of acculturation, the two groups that come into contact are supposed to undergo acculturation. Thus, there is great importance to the place of the dominant group in the influence on the way in which mutual acculturation may occur.

There are three levels of intercultural relations, national, institutional, and individual, in which the different perceptions exist.

- National level. It is possible to choose national policy and declared objectives of certain groups in the multicultural society.
- Individual level. It is possible to examine the overall ideology that exists regarding multiculturalism in the dominant population or the attitudes of the individuals towards the four strategies of intercultural relations.
- Institutional level. There is competition between the perceptions at the basis of the different intercultural strategies. Sometimes contradictions are created among them.

Frequently groups that are not dominant support the existence of diversity and fairness. Two things are then necessary:

1. Recognition of the cultural uniqueness and special needs of the group.
2. Equal degree of understanding and support, as the dominant group.

The problem is that many times the dominant group prefers to hold uniform programs and requirements for the entire population. Diversity and fairness go with integration, while the push in the direction of uniform requirements goes with assimilation.

Examination of the educational hierarchy, the teaching force, and the curriculum in the Jewish education system reveals a clear preference for the European-Western culture over the non-Western Jewish culture, North African and Middle Eastern. The curriculum of the Jewish schools tends to ignore or reduce the importance of Mizrachi[16] culture and history and the contribution of Mizrachi Jews and other non-Western Jews. Largely, it also tends to ignore or to have only the most minimal exposure the Arabic language, history, and culture and it addresses them, even if not in a declared manner, in a negative way (Abu Saad, 2007).

Different educational models are proposed in a multicultural society. One of the models is called the separate or particularistic education model. This model is based on a separate education system, out of the desire to maintain separation. In other words, the members of the cultural group ask to have cultural autonomy to prevent their children from fitting into general society. This characterizes the state education system in the State of Israel and the Ultra-Orthodox education (Baratz & Reingold, 2011). In Israel, the political and educational government is not interested in integrating the Arabs and the Jews and denies them educational autonomy. In other words, it supervises and controls the learning contents and the educational processes (Al-Haj, 2002).

To implement effective multicultural education in the education system in Israel, it is necessary to seriously address the developmental needs and to change the policy themes, including (Abu Saad, 2007):

- The creation of equality in the budget and resources for the development of curricula for the Arab and the Jewish schools.
- The increase of the involvement and control of the Palestinian Arabs in the development of curricula,
- The elimination of the stereotypes and the negative representations of the Palestinian Arabs in every program and in the textbooks in the Jewish schools,
- The inclusion of more learning material about the history and cultural identity of the Palestinian Arab people in the Jewish and Arab curricula and textbooks,

[16] Mizrachi means in Hebrew east and the term refers to the Jews of the East, those whose origins are the countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

- The elimination of the security clearance in the choice of workers in the Arab education system and the employment of workers according to criteria of ability and experience, as in the Jewish education system, and
- The granting of full civil and national rights to the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel.

Arab education thus is a victim of Israeli pluralism not only in that it is managed and controlled by the majority but also in that it is managed by the Jewish majority and the authorities determine the curricula, without the involvement of many Arabs, if any. The involvement of Arabs does not go beyond the limits of the writing or translation of books and study materials according to the painstakingly defined guidelines and does not pass the boundary of the actualization of the policy of the majority (Mari, 1978). The authorities of the Arab local governments and the school principals are thus purely technical, while the essential decisions are made in the Ministry of Education (Golan-Agnon, 2004).

In other words, instead of the core program reflecting the social willingness to recognize different cultural groups, preserve their identity, and create a common denominator between them, it constitutes an instrument through which attempts are made to replicate the existing status quo and ensure the privileged status of the hegemonic groups in society in Israel. Therefore, the way in which use is made of the core does not make superfluous the serious explanations for the formulation and inculcation of an educational core that obligates all the students in the education system in Israel. Therefore, the discussion here does not intend to negate the idea of the core program but rather to indicate the misuse of it (Markman & Yonah, 2010). The Ministry of Education does not adopt a liberal approach or a multicultural approach in its relation to the narratives of different groups in the country. According to the liberal approach, the state needs to be neutral and not to promote or cultivate one culture at the expense of another (Agbaria & Mohand, 2013).

The education system in Israel has never been perceived as a whole structure in which the Palestinian Arab factor constitutes a legitimate element. Although Israeli society is a pluralistic society, Israel intentionally has not created a common basis for true multicultural education and in the meantime has missed an opportunity of exposing Jewish students to Arab culture (Abu Saad, 2007).

Bilingual Education

Naturally, the geopolitical environment in which the school operates dictates the constant engagement in questions of identity, nationality, and citizenship. This engagement

influences the parents whose children learn in the shared educational frameworks (Adiv et al., 2013). Bilingual education and cooperation help eliminate relations of mastery that exist between the different sides, when this activity enables us to aspire to eliminate the separate existence of the two groups who are partners in the process and sets the school as an alternative model, both in the educational dimension and in the political dimension (Adiv et al., 2013).

Fishman (1976) differentiates between two types of bilingual education, as follows:

1. Temporary bilingual education. The goal is to shift the child from his native language, the language of the minority, to the dominant language, or in other words, the language of the majority. The goal is to begin a gradual process of the learning of the majority language through the use of the minority language and then to shift totally to the use of the majority language. The goal of the countries that adopt this model is to lead to the cultural and social assimilation of the language of the minority and to cause it to vanish from the public arena of the country. This is the main purpose of passing bilingual education: to subordinate the minority to the language and culture of the majority.
2. Constant bilingual education. This attempts to promote the minority language among the children of the minority group. In this way, the goal is to strengthen their belonging to their cultural identity and thus the rights of the ethnic minority in the group are expressed. The intention in this type of bilingual education is to reach full mastery and full literacy in both languages. The aim here is to prevent the loss of the home language and to strengthen the skill in the first language.

The models of bilingual schools are different in their goals, student characteristics, continuity and amount of teaching in the different languages, methodological approaches, and amount and support of the decision makers and the community (Baker, 1993). Bilingual education is influenced by the philosophy and politics of the country or society to which this education belongs. Bilingual education not only reflects the decisions related to the curriculum but also is linked directly to the perceptions on the languages of minorities, their cultures, emigrants, the issue of equality in the state, the rights of the individual and the group, assimilation and integration, separation and discrimination, pluralism, and multiculturalism.

There are a number of basic perceptions that address the language of the minority group, the language as a problem, the language as a right, and the language as a resource. In other words, there are different strategies and different approaches to the language and cultural difference in different places in the world (Amara, 2005). These approaches are:

1. Segregation. This obligates forced legal separation into the different cultural and ethnic groups in the country. The intention is to limit the participation of the minorities in the making of the decisions and to allow economic and political dominance of the majority, such as in the Apartheid period in South Africa, which was characterized by complete separation between whites and blacks (Amara, 2005).
2. Assimilation. This is a one-way process of absorption, in which the minorities are required to surrender their ethnic identities. This approach sees the difference as a problem and the cultural differences as separating in social terms. Examples are the United States, France, and Israel (Amara, 2005).
3. Cultural mergence. This differs from the assimilation approach in that it includes a two-way process of social adjustment. In assimilation there is the intention of eliminating the difference, while in cultural mergence the difference is included in the mainstream culture and thus changes it (Amara, 2005).
4. Cultural pluralism / multiculturalism. This approach sees that all individuals have the right to participate in an equal manner in economic society and concurrently to maintain their cultural identities. This approach differs from other approaches, since it does not see multiculturalism to be the problem but to be a language and culture asset. Examples are Canada, Switzerland, and Belgium (Amara, 2005).

The framework of bilingual education is different in definition and nature from that of one-time meetings held from time to time under the title of 'coexistence meetings'. The shared educational framework is held on a daily basis and sets the idea of unity, which goes beyond the 'binational' division understood in the meetings of the first type (Adiv et al., 2013). Bilingual pedagogy in the school seeks to promote the two languages and the history and culture of the two partner populations (Mor-Sommerfeld, Azaiza, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2007). The geopolitical environment in which the school operates dictates to it and its environment the constant engagement in questions of identity and citizenship (Bekerman & Shhadi, 2003; Mor-Sommerfeld, Azaiza, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2007). Different researchers have shown that bilingual education succeeds in the implementation of its goals, both on the high level of bilingualism, equal opportunity for academic achievements, and strong and positive multicultural identity that includes positive attitudes towards the other person (Crawford, 1997). However, bilingual education through immersion, which came from Canada, is most successful, and its objectives were speaking, reading, and writing in both learned languages, to teach and to evaluate the customs and culture of both partner nations (Amara, 2005).

4.5 Position of the State of Israel on Giving Educational Rights to the Palestinian Minority in Israel

The approach of national rights and collective rights of minorities discusses another national right connected to language: the right of a national minority to enjoy the state education system in its language. In Israel, there indeed is a system of elementary and high schools in Arabic for the Arabs of Israel (Noyberger, 1995). According to this approach, another fundamental right of a native minority is the right to influence the educational contents. Hence, the Palestinian minority in Israel has the right to educational autonomy, since the right to influence the education contents is a right in principle because of the culture and degree of cultural freedom that the minority group enjoys in the choice of its identities and in the determination of the values according to which it wants to live and educate the future generations (Agbaria & Jabareen, 2015).

The State of Israel respects the right of the Arab population to have an education system in Arabic, but the right to education in the mother tongue does not fulfill the rights of minorities in the field of education, such as the right to have cultural-educational autonomy, so as to maintain the cultural-natural heritage and identity, to shape it, and to develop it (Rabin, 2002). Although the State Education Law (1953) defines the state education system in Israel as well as the objectives of the system, it does so only in Jewish terms and for Jewish students. The collective educational interests of the Palestinian-Arab citizens in Israel are almost completely ignored in the language of the law (Jabareen, 2006). Saban (2002) connected between the group rights given to the minority group, so that it can protect its cultural difference and express its uniqueness in actuality, and the ability of this group to influence in the framework of the democratic process on the course of its public life in the State. In this context, it is possible to note that, according to Foucault (1918), every education system is a political instrument for the preservation or shaping of the discourse on the knowledge and power relations that it bears. With the establishment of the State of Israel in the year 1948, the Palestinian-Arab minority lost the educational autonomy that had existed in the period of the British Mandate. In the year 1949, the Compulsory Education Law was passed, with the goal of ensuring a basic education for all citizens of Israel, including the Arab citizens (Dror, 2007). Following the law and the deployment of the military government, there was a blurring of the rights between the Ministry of Eduacation and the system of the military government under which the Arabs of Israel were subordinate until 1966. The military government intervened in many areas and sometimes even intervened in the field of the Ministry of Education (Al-Haj, 1995).

The educational policy of the State of Israel benefited the Arabs through the legislation of the Compulsory Education Law, which provided mandatory free education. However, the importance of the three fundamental principles of the country – a Jewish, democratic, and secure country – created contradictions in the policy that shaped the educational basis of the Arab minority (Abu Asba, 1999). It is necessary to keep in mind that Arab education in Israel acts in the context of a country with a Jewish majority. This fact leaves the control in the hands of the majority group, while the minority group has a limited involvement in its contents (Abu Asba, 2007).

In contrast to the considerable political power of the Ultra-Orthodox and the national religious Jews, power that ensured these populations autonomous or independent educational sectors, the sparse political power of the Arab public did not allow it to succeed in obtaining this educational autonomy. A situation was created in which the Arab education system, which is significantly different from all the sectors of Jewish education, remained under the state-secular umbrella but operated as a separate unit (Al-Haj, 1995).

While the State Education Law was supposedly intended to provide one legal and organizational roof, both for Jewish education and for Arab education, it appears that in actuality the legislation of the education in Israel ignored and continues to ignore the unique interests of the Arab students. Arab education is separated from Jewish education by the fact that most of the Arab students learn in separate schools in their region of residence, schools where the teachers and principals are Arabs. However, while the state religious education sector and the Jewish Ultra-orthodox sectors were given broad autonomy in administrative and pedagogical terms, which is expressed in that the managers are members of these sectors, Arab education in Israel never received self-management and is managed by Jewish decision makers and policy makers (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010; Golan-Agnon, 2004).

All schools in Arab society in Israel act under the supervision and with the financing of the Ministry of Education, and they are affiliated to some degree or another with the state education sector. This affiliation is expressed today primarily through the guidance and management staffs in the districts, the general and professional supervisors of the Ministry of Education, and the small and unique headquarters units in the internal subdivision that exists today as subsectors in Arab education (Abu Asba, 2007).

Israeli legislation has yet to recognize explicitly the right of the Arab minority to influence education, not as a private right but as a group right, despite the trend in the legal

discourse to adjust the education system to the multicultural reality in Israel. Lacking any legal and content-oriented arrangement engaging in Arab education, the law gives nearly absolute governmental freedom of action to the Ministry of Education and it controls the Arab education system in a significantly centralized manner, both on the school level and on the level of the college of teacher training (Agbaria & Jabareen, 2015).

Approximately 90% of the Arabs in Israel live in separate communities, apart from the Jews (Smooha, 2012). The degree of residential ethnic separation in the State of Israel is high relative to similar cases in the world. On the background of the almost complete separation in the residential areas, it is not surprising that the separation between peoples in the education system is also great. In the period of the British Mandate, there were separate schools for Jews and for Arabs, and only a few schools integrated Arab and Jewish students. The end of the British Mandate and the circumstances of the establishment of the State of Israel increased the separation between Arabs and Jews (Shwade & Shavit, 2014).

The policy of the Ministry of Education in Israel in essence neutralized the influence of the Arab public on the education of its children and swept the Arab students into the general state education system. In the Ministry of Education a special department for the Arab education system was established, when this department was subject to the directives of the Ministry, without any autonomy, and until the year 1989 the department head was a Jewish manager (Saban, 2002). The last remnant actually remaining the hands of the Arab public from the self-management of education is the Arabic language (Abu Asba, 2007).

The Arab minority in Israel has the full right to require collective right to education, since it is a native, national, cultural, religious, and lingual minority that has suffered and is still suffering from discrimination and deprivation on a collective basis (Abas, 2004, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010).

The declaration of the policy of the Minister of Education, Gideon Saar, in the year 2009 stated that the government of Israel believes in education and that the main objectives of education include the improvement of Israel in the ranking in the international tests. This declaration focuses primarily on the promotion of excellence, the improvement of achievements, and the increase of the quality of the instruction, alongside the strengthening of education for Zionist, Jewish, democratic, and social values. Here is the place to note that the declaration included marginal reference to Arab education, while addressing the need to improve the scholastic achievements among “Arabic speakers”, as the declaration stated, in the

national and international tests (Agbaria, 2013). The declaration explicitly ignored the needs of Arab education for value-based education that will derive from the world, culture, and national identity of the Arab students and educators (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010). The limited reference of the Minister of Education Saar to Arab education constitutes a sign not only of the marginality of Arab education and its low place in the priorities of the Ministry of Education but also of the way in which the Ministry frames the problems of Arab education as solely the problem of the "reduction of gaps" (Agbaria, 2013). This policy of the reduction of gaps suffers from a lack of a general systemic viewpoint of education in a national and native minority that wants to be involved in the management and determination of the contents of the education provided to its young generation and to end the State's ignoring of the strategic interests of the Arab education system (Agbaria, 2013).

The Dovrat Committee was established in the year 2003, with the goal to conduct a comprehensive examination of the education system in the State of Israel and to recommend a comprehensive program of change – pedagogical, structural, and organizational – and the formation of a way for the implementation (Dovrat Report, 2005). It proposed the educational reforms connected with achievement and testing. The report of the committee expressed conflicting voices, especially in the context of Arab education. On the one hand, the report acknowledged legally the existence of the separate channels of education, in terms of the existence of separate nation and language and lifestyle, and the need to give and despite the conflict an expression also to the separate Arab heritage and the full loyalty to the State of Israel. However because of the deep concern about the split of the Arab education system from public education, which may lead to the loss of a feeling of partnership in Israeli society, the report negated the right of Arab and Druse education to autonomy and independent educational management with self and collective control on the schools. Therefore, instead of an autonomous educational manager for Arabs, the Israeli educational establishment remained subjected to the purpose of the integration in the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009). According to the reports of the Dovrat Committee, it is necessary to develop the goals of Arab education so as to develop and cultivate the personal identity and the group Arab identity as an emotional and social educational anchor for full integration in Israeli society and in the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state and to recognize Jewish culture, language, and history. This duality of the report expresses recognition of the collective identity of the Arab minority and demand that Arab education will be committed to the goals of public education (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009).

In the year 2005 the Dovrat Committee submitted the final committee report, in which it suggested the Public Education Law, the goal of which is to cope with the problems in the existing laws of education, such as discrimination on the background of class or budget between the state institutions and the Ultra-Orthodox education institutions. These enjoy the budget that the State grants them but they are not supervised or are minimally supervised. The Report further noted that the split that characterizes Israeli society leads to a feeling of lack of partnership in it and that the demographic increase in the Arab and Ultra-Orthodox sectors further this schism. The report emphasized the value-oriented realm and notes the very important role of education as the basis of the culture and ethnic unity. It was further noted that education is a condition of integration in society and in the public life in a democratic state. Education, according to this report, must inculcate the universal and national values that society aspires to inculcate. Success is when it creates citizens with a shared language and social solidarity, with values of consideration of others, contribution to society, equality, and justness, and concurrently the different sources of cultures at the basis of society will be preserved and developed. According to the Committee Report, the success of the State in the field of education will largely determine its future (National Task Force for the Advancement of Education in Israel, 2005, p. 50).

4.6 Policy of Control of the Establishment over Arab Education

1. Teacher Training in the Arab Educational Sector: Institutions for Training Arab Teachers

The teacher has a main role, both as a teacher and as an educator, in the cultivation of the student's personality and in concern for his wellbeing (Gilat, 2007). Therefore, the State's control of the training institutions for teachers is a part of the broader phenomenon of the State's control of education, including control of the structure, financing, contents, and teachers' work. The purpose is to achieve governmental stability, shared political identity, economic growth, and so on (Zadja, Daun, & Saha, 2009).

The Arab students who learn in the colleges of teacher training are a product of a failing education system. Therefore, they come from a very low starting point, both on the academic side and on the personal side, in the comparison to Jewish students (Harish & Dabul, 2013). In my opinion, this starting point makes it easier for the educational establishment to manage the Arab students as they see fit.

The training of the Arab teachers, as in any other educational process, may shape and educate the teachers for the choice of contents, the emphasis placed in the program on the different areas of knowledge, the resultant values, the degree of critical orientation, and the way in which the lesson are conveyed. In addition, the training of the teachers is also expressed in the education for social awareness, professional skills, and correct perception of the teacher of his role in society (Zimran, 1999). The perception of the pedagogical instructor of his role in the process of the training of Arab teachers in the colleges of education takes into account their responsibility to influence the students' personality and professionalism. In addition, the instructors perceive themselves as a personal model for the teaching students. The pedagogical instructor's role is to meet the Arab student's special needs, such as, for example, the coping with national and political issues.

According to Mahajana (2013), the training of the teachers is specific and limited in scope and its goal is to adjust the training of the Arab teacher to the uniqueness of Arab society, with its systems and institutions. There is minimal and negligible unique training of the Arab institution, whose purpose is to increase the awareness and to create commitment in the teachers of the future for the establishment of a just society through reference to sociocultural aspects of the Arab students. The didactic policy that ignores the individual's distress is commensurate with the assertion of Jabareen and Agbaria (2010) that the training of Arab student teachers does not acknowledge the uniqueness of Arab society as a native minority that is discriminated against and exposed to an official institutional policy with the purpose of cementing its inferiority, dependence, and marginality, with all the implications of this policy.

Amara (2013) discussed the relationship between language, identity, and education in programs for teaching Arabic in the Arab colleges for teacher training. He maintained that the Arabic language is learned in them in a limited and instrumental manner and the fact that this is the cultural natural identity language is ignored in them. The deficient training in the colleges has impaired the fitness of the future teachers to cope with the curricula in the schools and has harmed the teachers' ability to improve the low achievements in Arabic in the Arab education system. Therefore, a reform is required that will emphasize the richness of Arabic and the relationship between it and the national and cultural identity.

Hence, the education system and in it the institutions for teacher training had a central channel in the cooptation of the Arab academics, while making them into public workers who perceive their role as that of an official. In other words, the institutions of teacher training have a main role not only in the reconstruction and replication of the ideology of the control of the

Arab society in Israel but also in the inculcation and instilment of the skills and values required for its internalization as normal and desirable. Simultaneously with the dissemination of the Israeli story and the institutionalization of the hierarchy between Jews and Arabs and in the Arab population itself, the institutions of teacher training had a main role in the camouflage of the repression and control through the covering of them with an image of professionalism. The purpose of this image was to shape the role of the teacher as an apolitical and asocial function, in the sense that the role of the Arab teacher was devoid of initiative and creativity and there was no requirement to be critical, capable or socially and civically involved (Agbaria, 2013).

2. Appointments and Layoffs of Arab Teachers in the Palestinian Education system in Israel

The role of the teacher and educator is expressed in the cultivation of the student's personality and in concern for his wellbeing (Gilat, 2007). Therefore, the recruitment of the teaching force in the Arab education system was determined also according to political considerations. The empowerment of teachers, principals, and supervisors is given to the Ministry of Education, and the meaning is that to be an Arab teacher in the Arab education system it is not enough to have training and teaching certificates. Rather, it is necessary to have a security clearance – without the teachers' knowledge – and to receive the confidential approval of the Israel Security Agency (Shabak) (Al-Haj, 2001).

The governmental control of the Arab education system was also expressed strongly in the appointment of teachers, principals, and role-holders in the Arab schools. The appointment of the teachers and the principals is subject to the approval of the Israel Security Agency (Gabizon & Balfour, 2005).

Mazoy (1994) followed up after the development of the Palestinian teacher's role from the middle of the 19th century and showed the influence of the sociopolitical context on the teacher's role. In his research study he described how the Palestinian teacher in Israel transformed from politically involved to an apolitical technocrat (Mazoy et al., 1995; Mazoy et al., 2002). The role patterns of the Arab teacher in Israel changed according to the historical circumstances and the ability of the training institutions to shape the learners in them (Agbaria, 2013). Many of the Arab teachers feel that they must deal with value-oriented and professional dilemma: on the one hand, they are expected to teach and to strengthen the Palestinian Arab identity but on the other hand, they are supposed to teach according to the Israeli curriculum that does not include in it the Palestinian issue (Elian, 2013).

Mazoy et al. (2002) described the expectations of the State from the Arab teacher, in that he will contribute to the preservation of the relations of hegemony existing between the majority society and the minority society, while accepting them as natural and beneficial, to the emptying education from identification with the Palestinian story/narrative while denying it and becoming alienating from it, through the dissemination of the competing Jewish-Zionist story. Conversely, Mazoy described the expectations of Arab society of the Arab teacher, who is a part of it and who works in it, to contribute to the shaping of the awareness and the collective identity of the Palestinian students and to help them achieve social mobility in Israel.

3. Determination of the Educational Goals of the Arab Education system by the Establishment

The State Education Law of 1953 speaks of its objectives as follows:

> The objective of state education is to base education on the values of the culture of Israel, on the achievements of science, on the love of the homeland, and on loyalty to the State and to the people of Israel, on the awareness of the memory of the Holocaust and the acts of heroism, on the belief in work in agriculture and in craft, on the pioneering training and on the aspiration for a society built on liberty, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance, and love of mankind. (The State Education Law, 1953)

The State Education Law sets as main goals, on the one hand, the quality of opportunities for every boy and girl, to allow them to develop according to their path, and to create an atmosphere that encourages difference and supports it. On the other hand, the law itself creates discrimination and harms the equality of opportunities for the Arab children, and this is the recognition of the Palestinian Arab identity. In addition, the law further focuses the definition of the State as 'Jewish and democratic', a definition that excludes the Arab population and discriminates against it both on the level of principle and the level of practice (Avnon, 1998; Jabareen, 2010).

In essence, the Arab education system is not defined in any section in the law and hence the Arab education system is devoid of the conceptual and content existence in the Book of Laws. From this perspective, it is possible to learn that Arab education is a matter of present-absent in Israeli law (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

The goals of Arab education, from the year 1953 to the year 2000, have not undergone any essential change. The formulation of the goals completely ignored the Arab students. Hence, it is clear that the goals of education serve the majority group that was intended to promote exclusively the Jewish national agenda (Abu-Nimer, 2001), while the focus of the Jewish education system is Zionist and national, the Arab education system lacks any

Palestinian Arab content. The Arab education system attempts to strengthen the cultural-religious component instead of Arab-national component, since the perception is that the Israel Arabs constitute a potential security risk for instability (Abu Asba, 2005; Al-Haj, 1996).

Al-Haj (1996) indicated three different approaches faced by the decision makers when they go to crystallize the structure of the relations between Arabs and Jews in the education system: assimilation, separation, and integration.

The overall control of the Jewish education system over the Arab education system prevents the Arab population any possibility of determining its educational objectives, deprives its right to shape and direct the education system according to its collective interests, and frustrates every significant involvement of Palestinian-Arab educators in the process of decision making, with regard to both the budgets and the contents of education intended for the Arab students (Saban, 2002).

The comprehensive objectives of the education system obligate the Arab students to learn about Jewish culture and values. The outcome is clearly apparent in the state curriculum for the elementary and secondary schools: the Arab students are required to study many hours on Jewish culture and history and Hebrew language, more than on the Arab literature and history. In addition, they are required to develop identification with Jewish values and to promote the Zionist aspirations at the expense of the development of national awareness of their own and sense of belonging to their people. The Arab national identity receives far less emphasis, and the Palestinian identity does not have any type of recognition. Nevertheless, the main goal of Jewish studies in the Arab education system is not to develop cultural competence in Jewish Israeli society but to force the Arabs to understand and like Jewish and Zionist goals and to blur their national identity in Israel. Hence, it is possible to conclude that the economic and specific goals of the curriculum developed for Arab education tend to blur and confuse, and not to strengthen, the creation of Arab identity (Al-Haj, 1995; Mari, 1978).

> In terms of the learning contents, the researchers of Arab education showed that there have been changes in the educational policy for the Arab population, but these changes are influenced by the thought that the goal is to promote the goals of the political regime in Israel, primarily in all that pertains to their Palestinian identity and to the loyalty of the Arab citizens to the State. The Arab education system did not recognize the Palestinian identity of the Arab citizens and did not cultivate their being a national minority. In contrast, it aspires to cultivate an alternative identity disconnected from their historical, cultural, and national past. (Al-Haj, 1994)

The Amendment in the State Education Law from the year 2000 did not address the objectives of education of Arab students sufficiently. The goals of state education according to

the Amendment are to teach the Bible of Israel, the history of the Jewish people, the heritage of Israel, and Jewish tradition and to instill the awareness of the memory of the Holocaust and the acts of heroism. These goals are in addition to the universal aims, such as the establishment of knowledge in the difference areas of science and knowledge and in the human creations of different types and different generations and encouragement of physical activity and leisure culture. The reference of the Unit to Arab population in the Amendment to the law is the recognition of the language, culture, history, heritage, and tradition of the Arab population and the other groups of population in the State of Israel and recognition of the equal rights of all the citizens of Israel. Study of the law amendment shows that these goals were intended for the Jewish student, and thus it is necessary to recognize the uniqueness of the Arab population. In other words, the law amendment in essence creates a clear asymmetry: there is no explicit reference to the goals of education for the Arab child and the place of the recognition of minority as a national and native minority that is a part of the Palestinian nation and the Arab nation is still absent (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

4. Emptying of Contents for the Formation of the Palestinian National Identity in Arab Education in Israel

The importance of the school for the student in the Arab sector increases because of the lack of informal frameworks and institutions in Arab society. Thus, in relative terms the Arab student spends considerable time in the school, which in turn influences the perception of his identity, attitudes, and outlook (Hatav, 1988).

The contents of the curriculum in the Arab schools deny the Palestinian Arab identity and culture and emphasize the Zionist Jewish values, which reinforces naturally the sense of deprivation of the Arab students and teachers and causes steadily increasing alienation (Abu-Asba, 2004; Golan-Agon, 2004). Mari (1978) maintained that “the Arab education system aspires to shape the unique Israeli Arab, which is disconnected from the original national and cultural roots, related in an inextricable relationship to the Arab world and the Palestinian world”. According to Al-Haj (1996), the contents of the Arab education system was intended to create a submissive Arab who is willing to accept his inferiority versus Jewish supremacy and to weaken the Palestinian Arab identity.

In essence, the curriculum and the organizational structure of the Arab education system in Israel assume barriers for the shaping of the national identity of the student (Abu-Asba, 2003). In contrast to its Jewish parallel, Arab education does not have educational goals for the

development of the national, cultural, or religious belonging or identity (Pinson & Anon, 2006). The development of Arab education in the dominant Jewish culture is subject to conflicting messages. Formal education constitutes for the Arab students a confusing experience since the cultural and language contents conveyed in the schools contradict with the values of the culture and national Arab identity, which they receive in frameworks outside of the school and with which they may identify more (Kimerling & Migdal, 1999).

Therefore, the issue of autonomy for Arab education challenges the hegemony of the majority group in Israel (Brunner & Peled, 1996; Rawls, 1971). Therefore, the collective Palestinian Arab educational interests is nearly completely ignored in the language of the State Education Law (Jabareen, 2006), the lack of resources, and the absence of the ability of real influence (Saban, 2002). This policy of the Israeli education system regarding the Arab education led to the development of alternative national education in the Arab public.

5. The Product of the Policy of the Arab Education System: Identity Crisis

5.1 The Role of the Education System in the Formation of the National, Religious, and Ethnic Identity of the Palestinian Student Citizen of Israel

In the previous chapter, we discussed the implications of education in the Arab education system in Israel in terms of the low achievements both in the high school matriculation examinations and in the *meitzav* tests. Furthermore, we discussed the rise of the phenomenon of school violence in the Arab schools in Israel and the inequality and gaps in the budgets between the different schools and especially in comparison between the Arab schools and the Jewish schools. In addition to all these factors, one of the prominent phenomena of the Arab education system in Israel is the crisis of the identity.

From the 1980s, on the background of the decline of the public investment in education and the lack of satisfaction with the education provided in the state system, private initiatives arose to establish schools that offer something unique, such as special contents, or ideological, cultural, or religious specialness. In addition, these schools enable a good education to be obtained in a homogenous environment, since they generally are selective in their acceptance of students (they charge money) (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). Private/alternative education in Israel is steadily increasing, both because of the interesting educational approaches it offers and because of the lack of satisfaction of a steadily increasing number of parents with the state education system. A survey of the Dachaf Institute under Dr. Zemach from 2006 demonstrated this: 66% of the residents of Israel have despaired of the education system, 78% of the residents claim there is violence in the schools, and 67% declared that they prefer private education over state education (Alternative Education Website, n.d.).

According to the approach of national and collective rights, the national minority has the right to enjoy the state education system in its own language (Noyberger, 1995), in addition to the right to influence the educational contents and to have cultural and educational autonomy. The aim is to preserve the minority's national-cultural identity and heritage, to shape it, and to develop it (Rabin, 2002). Therefore, as noted in previous chapters, the education system is considered a main tool for the training of the future citizens of the democratic state (Talshir, 2006) and is supposed to reduce and eliminate the social inequality and to reduce the gaps between the different groups that compose society (Abu Asba, 2004). In addition, there is a relationship between the education system and the process of the construction of the national

identity, when the state education system serves as the most meaningful and strongest mechanism in the transformation of the young children into citizens with a significant national connection (Levy-Dafna, 2011). On the basis of the aforementioned statements and the previous chapter, the importance of the education system in the inculcation and formation of the role of the citizen in society is clear to us (Ichilov, 1993). It may serve as a fertile ground regarding the formation of this identity.

Lacking a purposive anchor in Israeli law for the right of the Arab minority to education in a way appropriate for a native national minority, the Ministry of Education became the sole factor in charge of the implementation in actuality of this right. Arab education in Israel is **denied formal legal status that will ensure its rights in the different aspects and will arrange the resultant organizational structure**. Hence, the Ministry of Education has absolute control of the Arab education system in a significantly centralized manner. However, it appears that in Israeli law there is no essential recognition of the collective identity and national uniqueness of the Palestinian Arab minority (Jabareen, 2010). This is contradictory to the international standards, which promise protection of the uniqueness of a minority group and equal opportunity to that of the majority group (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

This chapter will discuss the failure of the Arab education system in the implementation of its role and will reveal **the implications on Arab society in general and on the Arab student in particular**.

Palestinian and Israeli researches have cautioned the State over the unbalanced curriculum and have criticized the curriculum forced on the Arab schools by the Ministry of Education (Peres, Ehrlich, & Yuval-Davis, 1970). These researches have emphasized the shortcoming of the attempt to propose a joint civic narrative that can contribute to the creation of an inclusive civic culture for all the citizens, Arabs and Jews. The civic narrative in both stories of identity is nationalized and is restricted to establish and extend national narratives (Agbaria & Mustafa, 2013). The equality of educational opportunities is forgotten. There is no appropriate implementation from the level of conceptualization and the desired ideal to the level of practice, and the gap between what is appropriate and required to be done and what is done in actuality as a public, as individuals, and as institutions is very great (Keshti, 2009). Different research studies indicate the low position of the Arab education system on the social and national agenda and the discrimination against it in terms of equality, recognition, and partnership. Moreover, the literature frequently engages in the part of the Arab education system in the management of the control and supervision of Palestinian society in Israel,

through the emptying of the curriculum from national contents that build a collective identity and by making the education system into a main channel for cooptation of Arab academics, primarily women, while making them public workers who perceive their educational role as the work of an official (Agbaria, 2013). In this context, it is also important to emphasize the lack of balance between the power of the State and the power of the organizations of civil society. The State is the dominant factor in the curriculum, and it uses its full pedagogical power to implement the philosophy of inclusion of the minority through the regime of the collective memory of both Jews and Arabs (Agbaria & Mustafa, 2013).

Therefore, the programs of the Ministry of Education not only do not offer the Palestinian students in Israel the possibility of creating a joint civic culture with their Jewish peers and do not recognize the historical narrative of their people but also force moral inferiority on the Palestinian narrative by ignoring it and by forcing the Arab student to adhere to the story of the Jewish identity. Nevertheless, it seems that the policy of the Israeli education system has failed in its attempt to force on the Palestinian citizens the national model whose goal it was to implement the integration by force. Abu Asba (2001) maintained that in essence the method of learning and curricula implemented in Arab education are not commensurate with the social and cultural changes that occur in Arab society in Israel. In addition, Abu Asba (2007) maintained that Arab education in Israel suffers from gaps in inputs and outputs between Arab education and Jewish education. The curriculum in the Arab schools perpetuated throughout all these years the lack of reference to Arab culture in general and to engagement in contemporary politics in particular. The absence of this reference to the contemporary social and political issues of the Arabs in Israel greatly weakens the relevance of the educational experience for the Palestinian Arab students to the point that it threatens to distance them from the school (Brown, 1986; Mari, 1978).

Arab education suffers not only from the lack of recognition of its national-cultural uniqueness but also from ongoing and systematic practices of disregard and neglect that create a discourse of politics of contempt. This politics is a direct product of the continuous denial of the group nature of Arab education as education in the service of a national native minority but it develops as an independent genre of discriminatory establishment politics (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010). However, it is necessary to remember that education in Israel is an arena of national collective struggle. The educational politicization, as expressed in the emphasis of the study of Jewish heritage, causes identity polarization in the struggle over the national symbols of Israeli education (Talshir, 2006).

Gabizon (1982) presented another facet of educational politicization, in which she noted that that inadequate training of the education system for citizenship and for the Arab citizens expresses a serious failure of the education system in Israel and a dangerous and unjust surrender of one of the most basic instruments for the strengthening of the democratic and Israeli civic commitment. Another facet of the educational politicization is expressed in that the teaching in the Arabic language remains, as aforementioned, the main indicator of the existence of a separate education system. However, the language of the teaching does not indicate the content of the study. For comparison, the teaching of the Hebrew language in the Jewish schools is derived from the outlook that sees language to be a component with primary importance in the Jewish national revival, in the strengthening of the national identity, and in the reinforcement of the national self-image, while the teaching of Arabic in the Arab schools is reduced to the inculcation of language skills. The curricula in the Arabic language are devoid of any Palestinian-Arab national content. This clear trend of *de-Palestinization* undermines the right to education of the Palestinian-Arab minority to shape national collectiveness with self-awareness (Al-Haj, 1998). This trend, according to Peled (2006), prevents the students in the Arab schools from developing their self-respect and thus their right to human dignity and liberty is detrimentally influenced.

De-Palestinization

The review of the extensive literature on the situation of the education system in Israel has found that there is no recognition of the Palestinian minority citizens of the State of Israel in the contents, programs, and goals of the studies. This trend, called de-Palestinization, is clearly evident, and its aim is to uproot the ability of the Arab education system to shape a national collective with self-awareness (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013).

The Education Laws section 2 (before the amendment to the law) reflect this trend of de-Palestinization, defining that the goals of the public education system promotes exclusively the national agenda of one group, the group of the Jewish majority. Consequently, until the year 2000, these goals completely ignored Arab education (Abu-Nimer, 2001). Abu Ria (2004) maintains that the reasons for de-Palestinization are as follows. The first reason is the definition of the Arab population on the part of the heads of the State and large parts of the Jewish society as a ‘demographic and security’ threat. In recent years, this definition is becoming steadily more legitimate in the political, public, and even academic discourse in the State of Israel. This discourse not only is not commensurate with citizenship and education for citizenship but also negates the Arab person’s humanity, when the attitude towards him derives from the fact that

he is a demographic danger that threatens the wellbeing of the Jewish majority. Consequently, there is nothing more insulting, racist, and hurtful to the possibility of the development of civic identity in Israel than the 'demographic discourse', a discourse that makes the original residents of the land undesired in their homeland (Abu Ria, 2004). This causes the de-Palestinization and the ignoring of the Palestinian identity in the study contents, books, and goals of education in the Education Law in Israel. For instance, the goal of learning Arabic in the Arabic schools always was solely to inculcate language skills, and therefore the curricula did not have any national content (Al-haj, 1998; Jabareen, 1999). The collective educational interests of the Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel are almost completely ignored in the letter of the law, which is directed solely to the Jewish majority group (Jabareen, 2006, p. 1061).

Another example of de-Palestinization was found in the curriculum that Arab students learn to love the country, not as the land of their forefathers, but as the land of Israel promised to the Jewish people (Al-haj, 1996). The Arab students invest more hours in the class to learn the Jewish religion than to learn the Arab religions and generally are tested on Judaism but not on Islam or Christianity in the high school matriculation examination (Adalah, 1998). While Jewish education is filled with Zionism and nationalism, the Arab education system has been stripped of any Palestinian national sign. There is no practical or implicit recognition that the Arab population in Israel is a national minority that constitutes an integral part of the Palestinian people (Rabinovitz, 1993). Moreover, the policy of the Ministry of Education addresses the Palestinian minority as a collection of subgroups and not as one defined national group (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013).

These examples show that the Arab education system does not have conceptual and content existence in the Book of Laws. It exists *de facto* (Jabaraeen & Agbaria, 2013) and is managed by Jewish officials and decision makers, and the essential decisions are made by the Ministry of Education (Alhaj, 1996), despite the national and cultural uniqueness of the Arab citizens. In practice, the overall control of the Jewish education system over the Arab education system has caused the Arab population to lose the possibility of controlling the objectives of education. The right to shape and direct the education system according to the collective interests of the Arab public has been taken from it. This is the negation of all significant involvement of Palestinian Arab educators in the process of the making of decisions in the field of education, both with regard to the allotment of the public resources to the Arab schools and with regard to topics related to the educational contents of the Arab students (Saban, 2002). In addition, Abu Ria (2004) maintains that the events of October 2000 constituted, in many

respects, a moment of disillusionment for the Arab minority in Israel. It is important to remember that the Project of the Judaization of the Galilee (the transfer of lands from their Arab owners to Jewish owners) beforehand received important significance, since it is the de-Palestinization of the space. This is in addition to the prevention of territorial or demographic continuity between the different Arab communities (Abu Ria, 2004). The curricula thus serve as an instrument for the supervision of population groups perceived by the hegemony as threatening social stability, and a policy of language education is a means of the assimilation of national, political, and economic interests in the community of learners (Amara, 2013).

Discrimination on the background of national, ethnic, or gender affiliation was recognized as harm to human dignity (Jabareen, 2013). Therefore, in Israel, which is committed to international law, Palestinian Arab education has the right to influence the learning contents in the curriculum both on the level of the school and in the context of the training of Arab teachers. In actuality, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian-Arab minority to influence Arab education is absent, and this influences the perpetuation of the discrimination (Jabareen, 2013). According to the aforementioned statements, it is possible to determine that the Israeli education system has failed in the areas of education for democracy, co-existence, and the struggle against racism. In the existing reality, Arab culture is not recognized, for the most part, by the Arab youths and the reverse is also true (Oron, 2010).

To summarize this issue, it is important to note that the repression of a nationality in any field, primary or secondary, and of its unique and characteristic expressions will not lead to assimilation in the true sense of the word but only to the degeneration of this same nationality (to a greater or lesser extent). When a nation is denied the possibility of freely using its language and its daily or legal norms, then this nation will suffer unavoidably from harms felt to a greater or lesser extent in the field of its economic interests. These harms will be expressed not necessarily in the ‘bankruptcy’ of this nation but primarily in that the use of political or culture forms ‘foreign’ in its economic life, forms. These forms were forced on it from the outside and are not suited to its mental structure and will require of the repressed nation, even in the best case, the greater investment of forces – regarding the situation in which the nation itself is what determines these forms freely and naturally. As the processes that develop in the economic life of the group makes these harms more and more felt, the aspiration of this nation to full independence also increases (Neor, 2014).

The policy of the establishment towards the Arab education in Israel led to expected and unexpected failures in all areas: scholastic achievements, socially, economically, politically, and nationally. All these fields are of course interrelated.

1. Failure in Achievements

Abu Ria (2004) maintains that there is official discrimination anchored in the constitutional infrastructure of the State towards the Arab population. This discrimination is expressed in a series of laws that anchor the inferiority of the Arab minority on the one hand and the superiority of the Jewish majority on the other hand (such as the Law of Return, which applies solely to Jews, when at the same time the citizenship is denied to Palestinians who were born before 1948 in the territory that became the State of Israel and to their descendants). In other words, the laws express the fact that "Israel is in essence a state with exclusive Jewish ownership in theory, ideology, and practice and therefore it tends openly and obviously in the favor of one of its two main ethnic groups". The definition of the State as Jewish and the resulting policy harms two basic principles associated with democratic citizenship (Abu Ria, 2004). "Arab educators have barely any influence on the education system and things are simply dictated from above by the Ministry of Education" (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013). "This contradicts every democratic idea of the involvement of minority groups in the determination of their educational contents and in the determination of the identity that it will cultivate in the system and the values it will convey to the young generation. This is a part of its right to self-management, but also its right to the development of a free culture." (Inbari, 2008).

According to international law, every national minority has the right to learn in its language and to self-manage its culture institutions, and to be in charge of the quality of the curricula and the textbooks (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013). Arab educators and teachers believe that the control and supervision of the Arab education system by the Jewish education system denies the Palestinian Arab minority control over the objectives and goals of their education system and thus denies them the right to steer their education system according to the collective interests of the Palestinian Arab minority (Alhaj, 1996; Mari, 1978). This especially prevents the free development of the national cultural identity of the Palestinian Arab students, an identity that expresses their unique needs and the national characteristics, primarily in areas such as the Arabic language, national identity, history, and heritage (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013).

The State of Israel needs to allow the Arab citizens as a national minority whose identity is different from that of the majority to shape their national identity according to their free will, free of any pressure or dictates on the part of the majority group. This is a fundamental group right that must be ensured for a minority, whether as an independent right or as a right derived from the principle of equality (Jabareen, 1999, p. 27). The granting of the rights of self-management to the minority groups will ensure the comprehensive and unlimited development of the unique identity and the collective experience of the members of the minority group. At the basis of the rights for self-management is the recognition of the native character of the Arab population and its right for self-definition in its unique areas of life in a way that complements its involvement in the public social sphere (Raday, 2003). The participation can be implemented through the establishment of an Arab education administration, in the framework of which a separate and independent pedagogical secretariat for Arab education will operate, which will work in coordination and cooperation with the general pedagogical secretariat of the Ministry of Education. The separate independent administration will enjoy independence in all that pertains to the management of the Arab education system, including definition of contents and objectives of education, appointments at all levels, planning, development, and budgeting (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2013).

The Arab education system has experienced many changes over the years, but it still suffers from difficult problems in different areas, as a result of neglect, institutional discrimination, and lack of adequate involvement on the part of the Arab population that it serves (Abu Asba, 2007). Since the establishment of the State, the Ministry of Education has appointed countless governmental and professional committees that have addressed the examination of the situation of the Arab education system, which provided recommendations for changes and improvements (Abu Asba, 2007). These committees did not address, for the most part, the practical and immediate needs of Arab education, such as the construction of classrooms and the referral of designated resources. They scarcely addressed the strategic interests of education, which include full equality and significant recognition of the cultural-historical narrative of the Arab minority in Israel. This recognition means also the recognition of the obligation of the Arab education system to address the unique social problems of Arab society, which are a product of this narrative: chronic poverty, violence, environmental risks, and so on. In other words, this is not only the recognition of the cultural uniqueness of Arab education but also of the uniqueness of the problems with which it copes. The last interest is the full and meaningful partnership of the professionals and representatives of the Arab public

in the formation of the pedagogical policy and the management of the issues of Arab education (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009).

The Arab education system is supposed to prepare its students and make accessible for its graduates the possibility of the acquisition of a higher education. However, it still finds it difficult to meet this challenge (Abu Asba & Abu Nasra, 2011). Mustafa (2007) maintained that the percentage of Arab students who are entitled to a quality high school matriculation certificate is lower than that of the rest of the population, 41% (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010, Table 8.23). Consistently and clearly, gaps in the achievements of the students in Israel are apparent, and these gaps indicate that the achievements of the Hebrew speaking students are far higher than those of the Arabic speaking students in all fields of knowledge, including science and technology, English, mathematics, and language acquisitions (Agbaria, 2013).

The Israeli Ministry of Education frequently compares between the Arab education system and the Jewish education system and indicates that there is a gap between the two systems in most areas, including the distribution of the resources, which caused a low quality of instruction and poor achievements (Ministry of Education Website, June 2005). Thus, for instance, in the year 2014 the percentage of those entitled to the high school matriculation certificate in the non-Jewish sector was 45.7% as opposed to 72.2% in the Jewish sector (Ministry of Education, 2014). The quality of the high school matriculation certificate, which entitles the students to be accepted to the universities, is 87% in the Jewish sector versus 73% in the Arab sector (Mei Ami, 2003). Abu Asba (2008) noted that since 2001 gaps are even measured in the *meitzav* tests, when the results every year indicate significant gaps between the achievements of students in Arab education and those of students in Jewish education.

The main factor that causes the low achievements in the Arab schools lies in the experience of the Arab schools to improve their achievements while surrendering education for Arab values, language, history, and heritage. Abu Asba (2001, 2005, 2007) maintained that the Arab schools in Israel chose excellence at the expense of education for values. Agbaria (2013) strengthened this argument, adding that the policy of the education system led to the fact that the Arab school in Israel defines its role as responsible for the student's achievements more than his value-orientation and thus reduces its role in the political socialization of its students. The results of the *meitzav* tests (presented in tables in Appendix Number 3) and of the high school matriculation tests (discussed in the previous chapter) show that there are gaps in the achievements between the Palestinian minority citizens of the State of Israel and the Jewish majority, thus proving that the State of Israel is colonial in many aspects, including education.

The top priority of the Arab school is the success of the student as an individual. Therefore, the school begins to limit, at its own initiative, its responsibility to shape its students' collective identity. This way not only leads to the reduction of the political-social role of the school but also uses the student as justification and even as a means of the prevention of the coping with the complex political question in the issue of the civic and national identity of the Palestinians in Israel. In essence, the policy of the education system towards the Palestinian minority in Israel strengthened the school achievements (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009) and not the opposite.

The Ministry of Education defines a drop-out student as a boy or girl at the age of free mandatory education (ages five to seventeen) who does not learn in a school found under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. According to this definition, the percentage of dropping out among Arab youth is higher than that among Jewish youth. The percentage of those dropping out from Arab education is 12% while the percentage of youths dropping out from Jewish education in only 6% (Mei Ami, 2003). A full high school matriculation certificate in Israel constitutes an acceptance criterion for university studies in most institutions of higher education. From 1996 to 2005, there has been an increase in the percentage of Arab learners in the universities, from 7% to 9.4%. This percentage is still considered low in comparison to the percentage of the Arab minority in Israel, which is 20%. The percentage of Arabs who received an undergraduate degree is only 10.1%, the percentage who received a master degree is 5.5%, and the percentage who received a doctoral degree is 3.4% (Abu Asba, 2008). (See the table in Appendix Number 4.)

To conclude, the policy of education and the curricula for Arab education have been shown to be a failure and to be inadequate for the needs of the population. This failure is reflected in the low level of achievements among the Arab students and the high percentage of dropping out. As a result, the percentage of Arab students who receive a high school matriculation certificate (of quality) is lower than that of the Jewish students, and this fact eventually influences the percentage of Arab students in institutions of higher education. This reality causes the continuation of the existence of social-economic gaps between the two sectors, the Arab sector and the Jewish sector.

2. Strengthening of the Demand for Cultural-Educational Autonomy in Legislation

As a result of the repression of the Arab education system in Israel and the resultant poor achievements, in pedagogical, social, economic, political, and national terms, the constant

demand for Arab educational autonomy has arisen (Jabareen & Agabria, 2010). The trend of educational autonomy for the Arab sector is prominent as an issue that challenges the hegemony of the majority group in Israel (Jabareen & Agabria, 2010). Markman and Yonah (2010) maintained that the demand for educational autonomy has arisen following the core program of the Ministry of Education. Through the core program, the state seeks to anchor the Jewish character and to enforce a national Jewish collective identity, distinct, while ignoring the collective identity of the Arab minority in it (Yonah, 2006). Moreover, this perception of the Palestinian public in Israel as a native national minority that is considered by the majority to be a threat at home greatly influences the interpretation of the core program and its definition (Markman & Yonah, 206). Therefore, it is possible to differentiate between the way in which the State seeks to implement the Zionist political identity as a uniform and shared canon for all the students in Israel and the way in which the civil society organizations of the Palestinian minority in Israel object to this policy through the creation of an independent and separate narrative (Agabria & Mustafa, 2013).

Abu Asba (2007) proposed that the realization of the Palestinian Arab identity through an **independent** Arab educational administration can reduce the divisions between the Palestinian Arab minority and the Jewish majority in Israel (Abu Asba, 2004; Smooha, 1999, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Since the political conditions reigning today do not allow the implementation of significant changes in the narrative system (Saban, 1999, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014), giving educational autonomy to the Palestinian Arab minority will be 'compensation' for the structural inequality existing in the State. This autonomy will allow the Arab minority to realize its national and cultural identity and to neutralize the structural inequality, which may reduce the level of tensions between the two national groups in Israel (Saban, 1999, Smooha, 2005, both in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

3. Crisis of National Identity in the Arab Student in Israel

As described in previous chapters, the construction of an identity is most important with regard to minority groups in a multinational society. The definition and inclusion of minorities as an integral part of the society threaten the ideological framework of the nation state (Garland, 1997, in Suan, 2012). It is customary to address a number of models for the crystallization of the identity:

1. The emphasized model. In this model, the Palestinian national identity of the Arabs of Israel is the one and only identity that has been internalized by the minority group. The

Israeli civic identity has secondary importance for the Arabs of Israel and its existence is formal and legalistic and no more. According to Rouhana (1993), the absolute identity on the ideological, normative, and emotional level is possible only with the Palestinian component. The reference to the Israeli component is purely superficial and instrumental.

2. Identity as a multidimensional phenomenon. This model assumes that identification is composed of different dimensions. Every dimension has a clear significance in a certain field, and all together are a part of the identity. However, from an empirical perspective it was found in the research that most Arabs of Israel are related in an especially strong manner to three components of the identity: Arab, Palestinian, and Israeli. No one dimension controls the other two. The component of the Arab identity is important in three contexts: cultural roots, Middle Eastern solidarity, and the common denominator of the Arab community in Israel. The Palestinian component is important in the context of the national pride and shared Palestinian history. The Israeli component is important in the context of human and citizen rights and the help of the government for the residents' welfare but also in the negative context of the daily deprivation. A person can identify with the Palestinian component, which gives him national pride, and simultaneously with the Israeli component, which gives him civic pride (Amara & Schnell, 2003).

While the Arabs inside Israel began to form their complex identity in 1948, the Palestinians experienced a complex process of formation on the time axis. These processes in the two communities did not overlap and in the first two decades after 1948 they were not parallel. From what was presented previously on the process of de-Palestinization and the Israeli policy of education towards the Palestinian minority citizens of the State of Israel, the Arab citizens and the Arab intellectuals always demanded and sought educational autonomy that would give them the possibility of choosing the contents and education goals. Since the State of Israel has not respected until today the rights of the minorities as these rights are mentioned in the international conventions on which the State is a signatory, the Arab citizens attempt to search for and find educational alternatives for their children, such as the establishment of private schools, to legislate laws that will dictate the minority rights, participation, and development of the field of informal education.

One of the most important and dangerous implications of the policy of the State and the Arab education system is the failure in the formation and construction of a proud and positive Arab, religious, social, civic, and national identity. The continuation of this chapter discusses the different identities of the Arabs of Israel and the conflict in each one of the components of

the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab identity: national identity (Palestinian), religious identity (Muslim), civic identity (Israeli), and Arab identity (Arab nation).

The review of the extensive literature on the rights of the minority and the right to education indicates the importance of the school and its role in providing, developing, and forming the identity for the student in general and for the student who belongs to a national, religious, or numerical minority in particular. The formation of the identity is a critical element in personal, psychological, social, and civic terms for every student who will in the future become a citizen of the State. It is necessary to keep in mind that the Convention of the Rights of the Child anchors in it the right of the child to an identity. In other words, the right to influence the contents of education and its objectives is central in the development of the child's identity. The right to identity is further strengthened in a multiethnic divided society, since the principle of equality obligates its equal fulfillment, through the equal recognition of the diverse group identities in society, their history, and their unique narratives (Gaither & Eide, 2000, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

In the identity of the Arab citizens of Israel it is possible to indicate two main components: the civil component, which derives from the very status of the Arab as 'citizens of the State of Israel', and the national component, which is the outcome of the national belonging of the Arabs in Israel to the Arab world and the Palestinian nation. Regarding the question of the relations between the components of these identities, there is an approach that sees the strengthening of the national identity to be the weakening of the civic identity. In contrast, another approach holds that even if there is a conflict between these two components, the one does not necessarily contradict the other (Sheferman, 2008).

The Arab identity is not monolithic and has many divisions. Palestinian Arab society includes Muslims, Christians, and Druse; Northerners and Southerners, residents of cities and residents of villages, and even Bedouin, who constitute a distinct group in this society. In addition, the Arab public is found in four identities that are not complementary, and each one is complex in its own right: Israeli, Palestinian, Arab, and religious (Muslim or Christian) (Yaar & Shavit, 2003). The Arab public is divided into three main religious groups: Muslims, about 75% of the Arab population and living in most of the Arab communities throughout the country, Christians, about 14% of the Arab population and living primarily in the Galilee and the norther of the country, and Druse, about 11% of the Arab population and living primarily in the Galilee and in the north of the country. The Arabs of Israel live mainly in three regions of the country;

60% in the Galilee, 20% along the coastal plain, 10% in the Negev Desert (Beersheba region), and 10% in mixed cities (Akko, Yaffo).

The Druse

The Druse are a unique religious ethnic group separate from the Arabs and they must maintain their unique ethnic identity and not assimilate. The unique identity is expressed in a strong religious identity and thus the Druse religion constitutes the foundation for the formation of the group identity. According to this outlook, the connection to the Arabs derives primarily from the shared Arabic language, which does not have any national-political component, or in other words, the Druse identity is not related to Arab or Palestinian nationalism. From this perspective, their identity is Israeli and civic and not Arab and national. At the head of this group is an organization called 'The Zionist Druse Center', which acts to muster the absolute and unreserved support of the Druse of the State of Israel. This is the main perception in Druse society in Israel and is expressed in two areas: voting in the elections, when most of the Druse vote in the elections for the Knesset for Zionist parties, and fulfillment of the obligation to be drafted to the IDF (Israel Defense Force), when most Druse are inducted into the IDF and serve in it faithfully and many of the group's members reach high ranking officer positions (Kaufman, Abu Becker, & Saar, 2012)

However, the 'Druse Initiative Committee' maintains that the Druse community is an inseparable part of the Palestinian nation and the Arab people. The argument is that the Druse should not be seen as a nation in its own right, disconnected from the Arab world, since the Druse speak the Arabic language (Kaufman, Abu Becker, & Saar, 2012). The State of Israel has adopted the principle of religious pluralism and helped create a Druse identity on a religious-national basis. In addition, the State of Israel supported the establishment of Druse institutions, allowed them to write the word 'Druse' as their nationality on their civic identity cards, and applied the Compulsory Draft Law to them. Therefore, the question of the identity of the Druse and its formation in the State of Israel is influenced by a number of factors. First, this is the Druse religious belief. The Druse have maintained their faith and religion and maintained their religious uniqueness along with a tolerant attitude towards members of other religions. This contributed to the emergence of a unique identity for the Druse. Second, the ethnic origin of the Druse is not clear and is a subject of debate among the researchers. Last, regarding culture and language, the native language is Arabic of different dialects, the Druse live in a clan structure, and their folklore and cultural heritage are Eastern. In addition, they are influenced by the different cultures in the different countries where they live. The Druse in

Israel have succeeded in maintaining their unique identity because of the combination of wise leadership, relatively small numbers, residence in distant regions, and closeness to the traditional center of the Druse in Lebanon (Kaufman, Abu Becker, & Saar, 2012).

Most Druse define themselves in national-ethnic terms as Druse. Namely, the Druse ethnic group is separate from the Arab nation and is connected to the Druse who live in other countries. A small number define themselves as Arabs and thus emphasize the connection with the Arab nation. A very small number define themselves as Palestinians and thus emphasize the connection with the Palestinian nation. However, the civic identity of most Druse emphasizes the component of citizenship and they define themselves as Israeli and thus emphasize the connection with the State of Israel (Kaufman, Abu Becker, & Saar, 2012).

The religious identity is a component that emphasizes the belonging to the Druse religion. In terms of the civic identity, there are two main groups in the Druse community. The majority define themselves as Druse in the religious and ethnic dimension and as Israeli citizens who identify with the symbols of the country and are willing to fulfill the civil obligations that fall equally on all the citizens, including the obligation to perform military service. In contrast, the minority see themselves as Palestinian Arabs and define themselves as Palestinian citizens of Israel (Kaufman, Abu Becker, & Saar, 2012).

The Christians

The Christians constituted in 2013 about 2% of the population of the State of Israel. Most of the Christian Arabs live in the north of the country: about 71% live in the North District and 13% in the Haifa District. Another 9.5% live in the Jerusalem District (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The percentage of Christians in Israel is steadily declining because of their low birthrate and rate of emigration, which is high relative to that of the Druse and Muslims (Stendel, 1976). The Christian population among the Arabs of Israel is not uniform, dividing into different communities that maintain their separate frameworks and even in these communities there are many subdivisions (Stendel, 1976). In the first years after the establishment of the State of Israel, the Christians succeeded in accumulating considerable power, far beyond their demographic proportion (Stendel, 1976).

Israel did not develop a unique policy for the Christians, only in unusual cases, in contrast to its reference to the Druse community. This avoidance emphasized their Arab character and strengthened their national feeling. Consequently, among the Christians ideological indications were created, but in addition periodically there is a significant trend to

the ethnic community (Stendel, 1976). Christians reached the top only in the Communist Party (the Christians were attracted to the Communist Party because of its emphasis on the national contents beyond the religious divisions). From the Communist party came the Christian Knesset members, without them seeing themselves as representatives of their communities, although without a doubt their origin influenced the shaping of their political path, since they came from highly educated communities that tended to be influenced by the foreign influences. In this way, a shared fate of the "minority in the minority" was created with the Muslim majority, which is also a minority in the Jewish State and simultaneously a part of the Muslim majority in the entire Middle East (Stendel, 1976).

Christian Arabs, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2013), have higher success rates in the high school matriculation examinations, in comparison both to Muslims and Druse students and to Jewish students. For instance, in the year 2012 69% of all the twelfth grade Christian students were entitled to the high school matriculation examination certificate, in comparison to 50% among the Muslims, 64% among the Druse, and 61% among the Jews (including the Ultra-Orthodox supervision) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The Christian Arabs lead also in the percentage of high school matriculation certificates that meet the university threshold conditions: 61% of the Christian Arabs, 51% of the Jewish education students, 45% of the Druse, and 35% of the Muslims received high school matriculation certificates that met the university requirements (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013). The level of education of the Christians always was far higher and the socioeconomic gap between them and the Muslims and the Druse steadily increased. Only in the 1970s did the gap begin to lessen, with the processes of urbanization and the growth of a new generation of educated Muslim and Druse (Stendel, 1976).

5.2 Religious-Islamic Identity

The rise of political Islam among Arabs in Israel was caused by the failure of secular Arab nationalism, especially after the Six Day War and the resultant exposure to the extensive religious activity in the West Bank. In addition, there had been an absence of spiritual-religious leadership following the departure of the Arab leadership in the 1948 War. A process of accelerated modernization eroded the traditional social order and created a feeling of emptiness, while the government ignored the troubles in the Arab sector. The Islamic revolution of Khomeini in Iran in 1979 also influenced the Muslim population in Israel. Israeli Muslims joined the Islamic colleges in the West Bank and preachers from the territories came to the Arab communities in Israel. Furthermore, Muslims from Israel were allowed to join the

annual pilgrimage to Mecca, the Haj, in 1978 (Nuhad, 2009). In 1979, a group of Muslims who had returned to religion established an Islamic underground that had the objective of supporting a violent struggle against the Jewish majority and against the State. The organization was exposed in 1981 and its members were imprisoned (Nuhad, 2009). In the middle of the 1980s, Sheikh Abdullah Nimar Darwish became prominent as the leader of the main movement of political Islam in Israel. He channeled the Islamic revival in Israel to a new direction; no longer the striving for a violent conflict with the governments of Israel and no longer the attempt to enforce religious dogmatism on Arab society but rather the cultivation of the roots through outreach, persuasion, and study, education, and contribution to ease the ills of society. The Islamic movement succeeded in recruiting its members to serve their communities. The Islamic movement focused on the community social activities that the State had neglected in the Arab sector (Nuhad, 2009; Reches & Rodnitzki, 2009).

A religious identity is very important in Middle Eastern societies and in Israel among them. Therefore, the division of Palestinian society in_Israel has deep historical and cultural roots. In addition, the ethnic division is 'strengthened' and maintained through different economic and political means. In Israel, there is ethnic division into Muslims, Bedouins, Druse, and Christians and it largely overlaps economic-social differences. These differences focus the religious/ethnic identity in the community. In the political dimension the attitude of the State to the different ethnic groups also strengthens and focuses ethnic differences (Kaufman, 2012). The religion is one of the main standards for social differentiation between ethnic groups in Arab societies, including Arab society in Israel. From a legal and judicial perspective, the State of Israel adopted the remnants of the method of the Ottoman State and the British Mandate State, which established the religious differences as ethnic differences during the four hundred years of government. It is necessary to remember that the religious differences are not always unequivocal (Kaufman, 2012).

Every place where there is a division into ethnic groups by religion, it is not disconnected from the government and politics. A government may see ethnic differences favorably and may even recruit them to its goals. It may even encourage these differences directly or indirectly so as to prevent, for example, identification between minority groups that may lead to organization against the government. Alternately, the government may see ethnic separation to be a negative element in society and may try to blur it since it has the power to awaken feelings of deprivation and bitterness in the separate community. In Israel, the official policy is to emphasize the ethnic-religious separation in the national minority community and

to bring to the government certain groups, and this inspires among many in the community different responses, from disapproval to satisfaction (Kaufman, 2012).

Encouragement of the ethnic separation as a policy in Israel was not an especially difficult task, since for many generations the ethnic-religious division was well-rooted culturally and socially in Middle Eastern societies, including in Palestinian society. It is important to note that the ethnic division and the interethnic relations are dynamic and changing following economic and political changes in society and following the involvement of international factors. In this way, the history of Palestinian society in the period of the British Mandate influenced the ethnic structure and the inter-ethnic relations that were shaped in the Ottoman era. The establishment of the State of Israel effected another change, more acute, in the ethnic organization and the inter-ethnic relations. The existing ethnic structure is therefore a product of the changes that have accumulated throughout the three periods. There are differences between different religious groups in all that pertains to life patterns and access to social and political resources (Kaufman, 2012).

Islam filled a central part in Palestinian minority society in Israel. Many of the leaders of the national Palestinian movement are careful to note Islam in its popular version, the Islamic atmosphere in their father's home, and the traditional education in a romantic and positive sense. There is awareness of the importance and central role of Islam as an agent of socialization (Zalkovitz, 2008). Porat (1977) maintained that in the development of the Palestinian historiography it is possible to see remnants of characteristics of Muslim historiography, such as establishment on visual evidence and use of historical events to convey a political message while blurring the boundaries and deviating from the historical truth of the occurrence. The goal is to serve the ideal that guides the author and that the author seeks to assimilate in the public of readers.

The national Arab identity tends towards Palestinization, unlike the Islamic facet that relies on the religious component, the Quran and the commandments of the Prophet Mohammed. The facet of Islamism is broader than cultural-territorial nationalism, both in terms of the perception of the sovereign and from the aspect of the shared idea that unites people from different geographic, cultural, and political structures (Koren, 2009). Islam is a main variable in the search for identity and its power derives from the fact that Palestinian Muslim society is primarily Sunni (Steinberg, 2008, in Zalkovitz, 2008). Islam serves to generate political, cultural, and religious identity among part of the Arab population of Israel, whether from the need of the minority to unite around cultural-national power multipliers

against the Jewish majority or whether following the lack of desire to rely on the religious component as a leading identity definer. The Islamic movement in Israel, from the Muslim Brotherhood, also split on the background of civic, social, political disagreements, into the more militant 'North' and more pragmatic 'South' (Meir, 1988; Koren, 2009).

The Islamic Movement had many successes and achievements, in social community terms. The Islamic Movement had political outlooks that were shaped from the constant consideration of the basic constraints – the need to express Islamist opinions without violating the law. Therefore, the Islamic Movement was caught between the Islamic identity and the Israeli citizenship. According to the perception of the Islamic Movement, the identity of the Arab population in Israel is composed of three circles: Palestinian, Arab, and Islamic. Therefore, Darwish, the leader of the Islamic Movement, defined the Palestinian belonging as paramount, but not enough to reduce from the important of the Arab component and certainly not from the importance of the Islamic factor, which sometimes is ranked as the first framework. The Israeli circle was not included in these three circles of identity. However, the spokespeople of the Islamic Movement included the belonging to Israel as one of the components of their identity, although at a lower level (Nuhad, 2006).

In the year 1996 the question of the participation in the elections to the Knesset arose. This question caused an internal debate that led eventually to a division. The 'Southern Branch', under Darwish, adopted the decision to participate in the elections, with the argument to ensure fair representation and recognition of the Arabs in the Knesset, to have the Islamic Movement serve as a factor of unity and cohesion, and to prevent the split and waste of Arab votes and to avoid the weakening of the Arab representation in the Knesset. In parallel, the 'Northern Branch', under Raad Salach, determined that they are not bound by the decision of the movement to participate in the elections. They believed that the Islamic Movement cannot integrate into Israeli society since this society is based on an Israeli-Jewish system of laws, which is absolutely contradictory to Islamic law. However, it is important to summarize that the two branches, the Southern branch and the Northern branch, both have the main objective of empowering the religious identity of the Muslims in Israel (Nuhad, 2006).

Oron (2013) maintained that the most prominent identity among Arab students was the religious sub-identity. The centrality of the Nakba in Arab society caused it to be a factor that shapes a shared identity for all. Some defined themselves as non-religious, traditional, and religious, and among the Arabs there are Muslims, Christians, Druse, and Bedouin. Oron further asserted that regarding their Arabism and Palestinianism there is difference in

emphases. The Israeliness is a component in their identity, the extent to which it represents other groups of population among the Israeli-Arabs or Palestinian-Arabs (Oron, 2013).

Islam and nationalism have gone together throughout history of the Palestinian national struggle (Johnson, 1982). Islam, as aforementioned, constituted a channel for the transfer of messages, beliefs, needs, and distresses of the factors that shaped it. The part of Islam in the formation of the social-cultural picture of the situation has strengthened, according to Zalkovitz (2008), since the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa intifada in the year 2000. In this context, Jurgensmeier (2002) noted that many movements of national liberation incorporate religion into their political agenda.

The facet of Islamism fit from the 1970s into the pan-Arab national ideologies and often the pan-Arabism and the pan-Islamism fit among large Arab publics in the Middle East as one unit (Landau, 1990). In essence, the status of the Arab secular national intellectuals is not assured, because of the strengthening of the religious identity and leadership, primarily Muslim (Agbaria & Mustafa, 2013). In this context, it is necessary to add that in the second half of the 1980s Islam became a significant instrumental identity as a bridge between Arab inside of the Israel and those outside of Israel, which moves through the Palestinian community (Koren, 2009).

5.3 The Arab Identity – Kumiya

Despite the attempt of the State of Israel to strengthen the religious/ethnic identity in Arab society in Israel, there were factors and processes that blurred this identity[17]. The attitude of the Jewish majority towards the Arab community as one 'non-Jewish' unit, or in other words Arab, blurs and weakens the ethnic differences and emphasizes the shared identity of those who are in different ethnic groups (Kaufman, 2012).

The Arab 'politics of identities' (identity is defined for territorial nation states in which geographic borders outline self-definition and shape relations of majority and minority) that incorporates cognitive, cultural, religious, social, and political cultivation has experienced many changes from the Ottoman government and from the end of the 1940s, but its basic components still exist: a pan-Arab identity to which the Arab nations feel they belong and in parallel the national identity of the Lebanese, Egyptians, Palestinians, and others. The State of

[17] Kumiya is the word in Arabic that expresses the belonging to the Arab nation.

Israel was established exactly in the formative stage of the crystallization of the particularistic identity, based on the principle of the nation state (Koren, 2009).

The Ottomans ruled almost continuously in the Land of Israel for four hundred years (1517-1917). The only break in Ottoman rule came in the period 1832-1840, when Mohammed Ali, from Egypt, rebelled with French support and conquered the Land of Israel and Syria and advanced towards the capital Constantinople. With the help of Britain and Russian, the Ottomans restored their rule (Oren, n.d.). The British conquered the region from the Ottomans and governed it until 1948. That year, after the War of Independence, the area was divided into two, or more correctly three parts – Judea and Samaria were held by Jordan and the Gaza Strip was held by Egypt (Azratzki, 2009).

Following the 1948 war, there was a division between the two Palestinian communities (inside and outside), a division that deepened following the 1967 war. From 1967 to the 1980s, the particular uniqueness of the Palestinians as a nation, with a defined territory with an Arab identity but with local Palestinian parameters matured. A main part of the identity maturation is the essential contrast to the State of Israel. This process occurred in parallel to the processes of change in which the Arabs of the inside are found but also is different from them. The awareness of the citizens of Israel, the Arabs of the inside, is more complex because of their everyday existence in a different nationality and in the framework of a democratic regime, along with Palestinian and regional support of the surrounding Arab world (Koren, 2009). The year 1948 served as a turning point regarding the two secondary Palestinian identities, the Palestinians who are found territorially in two Arab countries, Jordan and Egypt, and in the refugee camps in the Arab countries of Lebanon and Syria, which formed a motif of resistance to the clear and concrete enemy, Israel, and their brothers in the enemy state that combines another identity element –the enemy itself (Koren, 2009).

The tension between Arab nationalism in general, called in Arabic *kumiya,* and the territorial particular nationalism, called *votanya*[18], also has a complex situation of consciousness that sets the Israeli citizens and the Palestinians, in their historical development since 1948, on the axis of time between uniqueness and unity: shared heritage, culture, and memory on the one hand and political development in different frameworks on the other hand (Koren, 2009). The discourse of identity that symbolizes the Arab on the one hand as outside,

[18] Votanya is the word in Arabic that expresses the particular national belonging.

as presenting an existential threat to the State of Israel and its Jewish residents, reached a breaking point during the second intifada. (Yadgar, 2009).

5.4 National Identity – Votanya

One of the assumptions is that the Arab of Israel is first and foremost and by nature a member of the Arab nation. According to this assumption, the 'official' national narrative will dictate to every Arab not only his national identity and collective memory but also a world of values, priorities, and ways of action. The national narrative also will clarify when there is a rich and full identity and when there is a poor and spare identity, what will be considered proud nationalism and what will be considered submissive cooperation, and what relations the Arab can establish with his Jewish environment (Ben-Shemesh, 2010).

The history of the Palestinian identity that developed in special circumstances is one example of the multiplicity of historical narratives, when the Palestinian context is aware of their weighty implications. The reason is not the competition with the Zionist narrative but the fact that there are many internal conflicts in the Palestinian discourse itself (Nasser, in Zalkovitz, 2008). A main element in the national identity of the Arabs in Israel is the long history of expropriation, exclusion, discrimination, and deprivation that were their part in all the years of the existence of the State, in every field, but first and foremost in the field of land (Yiftachel & Kedar, 2000).

The exposure to the West Bank after the Six Day War caused a religious-national revival in the Palestinian minority in Israel. This minority, following the military government and the view of the Arab citizens as enemies of the State of Israel, who are always under suspicion and who feel like second class citizens who are not treated equally, felt disappointment and distrust in the State. Thus they felt that they do not belong to the State that always is attacking members of their Palestinian nation and members of the Arab countries. Or in other words, in these two identities, Palestinian and Arab, the State of Israel always looked at them as enemies (Koren, 2009).

According to Oron (2010), the examination of the Arab identity in Israel focuses on the following components: 'the nation and I', 'the Holocaust and I', 'the Nakba and I', 'I and the other', 'the State and I', and 'the religion and I'. While the Holocaust constitutes a main factor in the Israeli-Jewish identity, the Nakba constitutes a main factor in the Israeli Palestinian Arab identity (Haviv-Barak, Beckerman, & Bilu, 2010).

In principle, the essential recognition of the national-cultural uniqueness of the Palestinian Arab public in Israel as a native national minority obligates the State to allow the Arab citizens to shape their national identity according to their desire, while they are free of any pressure or dictates on the part of the majority group. This is a group basic right that stands in its own right or is derived from the principle of equality that obligates every democracy by nature (Jabareen, 2010).

The Arab national identity receives, as aforementioned, far less emphasis in the Israeli education system and the Palestinian identity does not receive any type of recognition. The policy of the Ministry of Education addresses the Palestinian Arab minority as a collection of sub-groups and not as one defined national group (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Therefore, in actuality and in reality Jewish education promotes the study of the Jewish Zionist and national values and in parallel the Arab education system was stripped of any Palestinian national indicator (Al-Haj, 1996). The learning contents in the curriculum do not have a simple or implied recognition of the Arab population as a national minority that is an integral part of the Palestinian people (Golan-Agnon, 2004). In essence, the economic goals of the curriculum developed for the Arab education tend to blur and confuse and not to strengthen the formation of the Arab identity (Al-Haj, 1995; Mari, 1978).

For example, the vision of the State of Israel, in the Book of Citizenship (p. 35), according to Gabizon, is: “Israel is a democratic country, in the sense that the sovereignty in it is given to all its citizens regardless of nationality or religion, on the basis of freedom and equality, which respects the human rights of all its residents, and it is the state framework that enables the Jews to realize through it their right for self-definition and political, cultural, and religious independence and to exist as a stable and secure majority in their country”. However, the vision of the State as phrased here entails the harm to human dignity when it turns to the Arab students in Israel and encourages racism when it turns to the Jewish students. The perception of the State as a device that enables the Jewish citizens “to exist as a stable and secure majority in their country” makes the Arab citizens a numerical datum, whose increase relative to the Jewish population must be averted. The message that the book conveys to the Arab students is that the continuation of their adult lives in Israel is not desired. Moreover, the State believes that it is best for young Arabs to establish a family elsewhere, and this will be the most effective way on their part to contribute to the demographic security of the Jewish majority. The book encourages racism since it presents the non-Jewish citizens of the State as

a demographic threat that may increase among Jewish youths their suspicion and aversion of the Arab 'other'. (Shumsky, 2016).

The anti-citizenship and anti-educational implications of this anxiety, which were expressed in the Book of Citizenship, should and must be removed without delay. The Arab and Jewish citizens who consider the future of their lives together to be precious and do not want to raise their children in a State that sees some of its citizens as a demographic 'problem' must commence with a public and legal struggle to remove the principle of the focus on the Jewish national-religious-ethnic majority from the textbook. This is a principle that harms the dignity of the non-Jewish citizens and cultivates the racism towards them and may therefore exacerbate the inter-ethnic hostility in Israeli society.

Another example is a history textbook that has awakened protest in Arab society. The Ministry of Education of Israel forces the Arab schools to teach from a history textbook that 'forges' historical facts and presents the 'Palestinians land owners' as migrants who came from different places, so as to negate their connection to Palestine and to assimilate among the Arab students the perception regarding the Jewish character of the land and the State. This book awakened considerable objection among the Arab schools, and the Monitoring Committee of the Arabs of Israel opposed the integration of the book in the curriculum and proposed an alternative that presents the 'Palestinian narrative'(HaLevy, 2015).

The collective memory is a social field of action, when the struggle in it is not over the truth of the narratives but about the identity the narrative seeks to shape and position in the present. The effort that the State of Israel invests in the shaping of the collective memory of the Arab students expresses the desire to force upon them a 'Jewish democratic identity', with the political arrangements and the derivative power relations, as a historical, natural, consensual, and beneficial identity. Conversely, the Arab minority strives for the recognition of the State of its national uniqueness and demands collective rights in areas such as culture, religion, and education, as expressed in the ethno-national politics that it has been conducting in the past decade (Agbaria & Mustafa, 2013; Haklai, 2011; Jamal, 2009). Hence, the struggle for the historical memory is not only on the nature of education in Israel as a shared public space for Palestinians and Jews in the State but also on the boundaries of the collective identities of both groups (Agbaria & Mustafa, 2013).

It was found that the Palestinian nationality and feeling of connection to the Palestinian nation, which steadily strengthened in the Arab minority in Israel primarily after the October

2000 Events had a significant influence on the patterns of struggle on issues of education, in all that pertains to the demands for educational autonomy and changes in the curricula (Harbon, Abu Asba, & Abu Nasra, 2013).

The two examples presented above, of curriculum in Civics and in History, in addition to the curriculum in the Arabic language and geography, indicate that the curriculum and the informal curriculum of the Arab schools must undergo critical changes, since the contents are not suited for the Arab student and his needs from a personal, national, citizen, and cultural identity so that the student will be proud of himself.

5.5 The Israeli Civic Identity

Oron (2011) delineated a process that occurs among the Jews in Israel, which is the continuation of the gradual transition from 'Israeliness' to "Jewishness'. According to Oron, the Israeliness could perhaps include the Israeli Arabs, while the Jewishness, at least as expressed in Israel, in its different aspects, rejects the others and those who are different, certainly the Israeli-Palestinian other and the Palestinian who lives in the territories. In parallel to this trend in the Jewish sector, among the Israeli Arabs in recent years voices are heard that indicate the strengthening of the Israeliness on the one hand and the strengthening of the Palestinianness on the other hand (Barnea, 2011).

As of 2010, 59.8% of the Israeli Arabs see themselves as Israelis, despite all the problems with the exclusion and deprivation (Peace Index, 2010). If despite the deterioration that has occurred in the past decade in the relations of the two groups, the Israeli components still have a very great importance in the identity of the Arabs of Israel, it seems that with different behavior it will be possible to increase the feeling of partnership and solidarity between two groups of population (Suan, 2012).

The national identity of the Palestinians who are citizens in Israel therefore ranges from the Palestinian identity and the Israeli identity. According to Rouhana (1997), for the Palestinians who are citizens of Israel, the Israeli identity is a citizenship that is reduced to the formal dimension while the Palestinian identity is what is internalized and the emotional and ideological context is directed towards it. He maintains that the emphasis of the Palestinian identity is the outcome of the denial as a national expression through governments of the country and the feeling of discrimination that the Palestinians feel in the areas of the State of Israel. In the political dimension, the Palestinian identity is expressed in the demand for the equality of rights and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Prego (2011) found that as a result of the educational politicization, most of the Jewish students noted overlap and a positive relationship between the Israeli identity and the Jewish identity. In contrast, most of the Druse students did not see a relationship between their Israeli identity and their Druse identity, while the Arab students experienced a lack of relationship between the Israeli identity and the Arab identity or a contradiction between them. In parallel, among most Arab and Druse students the relatively considerable prominence of the collective sector identity versus their personal identity was found. Mana (2011) also found that Arab students tended to strengthen their social identity while the Jewish students tended to reduce it.

Yiftachel (2002) maintained that the Israeli identity never opened its arms to all the citizens of the State, aside from Arabs and not Arabs, and therefore in Israel focuses of alienation and resistance are created. The root of the problem lies, in the opinion of Suan (2012), that the dominant Jewish Ashkenazi group constructed for itself an 'Israeli' image as a unique cultural package, which includes language, shared memory, myths, and even geographic spaces.

Rouhana (1990) asserted that the Arabs in Israel did not internalize sufficiently the Israeli component in their identity, since the Israeli policy towards the Arab minority does not offer the Arabs an Israeli identity with which they could identify on the ideological, value-based, or emotional level.

The Israeli civic identity, according to Smooha (1989), of the Arab minority has strengthened along with the strengthening of the Palestinian national identity and without contradicting it. According to Smooha (1992), the Arabs in Israel hold an identity that combines the Palestinian component with the Israeli component in the practical dimension and in the national dimension, and therefore they are bilingual and bicultural, feeling solidarity with the Palestinian nation and loyal to the State of Israel (Smooha, 1992).

Other researchers maintain that the Palestinian national identity and the Israeli civic identity are contradictory and are found at the opposite poles of the same continuum. In their opinion, because of the Israeli Arab conflict and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, identification with each one of the sides in the conflict necessarily contradicts the identification with the other side (Landau, 1993).

Among the Arab students, some of whom noted the contradiction between the identities, there was an even larger difference in the strength of the identity. Most of them noted a rather high strength of the Arab identity, as opposed to a weak Israeli identity. The

relationship between overlap and relative power also is expressed among the Arab students in the difference in gaps between the strength of the identities. The most apparent gap was among those who noted overlap and contradiction between the Arab identity and the Jewish identity (Prego, 2011). Rabinovitz (1998) interpreted this reality well with the argument that the Israeli Jewish collective identity was built in contrast to that of the Arabs. The Arabs were defined by the Jewish majority as 'other' and were removed to outside of the borders of the collective. The issue of the 'otherness' also exists in Arab society towards the Jewish society. In other words, the argument is that as the person is more Israeli he is less Palestinian and the opposite is true (Yaar & Shavit, 2003). This assertion fits with the theory of conflicts, according to which the national identities are found on one continuum, in which the Palestinian Arab identity is found in conflict with the Israeli identity (Prego, 2011).

Nevertheless, Oron (2011) notes in his research study the argument that despite the relatively low identification with the Israeli identity, this perception of identity is still significant. The gap between the degree of importance attributed by the Arab student to the Israeli identity as opposed to the lack of their emotional identification with it indicates their ambivalent attitude towards it. This ambivalence exists, to some extent, also towards their Arab identity (Oron, 2011; Renoy, 2003).

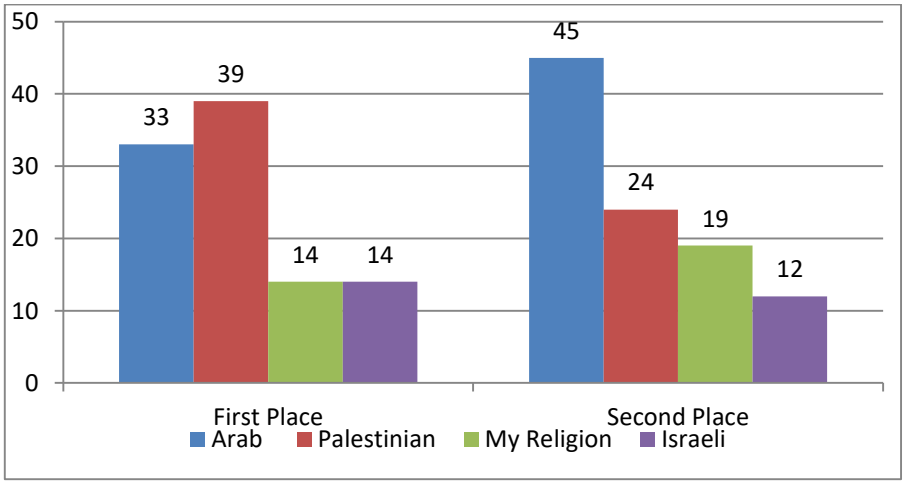
Sheferman (2008) found that only one-third (31%) of the Arabs see themselves as a part of the State of Israel and a similar percentage (34%) adopt Israeliness and see it to be a part of their identity, since the Arab identity is a complex identity, which moves between the desire for segregation (the national component) and the identification with the State of Israel (the civic component), in contrast to 64% of the Jews who feel themselves a part of the State of Israel. In parallel, the Arab citizens of Israel have a connection to the Palestinian people and to the Arab nation, in their origin, language, culture, and national-historical awareness, since they were Palestinians until the year 1948. Therefore, they feel loyalty to the Palestinian Arab nationality, and many of them still consider their fate to be entwined with that of the Palestinian nation (Sheferman, 2008). In contrast to Sheferman, Hadar et al. (2008) found that in the Arab public the picture is different: 49% of the informants defined themselves as Arab, 25% saw themselves as Palestinians, and only 18% said they are Israelis. In other words, even if Israeliness is an identity that is supposed to include all the citizens of the State, only a minority from the Arab citizens identifies with this self-definition. It is possible to assume that the difference in the attitude of Jews and Arabs to the term 'Israeli' connects to the fact that for

many of the Arabs Israeliness, although it derives from citizenship, is more identified with the Jewish majority.

This identification of 'Israeli' as meaning the Jewish nation derives apparently from the official expressions of the State as 'Jewish and democratic', a definition that brings to the forefront Jewish indications and symbols. The difficulty with feeling a part of the cultural identifications of the majority is strengthened in light of the historic tension between Jews and Arabs and between Israelis and Palestinians (Hadar et al., 2008). Israel is rich in group identities, national identities, religious identities, and ethnic identities. Each one of these identities encompasses a large number of Israelis, when every group identity has its own language, symbols, customs, and collective memory. However, the prominent identity in the Jewish and Arab groups is the national identity (Hadar, Heyman-Rish, & Knapleman, 1999).

The national, religious, civic, and ethnic identities are built in every individual in layers. The strength of the relations of these layers has been retained in Israeli society even after sixty years of the existence of the State of Israel. (See the following figure.) The common denominator of these distinct elements – civic nationality or Israeliness – has not yet succeeded in creating a broad basis of identification of different identity groups.

Figure Number 1: Self-Definition – Arabs of Israel, in Percentage



Source: Hadar et al. (2008)

The definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic State emphasizes not only the civic basis but also the national basis. The argument is that it is possible to assert that the strength of the civic aspect in the future will not negate the other identities that exist in Israeli society. However, the 'Israeli' self-definition, since it is a component in the personal identity that will be shared by all citizens, may moderate the tensions that arise on the background of affiliation to different identities.

The Islamic religious identity. The Islamic Movement wrought an essential change in the worldview and lifestyle of the Arabs in Israel, since it transformed a fundamentally secular society (although traditional and conservative) into a society with a steadily strengthening religious character, which is adopting a religious lifestyle and Islamic identity. This process, called Islamization, began primarily from the year 1972 (Reches, 2011).

Most of the Muslims in Israel are Sunni, speaking Arabic, who see themselves as Palestinians who have Israeli citizenship. Their Muslim identity cannot be separated from their Palestinian identity and from the relationship between this identity and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In terms of the Islamic minority in Israel, from its perspective it lives under a government of occupying heretics (Shavit, 2011).

Recently, the Islamic-religious identity has grown stronger both in the Israeli Islamic minority and in Europe, but the Muslim minority of Israel suffers from what is called 'dual marginality'. It feels that it does not belong to here or to there; it is not an organic part of Israeli society but is also identified as members of the rival Arab collective but also not an organic part of the Palestinian people outside of the 1948 borders. This marginality blocks the possibilities of advance in the framework of Israeli-civic affiliation and at the same time they are perceived because of their Israeliness as less deserving according to the majority group in the framework of the Palestinian national affiliation. This marginality is reflected in the difficulty of the Muslim minority members to translate this religious strengthening into political achievements in the national and international dimensions (Shavit, 2011). The identity crisis – I am not a full Israeli, I am not a full Palestinian – encourages identification with the Islamic nation as a refuge, especially in its political perception as a supra-national political nation, universal, blind to ethnic and geographic affiliations, in which all Muslims are equal everywhere (Shavit, 2011).

5.6 The Hyphenated Identity: Local – Rural

According to the approach of hyphenated culture, a person is almost never a product of one system of belonging; rather, his identity is created from the tension between different circles of belonging. In hyphenated culture, the circles of belonging are not concentric; in other words, they do not include one another fully. Sometimes a certain circle can connect between people who in other circles of belonging will feel completely strange to one another. Hence, even the hyphenated identity created as a result of the tension between the different circles of

belonging cannot remain stable and it is subject to changes and developments that occur in each one of its circles of belonging (Dinor, 2007, in Dinor, 2009).

According to the essential approach, a national identity is not an essential component in the individual's personality. A person can deny national affiliations, without this indicating a poor or missing identity. Both a cosmopolitan identity and 'local' identities that lack national components can be alternatives with meaning (Waldron, 1993). (This argument suits students or people who affiliate themselves only to their 'balad'[19], such as 'tiboy', or 'tiroy' etc.). Therefore, a person is not defined only according to his national affiliation. A person is also a member of a certain family and has a certain role in this family. He has a gender and sex identity, belongings and activities, on the basis of which he can find a shared language with others similar to him. Thus, there exist collective identities of many diverse types, when the national identity is one component of all the elements composing the person's identity. However, it is not essential to assume that this is the primary identity or the most important one, which rejects all other identities (Amarstya Sen, 2006, in Ben-Shemesh, 2010).

The Palestinian identity, like parallel Arab national identities, is a product of many ideologies. Looking back, it is possible to see that its development was accompanied by dominant Middle Eastern ideological influences, such as Arab nationalism, pan-Islamism, and the rise of political Islam. In addition, it is necessary to also note the colonialist influence that sliced the region into the modern nation states and the ongoing struggle against the Zionist movement over the control of the land (Zalkovitz, 2008).

5.7 Signs of the Identity Crisis in the Arab Student

The identity crisis in the Palestinian minority in Israel follows the fact that the Arabs in Israel are found outside of the main public sphere of the Jewish national and Zionist hegemony and outside of the system of symbols and national belonging (Amara, 2004). This situation caused tension between their national identity and their civic identity (Lipshitz, 1994). According to the aforementioned review, the Arabs of Israel belong to two contradicting worlds in their identity. In the first, there is their proud Palestinian identity, alongside their desire to promote the existence of the Palestinian state. In the second, they are Israeli citizens with equal rights, who understand the sensitivity of the situation in Israel. Because of this complexity, the Arabs of Israel support the peace process, since it may improve their situation and help crystallize the definitions of their identity (Stendel, 1996).

[19] This is the Arabic word for the feeling of belonging to the city.

An example that best presents the identity crisis and the deliberation of the Arab student's identity is expressed in the research of Oron (2010). Research has found that most of the Arab students seek to see themselves as Palestinians. The religious identity is prominent in its importance and the Nakba has a main role as a factor that shapes the shared identity. Aside from the different attitude to the degree of religiosity, it is important to remember that among the Arabs of Israel there are different religious groups, such as Muslims, Christians, Druse, and others and among the Muslims themselves there are, as known, different approaches and positions. Regarding their Arab character and their Palestinian character, there are differences in emphases. The Israeliness is a component in the students' identity, beyond their Jewish civil identity (Oron, 2010).

Ghanem (2009) indicated that the multiplicity of the identities of the Arabs of Israel does not lead to the hybridization of identities, multiculturalism, and tolerance and not to camouflaged identities as an expression of defense against direct repression but to crisis and anomaly. Ghanem summarized the arguments of the Arab intellectuals whose starting point is the problems in the Zionist structure of the State and its definition as a Jewish and democratic State. In their opinion, the Zionist structure causes the failure in actuality of every possibility of the true advancement of the Palestinians in Israel and causes the failure by its very nature of their **integration in the civic structure** (Barnea, 2011).

According to Al-Haj (1993), the adherence of the Arabs of Israel to two identities, national and civic, is explained by the dual process of marginalization in which they are found. This sector is pushed to the sidelines by the Jewish majority and by its brother Palestinians who live beyond the Green Line. The dual marginality is what enables the Arabs of Israel to define their identity in national terms (Palestinian) and in civic terms (Israeli), without being forced to fully commit to one of these two groups of reference.

As a result of the conflict of identity and culture, a crisis is created in the national identity for the Palestinian citizens in Israel. In addition, one of the main factors of this identity crisis is the definition of the state of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (Alimbau, 2007) and as having Jewish religious symbols (Gabizon, 1998), since this definition is a barrier to the cultural-identity equality of the Arabs in Israel (Mounter, 2006) and limits the development of Israeli patriotism among its Palestinian citizens. Since the objects of the patriotic identification that shaped the state and its legal and political expressions ignored the existence of the Arab citizens of Israel, the development of a universal patriotism that is expressed in constitutional loyalty was not possible (Jamal, 2004). The State in essence blocked the possibility that the

Arabs of Israel will feel that they are an inseparable part of the State and of Israeli society (Arian, 2004; Jamal, 2004). The argument is that the definition of the State is discriminatory, both in terms of the resources and in terms of the political and administrative participation (Mounter, 2006).

The non-recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people since the establishment of the State of Israel and the attempt to separate between the Palestinian national entity and the Arab entity forced and catalyzed the need for the alternative national crystallization for the Palestinian minority. Israel denied the existence of the Palestinian group in it as a national group with historical and moral rights and deprived them on a national, economic, and political background. As the tension between the ethno-religious identity and definition of the State and its civic identity increases, the Palestinian national affiliation among the Arabs of Israel has steadily strengthened (Jamal, 2004).

The establishment and education system attempted to introduce processes of socialization for the identification of the land as a cultural basis for Jewish immigrants. The processes of socialization included many cultural activities intended to establish the connection to the land, such as trips, studies of the knowledge of the land, studies of the history, geography, and nature of the land, which steadily assumed a great place in the organized cultural activity that existed among adults and the generation of those born in Israel (Yaar & Shavit, 2001). In contrast, Oron (2010) cautioned that the system failed in education for democracy, pluralism, and co-existence, and this failure may worsen in the future.

It is not possible to resolve an identity crisis through normative decision, and it is not an issue for the Courts. The Courts are in charge of the discourse of identities, which has a monologue character, which erases the visage of the other and seeks to decide for him. In contrast, the identity discourse required for Israeli society is fundamentally of a dialogue nature, which seeks to recognize the other, to enrich him, and to be enriched from him. As aforementioned, the Jewish public in the State of Israel will never resolve the acute identity tensions that divide it. However, educational, social, religious, and political work is necessary (Zilbersheid, 2009). Possible directions of actions that can meet the identity crisis are religion, nationality, and culture. (Shwade, Shavit, Delasha, & Ofek, 2014).

Following the identity crisis described in this chapter, profound social changes are occurring among the Arabs of Israel, creating internal tensions that are steadily accumulating, until they explode in different ways (Stendel, 1992). Since the Arabs of Israel have internalized

the importance of the identity, which means their continuity as a community and as a people, an attempt has begun to preserve and retain the Palestinian culture and through it the national identity (Zarnoka, 2001). One expression is the decision to maintain the Arabic language as a part of the identity, which is Palestinian, Arab, Muslim – but also Israeli (Spolsky & Goldberg Shohamy, 1999). For these reasons, the only opening for patriotic connection is the Palestinian cultural and national heritage (Jamal, 2004).

On the basis of the developments and the shaping of the national identity of Arab society, there are its demands for group rights (Smooha, 1999, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014) and the attempt to effect changes in the structure and definition of the state, from the aspiration to bring about civic equality and adequate representation for the Palestinian identity and their integration in Israeli society (Jamal, 2004). As a result of deprivation and non-legitimization of the Palestinian identity in Israel and the failure to provide adequate representation for the Palestinian identity, culture, and heritage, a new trend of 'alternative national education' has developed – a trend that will be examined in the present study in the next chapter. Recently in Israel alternative schools have been opened, when the main factor of their development is development of educational democratization (Sabirsky, 1999, in Levy & Massalha, 2012). The alternative schools, primarily based on initiatives of educators and parents, have become more prominent in the Israeli educational setting, in both Arab society and Jewish society (Ram, 2008, in Levy & Massalha, 2012). While the Israeli education system has led the process of de-politicization and thus has contributed to the shaping of a generation of young people who lack political awareness, these schools promote a strong political discourse, leading the students to adopt a position of their own.

6. Factors in the Development of Alternative National-Cultural Education

Following the previous chapter, which discussed the 'product' of the Arab education system in Israel and the issues of the crisis of identity in the Arab student, this chapter will discuss and expound on the alternatives and solutions that the Arabs in Israel attempt so as to fill this lack and to compensate for this failure of the Arab education system in Israel.

6.1 Rationale

Does a bilingual school have influence on the opinions on the national perception of Jews and Arabs? The importance of the research is the possible contribution of this joint school to the creation of a shared civilian perception against the hegemonic national perception of the Jewish group. The objective of my research study is to examine whether the bilingual school forms a religious-ethnic-national identity that is equal for and provides pride to every side. My argument is that as the religious-ethnic-national identity is clear to the Arab student, it will cause him to be a good citizen in the state where he lives, in Israel, and as the Arab student feels alienated and inferior and realizes the State's denial of his identity, in the formal and informal contents, he will feel alienation and will deny the State and will not be loyal to a State that does not respect him and does not recognize his ethnic-religious-national identity. National education and the formation of the religious-ethnic-national identity are important to the existence of the Arab student as a good citizen in the State of Israel. The Hand-in-Hand Association for bilingual and bicultural education includes alternative education to the state education system.

Membership in a minority group may awaken a sense of threat among the group members, lead to the formation of a negative identity, and erode the individual's self-esteem, since minority groups for the most part are not highly appreciated by members of other groups – if at all. Members of a minority group attempt to evade this situation through strategies defined as "every thought or action that succeeds in reducing to removing the threat, whether consciously and intentionally or not" (Breakwell, 1986).

The social identity theory emphasizes processes motivated by the desire to improve the social positioning of the minority group. In contrast, according to the model of Berry (1990), processes of social adjustment are at the basis of the processes of adjustment and construction

of the identity of the members of the non-dominant group (the minority group) in the inter-cultural encounter with members of the dominant group (the majority group).

The modern State is a main player in the shaping of the national and territorial identity of its citizens (Medzini, 2012), who see the collective memory to be a factor that assembles them together socially and is vital to the existence of every social framework (Halbwaches, 1992, in Shy, 2011). The critics of the modern nation state maintain that every project with the goal of the inculcation of a shared cultural identity among all the nation's citizens is necessarily a project that includes and excludes. Therefore, this argument is a topic of public and academic discussion in multicultural thinking, and accordingly the main goal of the multicultural perception is to focus on these practices from the goal to formulate an alternative perception that enables more equal and full inclusion of members of social groups that establish the national collective or others who are pushed to its margins, or in other words, the national minorities (Markman & Yonah, 2010).

According to international law, national minorities are entitled to a group identity and the self-management of their cultural and educational institutions. From a pedagogical perspective, the Palestinian-Arab students and educators in Israel need an organization that will provide them with a value-oriented compass, will promote a systemic viewpoint of problems of Arab education, will be in charge of the quality of the curricula and the textbooks, and will work alongside the General Pedagogical Secretariat of the Ministry of Education. Moreover, such a pedagogical council will create an institutionalized space for holding discussions on the values and structure of Arab education and even on the content of the core studies that are shared across the education system in Israel. In addition, the real test will be the essential change necessary in the textbooks, in the different curricula, in the lessons themselves, and in the contents of education in general, both formal and informal, and in the establishment of institutional arrangements and additional practices that will ensure that the Arab educational authority will have the necessary budgets and resources and will provide it with real authorities that will enable the implementation of essential autonomy (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

The giving of the rights of self-management to the minority group will ensure comprehensive development of the unique identity and the collective experience of its members. At the basis of the rights for self-management is found the recognition of the nativeness of the Palestinian-Arab population and the need to ensure full expression of its group identity in its unique areas of life, in a way that complements its involvement in the pan-social public sphere (Jabareen, 2008, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

The national identity is also a tool for political empowerment, and only the recruitment of the national Arab narrative in parallel to the Jewish narrative can balance to some extent the balance of power. According to this argument, the nationality is perhaps not always necessary as an essence, but it is often necessary as a strategy – as a means for political empowerment of the individual and the collective. Truthfully, it is possibly that from a practical and strategic perspective, the national identity is forced upon us and we must accept it whether we want to or not. However, more basically, it is likely that every person who holds a complex attitude towards the national identity needs to express his opinion on the question of whether it is possible in the era of nationalism in which we live to promote important social goals such as the value of equality even without needs this type of identity categories (Ben Shemesh, 2010).

The Palestinian minority in Israel does not enjoy educational, economic, or political autonomy (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2015). Therefore, the objective of the research study is to examine the complexity of this situation and to examine the question of whether in a society in which the national minority does not receive adequate response to central issues related to it social and national needs in the framework of the state education system it can find an alternative education system outside.

According to Sofer (1984), regarding the formation of the Arab national identity in Israel, in the civil-social-political reality found in Israel every group of the population feels itself simultaneously as the majority group, the equal group, and the minority group, and this holds true for both the Arab population and the Jewish population (Koren, 2009). Peres (1976) maintains that the Arabs in Israel are found in a situation of 'compartmentalization', differentiating between the Arab collective-ideological-emotional dimension and the Israeli pragmatic-personal dimension. In other words, among their fellow Arabs in the Middle East they feel possessed of an Arab identity, while in their relationships with Jews they adopt a pragmatic approach that emphasizes their Israeli identity.

The history of the Palestinian identity that developed under special circumstances is one example of the multiplicity of historical narratives, when in the Palestinian context their implications have considerable weight. The reason is not only the competition with the Zionist narrative but the fact that there are many internal contradictions in the Palestinian discourse itself (Atzam Natzar, in Zalkovitz, 2008). The continuing conflict between the Jews and the Palestinians in Israel leads to the situation in which the identity of every side is built through the negation of the 'other' (Bar-On, 1999; Bar-Tal, 1999). The result is that there are different collective identities in the Israeli identity and they are Jewish, Arab, and Druse (Prego, 2011).

It is not possible to ignore the lack of symmetry that exists in relation to nationalism between Jews and Arabs, when Jewish nationalism has achieved important political achievements in the past one hundred years and the national identity of the Jews is deep and established. Even today, although many Jews formed and are forming more complicated relations with their national identity, the post-national attitude is still the province of a negligible minority (Ben-Shemesh, 2010).

With regard to cultural adjustment tendencies of youths in the Arab sector, Ayalon and Sagy (2011), who relied on the model proposed by Berry, found in their research that the majority (60%) reported that they prefer to be differentiated from Jewish society, while a minority (18%) reported that they prefer integration. The trend of differentiation was primarily prominent among the Muslims in general. One of the possible explanations that the researchers gave to this finding is that differentiation enables the Arab youths, and especially the Arab girls, to reduce the sense of conflict and threat that arise in the social-cultural encounter. In Bedouin society it was found that more than 94% of the girls and the boys define their social identity as 'Muslim Arab' in the description of their identity, as opposed to 21-27% who identify with the Israeli identity (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). It is possible to conclude that the common definitions of identity among Israeli Arabs were Palestinian Arab and Muslim (Ayalon & Sagy, 2011; Hojirat, 2006). In addition, it was found that in the Palestinian group the involvement and commitment to the topic of the national identity were greater than in the Jewish group (Haviv-Barak, Bekerman, & Bilu, 2010).

As a result of the failure of the education system in all of its roles, Arab society, the Arab intellectuals, and the Arab students apparently have lost all faith in the Israeli education system. They have begun to search for alternative sources for education and for the formation of a national identity for the Arab students. As a result of the policy of the State of Israel towards the Palestinian minority, the love of the homeland and the connection with the heritage and the Palestinian people have become for the Arabs of Israel an essential condition for the maintenance of existence. These are expressed in the preservation of the Arabic language, emotional and material identification with the Palestinian people, and political and civil demands of the State and the majority society. Arab education suffers from two 'countries', a strong country and a weak country, when on the one hand the weak country removes all responsibility towards it and on the other hand the strong country strives clearly to tighten the control. Therefore, Arab society identifies possibilities to evade the control of the State, through the privatization enterprise. This refuge entails risks of the withdrawal from the welfare

state and the disconnection from the resources and responsibility of the State, but this refuge will enable Arab society to propose alternative and complementary programs through 'gray education' and civil society organizations that can meet the need for the cultivation of the students' cultural and national identity (Agabaria & Mahajana, 2009).

In the educational frameworks, whether state or private/church, there is no true option for the formation of an appropriate national-cultural identity for the Palestinian Arab students, since they primarily blur to the point of elimination the identity and belonging of the Palestinian Arab students. Thus, the importance of Palestinian heritage and the ability to include it in the school in the educational process is not found, and this troubles the Arab parents (Levy & Massalha, 2013).

Why Is the Formation of the National-Cultural Identity Important?

Cultural education is important, for culture is considered a factor that helps the person survive, develop his identity, and achieve goals that he set for himself. From this perspective, culture answers two types of needs: instrumental (the person's organizational and cultural needs) and expressive (social and emotional) (Shapira, 1989).

The role of culture (Haviland, 1999) is to ensure continuation through acculturation of its members. It must acculturate new members so that they can integrate into society in their adulthood. Culture must enforce order among its members and between them and people from outside. It must provide a point to the existence of its members and incentivize them to do all that is necessary to ensure their survival. Last, it must be changeable, so that it can adjust to the changing conditions of the environment (Haviland, 1999).

Culture has decisive importance on the shaping of people and determination of their identity (Harouel, 2001). The person's identity is not predetermined upon birth and is not directed ahead of time to develop in a certain way, but is determined through the cultural and social context in which he grew up (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). There is a relation between the language and the culture and identity, when multiculturalism is discussed. This is for the existence of language minorities in many countries. The perception of multiculturalism is focused, in political, social, or economic situations, or when the language of the group is different. The issue of language, culture, and identity increases the deliberation in states with language minorities on the topic of language education (Ezer, 2004).

Post-modern researchers maintain that the formation of culture is related in an inseparable manner to the ostracizing of others, to the pushing them to the margins, and to the

silencing of them, since they are threatening in their difference to the whole and stable identity that society is attempting to create on the personal level and on the group level (Shatir-Livni, 2014). It is very difficult to differentiate between culture and religion in societies that are not modern. In general, religions are defined as cultural systems of shared beliefs and ceremonies, which provide their believers with a feeling of meaning and an absolute purpose through the creation of a perception of a holy, inclusive, and supranational reality (Regev, 2011).

Thus, Massalha (2009) argues that recently there are developments and changes for the importance of education in Arab society. This development has many diverse implications when the common denominator of them all is the attempt to get out of the 'trap' in which Arab education is found (Massalha, 2009). The reality of the Arab education system in Israel suffers from two fundamental problems. The first problem is fear / profound collective psychological anxiety, which characterizes a group of residents found under occupation or ongoing colonialism, which causes the feeling of the 'symptom of internalization', which is repressed. The second problem is the trap that Arab education and Arab society as a whole is found in (Massalha, 2009). This trap has many forms, such as the identity-political dimension, which follows the definition of the State as a Jewish state. Therefore, Arabs in Israel are perceived as a continuous potential threat, they cannot form for themselves an 'Israeli' identity even if they wanted to do so, since the Israeli identity is necessarily a Jewish identity (Bashara, 1993; Nashaf, 2005). The Arab education system operates in an emerging Jewish colonial political space and the Arabs are situated at the margins and even outside of the boundaries of the definition of the State, especially when they are presented as 'others' (Gur-Zeev, 2002). The trap in Arab education steadily strengthened after the 1967 occupation (and in my opinion, also the events of October 2000 and the military operations in Gaza such as Operation Protective Edge) and with the renewed contact of Arabs in Israel with the Palestinians in the territories, which re-opened the question of their identity and national belonging (Levi, 2005).

The textbooks refrained from including most of the national-historical and national literary heritage in the curricula for the Arab schools (Al-Haj, 1996). However, unfortunately for Israeli education system, it long ago ceased to be the sole source of knowledge to which Arab students are exposed. The technological revolution changed the educational rules of the game and placed alternative knowledge sources before the students. In addition, Arab society has experienced many changes, including the increase of the level of political and national awareness and a significant increase in the higher education and to a certain extent in the standard of living and the class structure (Massalha, 2009).

The trap and the control of the Arab education system in Israel greatly influenced the status of the public school in Arab society and gravely harmed its image. Therefore, the public Arab education system is perceived as irrelevant both in the context of achievements, following which there was the great dropping out of students from the system, and in the cultural-patriotic-national context (Massalha, 2009). The situation of the Arab education system in Israel, of the non-formation of the formal/institutional national identity for the Palestinian citizens in Israel, which was called by Massalha (2009) the trap in the Arab education system in Israel is problematic and complicated. Therefore, one of the ways for the release from this trap is to search in education for a way outside of the boundaries of the public-state education system, or in other words, to initiate the establishment of different alternative educational frameworks (Massalha, 2009). The educational field for the parents who belong to the 'upright generation'[20] is an essential field, central in their struggle against trends of the loss of the Arab identity and its uniqueness (Massalha & Levy, 2009, 2013).

The development of this trend or issue of alternative national education is an alternative strategy, following and on the background of the failure to develop a Palestinian national identity and the identity crisis of the Arab students in Israel in the state Arab education system. Alternative national education is growing stronger at the expense of formal education in the education system in Israel. Indeed, there are important symptoms to the phenomenon of alternative education in Arab society in Israel, which made education recently an existing and extending fact. In addition, new schools, both elementary schools and secondary schools, with a unique character are appearing as alternatives to the existing tracks of education, which are state education and private (church) education (Massalha, 2009).

However, before the discussion of the alternative education it is necessary to describe in short private education.

6.2 Private School Education

The right to private school education of a religious or cultural group or of people with a different shared outlook is perceived as a basic right and as such is recognized in international

[20] The 'upright generation' refers to the people who were born in the last quarter of the 20th century. They have an identity and patterns of political behavior different from those characterizing the previous generations. The basic experience of the upright generation is the struggle. This is the struggle between them and the State, the struggle between generations and ideologies, the class struggle, and the inter-religious struggle. A main struggle in this series of struggles is the formation of a distinct Palestinian identity, and in the alienation from the Israeli identity (Rabinovitz & Abu Becker, 2002).

conventions[21] and in the laws of different countries, including Israel[22]. Some see the State as having the duty to finance private schools as an inseparable part of this right, since otherwise the realization of the right will depend on the parents' economic ability (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). In contrast, there are private schools that are not characterized by any religious or cultural uniqueness but are intended to offer better education than what the State provides (such as small and heterogeneous classes, longer study hours, and a richer variety of contents). These schools do not realize the parents' religious freedom or right to a community life but they are a part of the parents' freedom to influence their children's education and their general freedom to act to promote their interests and their children's interests, as long as they do not harm others[23]. The right to private education, which is intended to offer better education, is weaker than the right to private education of a language, national, or religious minority and the negation of private education of this type harms the parents and the students less than the negation of the right to religious private education does (or education that derives from another comprehensive worldview that is not religious), at least when the proposed state education is adequate (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Private schools that are unique in their pedagogical perception, such as anthroposophical schools, democratic schools, and so on, are interesting intermediate cases. While they may be related in their nature to rights of the type of freedom of conscience and community belonging, generally the people involved do share only an educational outlook, to differentiate from a defined community (religious, national, language-based, or cultural) that shares an all-encompassing worldview[24]. In addition to these, there are schools that combine religious uniqueness and educational excellence. An example of this type of school are the religious schools that combine a high level of religious adherence, including extensive religious

[21] See, for example, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, section 18(4) (section 18 is entirely on the freedom of religion); the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, section 2; the International Convention on Cultural, Social, and Economic Rights, 1966, section 13.

[22] See, for example, Administrative Appeal (Jerusalem) 1320/03, Menachem Mandel Alkaslasi and Others v. Municipality of Beitar Ilit and Others (2004)

[23] This right too was recognized by the Courts in Israel. See Supreme Court 4363/00, Poriyah Ilit Committee v. the Minister of Education and Others, Court Ruling 56(4) 203; Adminsitrative Appeal (Tel Aviv – Yaffo) 1294/01, Atid School and Others v. the Ministry of Education.

[24] There is a dispute whether it is necessary to attribute the same weight to the interest for religious education and to the interest for unique education that is not on a religious basis. Some maintain that pedagogical uniqueness is a means in the hands of the parents from established strata to give their children an educational advantage in a homogeneous environment. Conversely, some reject the division between religious reasons and other reasons and hold that like weight is attributed to the religious interest it is necessary to ascribe weight to other types of educational preferences. Here the position is based on the outlook that religious, ideological, and cultural reasons are essentially different from the interest to provide a better education and hence it is necessary to attribute to these reasons greater importance.

studies and complete gender separation, with classification based on achievements[25]. This type of school fulfills interests and rights of both types mentioned previously, but they also clash with conflicting interests pertaining to both types, as will be explained in the continuation (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Like any other right, the right of parents to influence their children's education is limited, and it is necessary to balance it with conflicting rights and interests. One of the most important contradicting interests is the public interest in the education of the future citizens, so that they will have the abilities suited for economic independence and participation in a democratic society and will have a shared value-based infrastructure necessary for social cohesion. Moreover, the State is committed to preserving the rights and good of the children when these clash with the parents' interests. Therefore, there is sweeping agreement that, at least in cases where there is real harm to children or certain education threatens the public welfare, there is the justification and perhaps even the obligation for the State to intervene in the private education of communities. With regard to private schools that have the goal of instilling a 'better' education, there is no harm to these interests. The education provided in these private schools does not awaken concern regarding the preparation of the students for their roles in the society of the future. The reverse is true: it can be argued that students who learn in the schools that provide a 'better education' are better equipped than the learners in State education, both for participation in the job market and for political and civil involvement. Both the students' rights and the students' good are preserved beneficially in these schools (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

To conclude, the right to private education is not an absolute right, and thus it is necessary to balance between it and the rights and interests of other children and of society as a whole. Therefore, it is justified to intervene in the opening and operation of private schools when they harm the interests and rights of other children or of society at large. The degree of intervention needs to express the appropriate balance between the conflicting interests; or in other words, between the strength of the right to private education in the specific circumstances and the degree to its harm of the conflicting interests. The State's intervention can be expressed in a variety of ways, such as the limitation of the very possibility of opening private schools, the setting of rules for the operation of these schools, and the restriction of the financing for these schools. In the specific context of the selective private schools, the conclusion from the

[25] See for example Michaeli (in preparation).

normative analysis is that when they harm the equality of opportunities in education there is justification to limit their activity. The following chapter will analyze the existing regulations on the establishment of private schools and will show that although it expresses the normative position presented here it is not effective and hence proposals to change it will be suggested (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

It is necessary to differentiate between different types of private education. Sometimes private education is intended to realize group rights, for example, in the educational institutions of a cultural, language, national, or religious minority, and sometimes it is intended to enable the parents with a unique worldview that is not religious to educate their children according to their way. Education is perceived as one of the vital components in the autonomy of communities. Religious education is often perceived as a religious obligation imposed on the parents (Carter, 1997; Stolzenberg, 1993).

Harel Ben Shachar (2012) noted that one of the problems in the existing regulation of the licensing of the private schools is the 'harm to the state schools'. How? There is harm to the nature of state education. As aforementioned, private schools have far-reaching implications on the education system and on the students who do not study in them as well. The regulations aimed at preventing the establishment of private schools that harm state education do not succeed in precisely capturing the nature of this harm. The regulations state that to determine that a school may harm state education the Minister of Education is permitted to evaluate every consideration pertaining to the matter, including educational and financial considerations, such as:

1. Anticipated closure of classes or educational institutions in the state education system.
2. Anticipated harm to the number of students or their percentage in the state education system.
3. Anticipated harm to the integrative composition of the students in the state education system[26].

The three considerations cited above do not succeed in encapsulating the most essential harm caused by the private schools to state education – the phenomenon of the removal of the 'cream of the crop' (or in other words, the good students). This phenomenon is not expressed in the closure of classes or educational institutions and not even in the harm to the number of

[26] Recognized Institutions Regulations, section 3(A1). According to the regulation, the "integrative composition" means the composition of students in the study classes that combine students with different learning abilities and from diverse social-economic groups.

students. Moreover, the closure of classes or educational institutions and the reduction of the number of students does not necessarily harm state education, as long as all the students receive a proper education (sometimes the reverse is true – the reduction of the number of students may benefit students). The harm caused by the private schools is that education in the public schools of the State is weakened by the departure of the good students and the good teachers and by the reduction of the material resources at the schools' disposal. The third consideration, the harm to the integrative composition of the school, is also not sufficiently precise, since the state schools continue to serve most of the students and therefore the student composition in them continues to be diverse (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

It is important to state that the damage to state education is also possible even if in the private school the students study in an integrative composition. Therefore, the very fact that in the Havru0ta School Arab students learn with Jewish students and students from disadvantaged neighborhoods learn with students from rich local governments, a fact that impressed the Appeals Committee, must not mislead. The very attraction of the strong forces from the peripheral schools may be especially problematic, since it draws the strong local powers from the community and leaves the schools in the periphery even further depleted. Moreover, even if students from excluded groups study in the private school, it is reasonable to assume that these are students who belong to the elites in these groups, and the advantages of private education thus do not reach the truly weak students. When it is enough to have some representation of certain groups so as to prove that the school is integrative, the schools are incentivized to accept a few students (who were painstakingly selected) from excluded groups who will serve a 'fig leaf' (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Hence, the three considerations described previously in the regulations do not define well the damage caused to state education following the opening of selective private schools. The regulations in today's formulation have made it difficult for the State to prove the harm anticipated by the opening of the Havruta School and have made it easy for the school to refute the arguments on the anticipated harm as unfounded and merely theoretical claims. While the first part of the regulations enables other considerations to be weighed, the subsections presume to define what harm to the state education system is and therefore it is natural that they will be employed to attempt to prove the damage (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Today, the factor that determines the harm to the state schools, by law[27], is the opinion of the local government where the school is situated[28]. However, when the school appeals to a larger geographic unit, the local government in whose jurisdiction the school is situated in the sole factor influenced by the school. Sometimes there are conflicts of interest between the local government in whose jurisdiction the school is situated (the local government may support the establishment of the school) and adjacent local governments[29]. Therefore, the opinion of the local government in whose jurisdiction the school is situated may delineate a partial and misleading picture of the impact that the school has on the educational environment, and it is necessary to ascertain for the discussion of the opening of a new private school that the positions of all the factors that may be influenced by the opening be presented, including the heads of the nearby educational authorities, in the framework of a "Report of the Influence on the Educational Environment" that will be authored on the school. It is further recommended to take into consideration the positions of experts in the field, as will be explained in the continuation (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). One of the ways in which it is possible to take into consideration the ongoing nature of the harm to state education is to demand the re-examination of the influence of the private school on the state schools once every few years. Although the information may be more complete, the re-examination of the license after a number of years is problematic, since closing the school greatly harms the students who learn in it and the teachers who are employed in it. It is certainly possible that the harm to these students and teachers will be sufficiently great to transform the issue of the closing of the school into a detrimental step. Therefore, it appears that there is no option but to weigh the future damages already at the time the license and recognition are granted, although this is a complicated evaluation. Thus, it is necessary to be helped by the opinion of expert professionals based on documented experience of similar cases in Israel and around the world. The Courts need to attribute weight to such professional appraisals and not to see them only as theoretical concerns (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

[27] Supervision of the Schools Law, Section 5.

[28] In the Court Ruling on the matter of Havruta, the District Court commented that the opinions that the Ministry of Education sought from the local governments were not required by law and therefore he attributed lower importance to their arguments on this matter.

[29] In a similar context, recently the Court approved the decision of the Kfar Saba municipality not to release students who are residents of Kfar Saba to studies outside of the city in the school of Kfar HaYarok, which is an official supra-regional school. See Administrative Appeal 31083-03-11, Korner and Others v. Kfar Saba Municipality and Others (July 31, 2011).

Process of Opening a School: Licensing, Recognition, and Financing

The rules applying to official schools and to schools that are recognized but not official are different, and therefore how the regulation refers to them needs to be different. The state education regulations enacted in recent years reflect the normative approach presented above, that the Ministry of Education is permitted to prevent the founding of private schools or to harm their budget if it is proved that they harm state education. However, the attempt of the Ministry of Education to prevent the establishment of the Havruta School failed. The Appeal Committee and the District Court maintained that the Ministry of Education acted unlawfully when it refused to grant the school a license. In light of these developments, there is room to analyze this failure and accordingly to make suggestions for a change of the regulations (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

The policy of the Ministry of Education eased the establishment of private schools of different types, both with large public financing and with liberal legal rules, which did not impose essential restrictions on the establishment. Professional Committees that discussed the topic in the Ministry of Education recommended permitting unique schools to be established subject to certain conditions intended to cope with the possible implications on the equality (Dahan & Yonah, 1999; Harel Ben Shachar, 2012; Michaeli, in preparation). These recommendations led to the liberalization of the policy pertaining to the establishment of schools at private initiative, but simultaneously the conditions that the Committee recommended to the private schools so as to balance the inequality that they created were not fulfilled (Ichilov, 2009: 84). Consequently, the phenomenon of private schools grew, and today these schools constitute a significant segment of the schools in the education system, nearly one-third of the educational institutions[30]. Despite this evaluation, it is difficult to know the precise percentage of the unique private schools, since this is a phenomenon whose boundaries are vague and the legal categories of the school do not always overlap with their essential characteristics[31].

[30] Blass, 2005; Givton, 2010; Ichilov, 2009; Maron (in preparation) (regarding the elementary schools not including the Ultra-Orthodox schools).

[31] The schools established by private initiative may have different legal statuses (some operate without a license, some are recognized, and some are official, and some began without a license and became recognized and eventually official, although they did not change their manner of activity). Moreover, some schools that are privately owned provide public education in all respects, such as schools of the educational networks. These data also include the Ultra-Orthodox private schools, around which the dilemmas are different from the dilemmas of the unique private schools.

The local education authorities were the first to voice clear opposition to the establishment of selective private schools, because of the negative influence on the state schools in their domain[32]. This opposition has increased since 2008, when the State Education Law (Amendment Number 8) (Participation of the Local Governments in the Support of Unofficial Recognized Education Institutions) 2007 went into effect (the Nahary Law), which obligated local governments to fund recognized schools at the same rate as the State funds them, and thus imposed a burden on the local government budget (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012). Gradually the approach of the Ministry of Education became more extreme, with the steadily increasing recognition of the negative implications of the multiplicity of selective schools on educational equality of opportunities. The change of approach was expressed in the Amendment from 2009 of the State Education Regulations (Recognized Institutions) 1953 (in the following: Recognized Institutions Regulations). These regulations arrange the recognition of the private educational institutions and their financing. According to the amendment, the Minister of Education is authorized not to recognize a school if it is anticipated to harm state education. The regulations are an essential change in the rules of recognition of the schools, since until then the examination focused solely on internal criteria, such as the physical conditions of the school, the curriculum, and the number of students. Two additional amendments to the regulations (one from 2008 and one from 2010) enable the budgeting of recognized institutions that harm equality to be cut[33] (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

The first significant opportunity to examine the new regulations occurred with the Havruta School, a selective private school established in September 2009. The Ministry of Education refused the school's request for a license and recognition on the basis of the harm to the equality of opportunities in education. However, both the Appeals Committee that discussed the matter and the District Court that heard the Appeal determined that the school must be granted a license. The State submitted an appeal to this decision to the Supreme Court, and as of today (the writing of the dissertation) the appeal is still in the Court. The Havruta School is an interesting test case of the difficulties found in the regulation of private school education in Israel, not only because this is the first case in which the Courts interpret the new

[32] This opposition was expressed in Court Rulings on this matter. See, for example, Administrative Appeal (Nazareth) 1112/06, Yehi Chasdecha Association and Others v. Local Council of Hazor Galilit and Others; Administrative Appeal (Jerusalem) 111/03, The Association for the Democratic School in Zichron Yakov v. the State of Israel, the Ministry of Education; Administrative Appeal (Tel Aviv – Yaffo) 1101/08, Association for My Brothers and Others v. the Head of the Municipality of Modiin Macabim-Reut and Others (2009).

[33] Recognized Institutions Regulations, Section 9.

regulations[34] but also because the main importance of the Havruta School derives from its being a significant example of a private school whose main uniqueness lies in its selectivity and aspiration to instill a quality education, characteristics that are not camouflaged by uniqueness pertaining to worldview – the exact type of school that the Recognized Institutions Regulations are intended to limit. If the regulations are not effective in the restriction of the Havruta School, then it is doubtful that they will have impact in other cases that are less significant (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Another problem in the existing regulation is the way in which the process of the opening of the school is built: license, recognition, and financing. Although from an essential and practical perspective the processes of licensing and recognition are connected, the two processes have separate rules, and this creates awkwardness and lack of coherence, as will be described in the continuation. Hence, it is recommended to unite the process of the granting of the license and the recognition into one process of the opening of a school. In this process, it is recommended to increase the use of the authority to condition the opening of the school on the fulfillment of a number of conditions. However, it is recommended to separate between the decision on the opening of the school and the decision on the financing of the school, decisions that today are interrelated. It is further recommended to change the default in the financing of the selective private schools and to determine that as a rule these schools will not be funded at a high rate (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Unification between the process of the licensing and the process of the recognition. The legal separation existing today between the stage of licensing and the stage of recognition creates awkwardness and lack of coherence in the system, since although in most of private schools (except for the exempt institutions and unique cultural educational institutions) the two processes are vital and even discussed together, the requirement (set by the Court on the Havruta matter) that the Ministry of Education will weigh separate considerations between the two processes may result in contradicting outcomes for the same school. Hence, the two processes should be united and the duty to evaluate considerations on the harm to state

[34] Since the District Court Ruling on the matter of the Havruta School, another Court Ruling has been handed down on the issue, in the Court for Administrative Matters in Tel Aviv, pertaining to the licensing and recognition of an Orthodox Christian School. See Administrative Appeal (Tel Aviv – Yaffo) 12302-07-11, State of Israel – Ministry of Education v. the Association for the Margerys Church – Kfar Yasif (October 18, 2011). This Court Ruling also rejected the position of the State and approved of the establishment of the private school. The circumstances of the matter in this case are slightly different, since this is a school of a religious community. However, some of the reasons for the rejection of the State's appeal are similar to those given on the Havruta matter.

education should be anchored in the framework of the request to open the school. The law must address separately the conditions for giving a license to schools that do not require recognition – exemption institutions and unique cultural educational institutions (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Conditions for licensing and recognition. The Ministry of Education is permitted today to condition the granting of a license to the school on certain provisions[35]. It is recommended to extend the use of this mechanism so as to enable the coping with the influence of private schools on their environment. It is possible to require, for instance, that the school will be situated in a weak community and will be obligated to accept all the students from the community and only then students from outside of the community. It is possible to condition the license on the limitation of the payment sum to the school. Another condition can be a maximum number of accepted students from each local government domain and any other condition that indicates that the influence on the educational environment will reduce the damage to state education. There is especial importance to reduce the harm to equality when the school being established is essential to the realization of important rights that are not fulfilled in the official schools. In such cases, conditions for licensing and recognition based on professional opinions may contribute to the appropriate balance between the interests that support the establishment of the school and the preservation of the equality (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Separation between the question of the opening of the school (licensing and recognition) and the question of the financing. Today the recognition of the Ministry of Education of the school has dual significance. It enables the school to operate and it brings with it public financing. Recognized schools that are not official receive the financing of the State and the local government at the rate of at least 75% of the financing of the state schools. However, it is possible to reduce till 10% (to a rate of 65%) if the school does not have an integrative registration policy and if the composition of the students in the school does not reflect the community mean[36]. Moreover, if the Minister of Education finds that a school harms state education, then he is permitted to void the State's participation completely. Since this is a new regulation (from the year 2010), there does not yet exist information about the scope of

[35] Supervision on the Schools Law, section 10. The section does not limit the conditions to those that are required in any event for a license.

[36] Recognized Institutions Regulations, Section 9. The Center of Research and Information of the Knesset found that in actuality the budget of recognized schools that are not official that do not meet these standards is reduced. See Vargan (2011A).

the enforcement but since the definition of the harm to state education is identical to the definition pertaining to recognition, it can be asserted that the same difficulties described previously will arise in the attempt to make use of this regulation also to prevent funding. In addition to financial funding, the recognized schools are entitled also to the allocation of structures of the local government. While the Courts determined that the local governments can give priority to the needs of the state schools, they did not dispute the obligation to see to the needs of the recognized schools[37] (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

The aforementioned review indicates that although there is a legal possibility to deny budgets to selective private schools, this is an exception that requires proof and not a default with reference to the recognized schools. This situation of affairs, in which there is a close relation between the opening of the schools and their financing, is not essential and is not desirable. Different considerations guide these two topics: prohibition to open a school seriously harms the parents' choices and therefore sometimes is unjustified, but it does not imply that it is necessary to ensure considerable public financing to schools that do not realize the public purposes of education. One of the advantages of private schools versus state schools is the economic resources at their disposal, which originate in the tuition the parents pay, in donations, and in collaborations with business companies. Therefore, selective private schools should not be allowed to increase their relative advantage through public budgets (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

A family that sends its child to receive an alternative education will sometimes pay 1,000-1,5000 shekels more every month than does a family whose child learns in the state school, but the vast majority of the parents who pay this additional sum do not do so since they are richer than the parents in state education but because they made a decision of values and principles and decided to undertake this serious expenditure, for the happiness and future of their children and out of the willingness to give up other family expenses. Parents who choose to send their children to frameworks of alternative education are forced to pay sums that are far higher than those paid by parents of children in state education because the Ministry of Education refuses the fund the alternative frameworks as it funds the official state sector. If the Ministry of Education were willing to integrate in the state education framework more diverse pedagogical approaches and to enable more reasonable learning conditions for the students (such as smaller class sizes and more adequate physical infrastructure), many parents who turn

[37] See, for example, Administrative Appeal (Tel Aviv – Yaffo) 1101/08. (See previous footnote 5.)

today to the alternative frameworks would be happy to send their children to the inexpensive state schools, which generally are also closer to their homes than the alternative school (Alternative Education Website, n.d.).

Summary

In recent years the Ministry of Education has adopted the normative position that justifies the limitation of the opening of selective private schools. Its position was expressed in the change of the rules for the recognition of the private schools and the addition of considerations pertaining to the influences that private schools have on state education. However, although the Court did not dispute the legitimacy of the worldview at the basis of the policy of the Ministry of Education, it disqualified the decision of the Ministry to prevent the opening of the Havruta School. The case is still in front of the Supreme Court, and it is possible that the position of the Supreme Court will be different from the positions of the previous Courts. However, analysis of the processes that have occurred until now can indicate the difficulties that existing regulation raises before the Ministry of Education (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

If the recommendations are indeed accepted, then it will be harder to establish selective private schools, and in any event the motivation to establish these schools will diminish, both because of the risk that after the efforts invested in the thinking and planning, in the recruitment of a staff and students, the school will not be allowed to exist and because the proposed means of regulation reduce the ability to achieve an educational advantage and to learn in a homogeneous environment, which are the main goals of these schools. In light of all the aforementioned statements on the harmful influences of selective private education, this outcome should not be regretted. However, it is important to be aware of the additional implications that may derive from the strict regulation of private education.

Parents who are interested in instilling in their children an educational advantage through private education and now cannot do this will search for other ways of doing this from **within** state education. For instance, parents will act to add private programs that are paid for by the parents, will push to extend unique supra-regional programs and schools in the state education system, and will even choose their residential areas according to the quality of the schools. Moreover, parents can give their children considerable educational advantages outside of the school walls through extracurricular courses and private lessons. It is possible to compare the situation to a balloon when the pressure on one end pushes the air to the other end. Hence,

the focus on the struggle against the private schools without improving significantly the schools in the state education and without the effective regulation and enforcement of the phenomenon of privatization in the estate education system will not be enough to promote justice and equality in education (Harel Ben Shachar, 2012).

Private Schools in Israel – Subordination to the Supervision Law

The private schools in Israel are recognized by the Ministry of Education under the condition that they are subject to the Supervision Law, which obligates them to obtain a license to operate. The operating license depends on a pedagogical program that is composed of at least 75% core curriculum and on the presentation of the safety and sanitation certificates. The ownership groups of these educational institutions are responsible for the maintenance of the institutions and the employment of the teaching and education staffs. However, the teaching staffs in the private education institutions are entitled to join the teacher associations so as to ensure that the association laws apply to them as well. The funding of private schools in Israel by the Ministry of Education is according to the level of the implementation of the core curriculum, when the list of these institutions includes the Ultra-Orthodox yeshivas[38], the anthroposophical and democratic schools, the educational networks of WIZO, Amal, and ORT, and schools of arts and sciences (School – Come to Learn Website, n.d.).

6.3 Alternative Education as a Concept

The definition of alternative education is a different form of education (Kizel, 2016). The intention is that "the school is a community of people when all the different components are partners in the construction of life in the community, which is translated into all areas of life of the school, from the process of making decisions to other things" (Kizel, 2016). One alternative basis is a process in which all the members in the community are partners, or in other words, the ownership is not the State but of the community (Kizel, 2016). Alternative education is a unique method of education (Silverman-Keller, 2005), which emphasizes the suitability to the participants and ways of action that are commensurate with the goals. Moreover, education will depend on the circumstances and therefore the roles that it fills and the populations that enjoy its services are related to unique situations of every society and era. Education, by its very nature, changes and responds to needs, desires, and dreams that remained without proper answer or needs, desires, and new dreams according to specific circumstances,

[38] The Yeshiva is a Jewish institution that focuses on the study of traditional religious texts, primarily the Torah (Bible) and the Talmud (codex of law derived from the Torah).

and alternative education can be defined only with regard to its role and according to the circumstances and needs of the target population (Hamadache, 19991). The goals of education are shaped concurrently according to the individual's educational needs and the public, national, and local agenda (Jeffs & Smith, 1999).

Alternative education is defined using new pedagogical visions, redefinition of principles related to the teacher-student relations or through the addition of learning contents (informal) that challenge the state learning contents dictated by the Ministry of Education (Massalha, 2009). Alternatives in education today reflect people's abilities to establish for themselves something that will fulfill themselves. They want to be pioneers – in education. They want to do this by themselves (Kizel, 2016). Alternative education is way for those who consider educating their children in alternative means as opposed to the standard state method offered by the Ministry of Education. There are many diverse alternative ways of the education of children around the world, existing alongside state and public education, and this is the case in Israel as well. The Israeli Alternative Education Website[39] presents a number of the types of alternative education in Israel (both newer ones and those active in Israel for decades) that are attempting to establish themselves as good and promising alternatives to the official path of the Ministry of Education.

Alternative education relies more on what contributes to the spiritual-moral-mental development of children and youths than does state education. Therefore, if the Ministry of Education does indeed stand behind the declaration of the Minster of Education to develop the student's personality, according to which the emphasis is on education for values, then he has a lot to learn (Sharon, 2010).

Alternatives in education refer to every movement or educational action or even educational thinking that rejects the following three fundamental assumptions. The school has the exclusive right to hold the license for learning (and therefore to determine its configuration), the learner and the learner's success become alternative (Kizel, 2016). Alternatives in education are therefore different from alternative education. The last includes the frameworks that seek to challenge – sometimes fully and sometimes partially – the elements of regular, traditional, conservative, public-state education. This challenge can be rather diverse. This is the repertoire of different education, of 'other' education. (Kizel, 2016).

[39] http://www.altedu.co.il

Freeman (in Sharon, 2010) adds that if state and alternative education are interested in influencing the development of society and culture in general and not only their limited frameworks, then they need to be very interested in the discourse with the culture and general society and to see what in their experience and educational perceptions are relevant and applicable to the state education system and to put forth effort to translate the accumulated knowledge into language and concepts and context of state education.

It is difficult to include and define all the movements of alternative education under one title. Every movement is an entire outlook of its own. A number of the great pedagogues of the 20th century established different movements: Maria Montessori, Rudolf Steiner, Daniel Greenberg, John Dewey, John Holt, and others, and each one of them dedicated his or her life to the development and formulation of his or her method. The different methods that alternative education offers include Montessori education, anthroposophical education (Waldorf education or Steiner education), democratic and open education, home education, and unique education (unique programs that exist in state education). Hence, it is possible to see that the alternative approaches first and foremost are concerned with the normal development and the happiness of each and every student and not of the class (Alternative Education Website, n.d.).

6.4 Alternative Education in Israel

Alternative education in Israel is steadily expanding, both because of the interesting educational approaches it offers and because of the lack of satisfaction of many more parents with the state education system. A survey conducted by the Dachaf Institute under Dr. Tzemach in 2006 presented the parents' extreme lack of satisfaction with the official education system: 66% of the residents of Israel are despairing of the education system, 78% of the residents claim there is violence in the schools, and 67% declared that they prefer private education over state education (Alternative Education Website, n.d.). Israel is gradually becoming a power in alternative education. In Israel there 24 alternative schools, some of which are democratic programs in state schools and some of which are completely independent (Sharon, 2010).

If the State of Israel takes upon itself this alternative position, which is, as aforementioned, the request for process and transforms it into a countrywide process, it can maintain state education with many alternatives. It seems that many communities of parents want only one thing – belonging. And another thing – therapeutic belonging. All the rest they are willing to buy from the State since in the bottom line they believe in the educational product

of the State and even believe that the State knows ‘what learning is’, ‘what a learner is’, and ‘what a successful learner is’ (Kizel, 2016).

The alternative in the educational process is a sense of expression against closedness and feeling of a therapeutic place against a great authority. They realize a dimension of enjoyment, happiness, and self-fulfillment (Kizel, 2016). The alternative gives a sense of freedom that infects everyone and works against the alienation and even seeks to express voluntary groups as a part of the expression of concern and caring. However, in essence they are not rebellious and certainly not against the power of traditional education (Kizel, 2016). However, as there are more and more supporters, there are more and more objectors, who come mainly from the Ministry of Education but also include academics, politicians, and even media people who voice strong criticism against the alternative education movements. Their main argument is that the alternative possibilities of education weaken the authority of the Ministry of Education and in this way threaten Israeli statehood. Another argument the critics make is that alternative education is private education intended solely for the rich and the cultivation or even approval of alternative education will increase the social and economic gaps in Israel (Alternative Education Website, n.d.).

Development of Alternative Education in the Palestinian Minority in Israel

The fear and anxiety on the loss of the Arab identity are strengthened with regard to the children, their future, and their identity. The parents are anxious about the continuation of the Arab identity but not from a jealous position on a primordial identity. This is the understanding that without a clear and strong identity the children will not be able to accept other cultures. In other words, the parents see the preservation and cultivation of their identity as Arabs to be an action essential for their existence and for the change that they seek to effect in their lives and the lives of their children (Massalha & Levy, 2013). One of the factors of the development of alternative education in the Arab sector is in essence the complexities and limitations of Arab education in Israel. The administrative dimension does not meet the educational needs of the society of Arab students. Despite all the changes that the State attempted to make, the Department for Arab Education remained under Jewish control and never broke the hierarchy of the Ministry of Education. The Arab community in Israel was never granted educational autonomy (Abu Saad, 2006; Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005; Massalha & Levy, 2012). As Al-Haj (1996) maintains, the Israeli education system failed to create a shared basis for education for multiculturalism and served as a mechanism of control and dominance of Jewish culture and its Zionist-national facet. Abu Saad (2007) maintains that it is very natural that Arab students

would search for sources other than the school to provide their cultural and national needs, since these contents and experiences are missing in the Arab curricula in Israel. In addition, the public education system has a negative image, which derives from the low level of education, high rate of dropping out, and low level of achievements, and worst of all it constitutes a platform for the development of social deviations of different types. This education system does not meet the parents' aspirations with regard to their children and their future (Massalha & Levy, 2013).

Furthermore, the memorial ceremonies are considered an instrument for the construction of a national identity. Therefore, a nation state uses strategies of the building of a collective memory to strengthen the individual's national identity and thus to confirm the existing social order (Connerton, 1989). The national memorial ceremonies are the most powerful and stable instruments in a nation state for the formation of the community of the state and society (Anderson, 1999; Connerton, 1989). They embody and emphasize the basic principles of the nation and constitute an emotional experience that awakens the national identity and the commitment to the nation (Smith, 1991). This has main expression especially in areas of ongoing conflict, such as Israel. National ceremonies and memorial ceremonies are characteristic of the education system in Israel. The Memorial Day Ceremony is central in the Arab schools in Israel. In contrast, for the Palestinian citizens of Israel there is the Nakba Day. (The Independence Day of the State of Israel is called by the Palestinians inside and outside of Israel the Nakba Day. Nakba in Arabic means disaster, since the war in 1948 led to disaster for the Arabs.) (Kimerling & Migdal, 1999).

Tamari (in Dalrymple, 2002) noted that in the beginning there was the internal repression of the memories of the Nakba by the Palestinian citizens of Israel themselves. Until recently the memory of the Nakba was preserved primarily in oral tradition and local evidence and an extensive national narrative was not created. Al-Haj (1995) maintained that the State of Israel is a partner in this, since it used the education system in the Arab sector to repress Palestinian nationality. The Palestinians in Israel have political and civil rights but the ethno-national character of the State determines the division of resources and the boundaries of legitimacy of the Palestinian group (Al-Haj, 1995, 2005). Because of these factors, only recently among the Palestinian citizens of Israel has there been open organization to commemorate the Nakba Day (Al-Haj, 2005). The Ministry of Education did not publish any guidelines regarding the commemoration of the two Memorial Days in the schools in Arab education, and on these days studies are held as usual.

As expected, the experience of Israeli identity was found to be stronger among the Jewish students, less strong among the Druse students, and even weaker among the Arab students (Prego, 2011). Regarding the perception of the collective relevant sector identity – Jewish, Arab, and Druse – there were slight differences between the three sector groups. Each one of them was found to be stronger than the Israeli identity (Prego, 2011). Therefore, this research study will examine whether the bilingual schools of the Hand-to-Hand Association answer these needs.

Arab alternative education began from the beginning of the 2000s (the goal of the establishment of alternative schools was to provide an answer in the learning curricula and to establish patriotic education and to express the Palestinian Arab identity) as a result of social change that directs new Arab educational space in which the Arab citizens enjoy greater control of the educational process and as the attempt of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel to bring about a 'full' expression in the pedagogical process, their culture, their historical story, and their human outlook. The educational initiatives that were initiated in Arab society, such as schools and museums, are considered a new phenomenon of alternative national education, when these institutions shape what is called 'alternative education'. The establishment of private self-managed schools and the change in the existing state schools are also phenomena recently strengthening in Arab society (Massalha, 2009).

One of the main topics, if not the main one, with which the Arabs of the city of Yaffo are attempting to cope from the beginning of the Zionist project is the preservation of their physical existence, their position, and uniqueness in the Zionist and urban space of Tel Aviv. The dominance of this issue, in every areas of life and area of activity in the history of the Arabs of Yaffo, is connected more than the intensive, methodical, and planned activity of the Zionist movement and then of the State of Israel to make Yaffo an inseparable part of the urban space of the city of Tel Aviv (Hamisi, 2008; Loz, 2005; Montrasko, 2009). This urban space does not suffer the existence of other spaces, different and conflicting and objecting to this space. This pattern negates the Arab urban space of Yaffo and derives from the outlook that was dominant first in the Zionist movement and later in the State of Israel, which sees itself as an advanced Western oasis in the backwards Eastern region (Massalha & Levy, 2013).

To conclude, for many of the parents the main motive in their considerations to be a part of alternative schools is the raising and educating of their children to have a Palestinian Arab identity. The school is supposed to be the effective field for processes of national and Arab socialization (Massalha & Levy, 2013).

Is Bilingual Education Considered Alternative Cultural-National Education?

Spivak (1988, 2004) maintains that the repressed peoples are subjugated and do not have a voice and their representation is unmediated and unachieved. Moreover, the advantage of the post-colonial approach lies in the fact that it negates what we call the 'hegemonic national ideology'. According to Adiv (2005), the fundamental assumption that originates in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies in the very existence of two different and contradictory national groups, when these two ethnic-national entities struggle between them for primacy. Therefore, according to the post-colonial approach the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is perceived as an expression of the hegemonic status of the Zionist movement and as its product, as a Eurocentric 'Ashkenazi' entity, different in definition from the Arab Eastern identity and contradictory to it. The emphasis is that the problem lies in the dominance and monolithic nature of the Ashkenazi Zionist voice and concurrently in the silencing of the Oriental-Eastern voice (Adiv, 2005).

The present social-political situation in Israel does not encourage the teaching and learning of Arabic and thus this language has low symbolic power in the general public. In the concepts posited by Bourdieu (1991), Hebrew speakers have greater cultural capital in the language market than do Arabic speakers. Hebrew has a high status, it is the preferred language in the State, and it is spoken much more frequently and fluently. Moreover, Hebrew is the language used in the different areas of the public life in Israel between groups that belong to different communities (Amara, 2014; Amara & Saban, 2002).

Bekerman (2008) maintains that since the Yom Kippur War of 1973 there is a slow process of awakening in the Palestinian population in Israel. This process is expressed in the political struggle for the promotion of its status in Israel and its steadily increasing identification with the struggle for independence of the Palestinian people living in the territories occupied by Israel in the Six Day War of 1967. The existence of this population is distinct and precarious because of prejudices and violent behavior towards it, thus causing the emphasis of its identity (Bekerman, 2008).

Therefore, the Arab intellectual focused on this lack and problem of the failure to give a clear and suitable national identity, in addition to the failure to provide contents and curricula especially adjusted in the fields of history, language, and nationality. As a result of the ignoring of the Ministry of Education and the State of the existence of the Arab minority, the Arab minority developed for itself 'alternative education', in terms of the quality of the learned

contents, in terms of the achievements, and most importantly in terms of the formation of the national identity for the Arab student. Therefore, the Arab intellectuals used alternative education as a strategy to fill and compensate for the lack and absence of the formation of the identity.

Bekerman (2005) found that bilingual teaching is more successful among Arab students in all stages of education. In contrast, among Jewish students bilingualism has only partial success. More precisely, after three or four years of education many Arab students acquired abilities at a level close to the level of a native language both in speaking abilities and in writing abilities in Hebrew. Most of the Jewish students were not able to communicate fluently and without errors in Arabic, and their reading skills were most limited (Amara, 2014; Bekerman, 2005). Some researchers raise doubts about the ability of bilingual education to build anew the strength and relations between ethnic communities in society. They maintain that multicultural education may be characterized by condescension. They assert that for multicultural education to succeed it is necessary to first conduct structured activities with the goal of rebuilding strength, control, and political relations in general society and to eliminate prejudices, fear, and the feeling of victimization (Amara, 2014).

Therefore, it is important in this research study to examine whether in bilingual education there is a response to the cultural-national needs of the Arab student or whether the emphasis is only on the religious or social ceremonies, without touching upon the sensitive and important issues in terms of the formation of the cultural-national identity of the Arab students participating in this unique education. The present research study will examine whether in the private schools, including the schools of the Hand-in-Hand Association, the starting point and the idea of alternative education, where formal state education had failed, are realized and fulfilled.

7. Methodology of the Dissertation

The purpose of the research study is to get to know the perception of the opinions on the national identity and the social and educational situation of the Palestinian minority in the "Hand in Hand" bilingual schools in Israel. The research study focuses on the opinions of the researched group on their perception of the national identity and the socio-educational situation of the Palestinian minority in the "Hand in Hand" bilingual schools. Therefore, the research addresses the following research problems and research questions and attempts to answer them using the qualitative research method of interviews and the research technique of in-depth semi-structured interviews.

7.1 Research Objective and Research Questions

The objective of the present research study is to show the formation of opinions on the personality and identity of the Arab student who belongs to the Palestinian minority in Israel in national, social, and cultural terms in the bilingual schools in Israel that belong to the Hand in Hand Association, in contrast to the Arab student in national and cultural terms in the Arab state schools in Israel. The research seeks to present the activities of the formation of the national identity, the question of who determines the contents and goals of the formation of the national identity of the Arab student in Israel, and the ways of coping and the difficulties with the Ministry of Education / the establishment in Israel.

This research study will clarify the education policy of the school of the Hand-in-Hand Association and reveal the response of the teachers and the Ministry of Education to the contents and education goals of the school, especially regarding the Palestinian Arab students. In addition, it is important to examine the class dynamics between the Arabs and the Jews in learning together and their response in the studies in national topics.

It is important to clarify the types of parents who send their children to bilingual education as well as their credo, which cause them to send their children to a unique type of bilingual education. It is important to understand the importance and meaning of bilingual education for the Arab parents and the factors that developed a tendency and choice of this type of school. Last, it is important to understand and hear the experience of the students themselves, who have completed bilingual education in the school, in order to hear directly, face-to-face, about their identity, their experiences in bilingual education, and so on.

To achieve these objectives, the following main research question and detailed research questions on the attitudes of the teachers, the principals, the parents, and the students will be examined.

Main Research Question

How do the respondents **perceive** the opinions on the national identity of the Palestinian minority in the context of the socio-educational situation in the Hand in Hand schools?

Detailed Research Questions

1. How do the respondents perceive the opinions of the national identity of the Palestinian minority from the perspective of the "Hand in Hand" schools?
2. How do the respondents perceive the socio-educational situation of the Palestinian minority from the perspective of the "Hand in Hand" schools?

7.2 Research Approach

This research study is a qualitative research. Therefore, it presents the researcher's inner perspective in the evaluation of the research material, thus providing in-depth reflection and responsible interpretation of the research material.

The qualitative research method was chosen because of its advantages for the objective of this research study. The unique characteristics of qualitative research studies that come from interpretative paradigms, including the focus on the individual, subjectivity, multidimensionality, anchoring in the culture, gender, and class, desire to understand the phenomena and not control them, close relationship between the researcher and her research participants, and involvement of diverse ethical aspects, do not allow the formulation of clear criteria and procedures that the researcher must adopt for the research study to adhere to appropriate standards of equality (Spector-Mersel, 2009, in Liblich, Shachar, Krumer-Nevo, & Lavi Ajai, 2009).

Social Constructivist Approach

The social constructivist approach, which developed in the 1970s, is a learning approach that includes different learning approaches, such as a modern approaches (individualized) and postmodern approaches (social) (Prawat, 1996). The main argument in this theory is that the interests and identities of the different actors are shaped according to their perception of the world. This perception is social constructivism. According to this approach, the social reality is an occurrence that is built every moment anew, on the basis of what occurs

in the reciprocal relations entailed by the adoption or creation of explanation, interpretation, for all those around us. This process of interpretation, explanation, and definition is a subjective process, which changes from person to person (Enoch, 2002).

The constructivist theory includes three approaches: cognitive approaches, radical approach, and constructivist and social postmodern approaches. This research study relies on the importance of the social constructivist approaches, which includes social-cultural constructivism according to the tradition of Vygotsky (1978). Vygotsky (1978) maintained that complex human functioning includes the mediation action of the awareness: in other words, the person does not respond spontaneously and reflexively in a certain situation; rather his response is mediated by awareness that re-shapes the situation.

As aforementioned, the constructivist approach helps cope with the search for a profound understanding. In this approach, the student is perceived as an active agent who creates meanings and forms insights of his own in relation to learning situations. Therefore, the constructivist approach negates the perception according to which the student absorbs information passively from the book or the teacher. Even if the student receives information that should be repeated, he still is filling a most active role in that he is struggling to understand, forming experimental perceptions, and then examining and changing them. This approach holds that a teacher cannot simply instill the understanding of ideas in his student and that such understanding should be built through the investment of effort (Libman, 2013).

The constructivist approach rejects the perception that knowledge is not dependent on the knower and that it is composed of the accumulation of 'truths'. According to the approach, knowledge is created by the knower, from his beliefs and experiences. Therefore, knowledge is built from what people create and express and therefore all knowledge is tentative, subjective and personal. According to this approach, knowledge can be proven as true in an absolute manner and is not perceived as a constellation of universal truths but as a constellation of working hypotheses (Libman, 2013).

Social constructivism is in essence a process of learning that encourages cooperation and creates reciprocal relations with peers. The giving of new meaning and the structuring of knowledge occur in this process in the social and cultural context (Becker & Ravitz, 1999). Social constructivism attributes importance to language and to the social dimension over the individual dimensions and sees the individual's rationality to be a product of the social

dimension. This approach sees the processes of dialogue and cooperation among people to be central in the process of education (Gergen, 1985).

As aforementioned, the constructivist approach is considerably influenced by the theory of Vygotsky (1986), which in turn was greatly influenced by the theory of Piaget. Vygotsky, like Piaget, perceived the person as active, as aspiring to achieve his goals, and as building by himself the understanding of his world, but he held a perception different from Piaget's regarding the role of society and culture in the development of the individual, the function of teaching, and the role of language and thinking. Vygotsky emphasized the importance of the mental processes that occur following social influences, and in parallel the social constructivists focus on the social processes themselves as increasing mental abilities. Vygotsky (1986) attributed especial importance to the role filled by teaching and by the teacher in the student's intellectual development.

The constructivist approaches, in their different types, are useful in the change of education, since they reject the simplistic approach that education and teaching are based on the transference of objective facts and that knowledge represents access to the objective world. According to the constructivist approaches, knowledge is all that the participants have internalized and recognized as having meaning, as essential, and as sustainable, both on the personal level and on the social level. All knowledge, therefore, according to the constructivist approaches, is by nature relative. The learning process according to the constructivist approaches is perceived as a process of personal and active building of the learner, who is found in interaction with the environment and with others. According to these approaches, it is necessary to find the balance between the emphasis of the personal component and the focus on the process of instruction and learning from others, with consideration of the differences between the learners regarding this issue (Libman, 2013).

The argument of the social-cultural constructivist researchers (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Gergen, 1985; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Resnick, 1987) is that Vygotsky was first and foremost a psychologist. Therefore, although the social process filled a most important role in his theory, his understanding of the social processes is slight (Gergen, 1985; Shotter, 1995). Social constructivists hold that language serves first and foremost shared goals (Gergen, 1985). In their opinion, people use language not as a means for the representation of the world or for self-expression but as a way to act in play (Wittgenstein, 1953). Hence, every language is useful when it functions and acts in a certain community (Gergen, 1985).

Researchers of social constructivism maintain that learning and development are by nature social processes and intellectual functioning is by nature enrooted in the cultural, political, historical, and institutional context. From this we do not conclude that it is necessary to ignore universal psychological-developmental factors; rather the reverse is true. However, the approach of social constructivism focuses on the socio-cultural 'situatedness' of the thinking from the criticism on the prevalent compact, which does not acknowledge the influence of the context. In the opinion of the researchers of this approach, the social-cultural aspect does not constitute the addition of a variable to the individual model of the individual who acts in isolation and for himself. Their assumption is that the source and definition of mental processes of thinking are based on social-cultural frameworks. The socio-cultural processes are given priority and precedence in the understanding of the individual's mental functioning, and not the opposite. The knowledge is built through the individual's reciprocal relations with the social environment in which he is found and following which there is a change both in the individual and in the environment (Airasian & Walsh, 1997). This perception enables the decentralization of authorities and the empowerment of the learner and thus the legitimization of a more equal dialogue between the expert and the novice (Airasian & Walsh, 1997). In other words, the teacher's authority does not 'belong' to the teacher but is given to him but can also be taken from him, when a more democratic perception is adopted in the learning institution.

If, on the level of theory, there are differences of opinion between the researchers regarding the advantages of the merger and mediation between the two main constructivist approaches, the cognitive approach and the socio-cultural approach, then in connection with the pedagogical implications and the educational activity in practice, the dichotomy is not so unequivocal. In the educational reality, things never are unequivocal, and it is doubtful whether they can be. Teaching in actuality always includes an eclectic mix of theoretical approaches (and sometimes even conflicting ones) to some extent or another, and some even justify this as "hold onto it well and do not let go". Therefore, when the constructivist theory is addressed, in its different approaches, not to analyze it in a theoretical analysis but to examine how it can help in the achievement of educational objectives, there is no doubt among the researchers that it is possible to see the learning process simultaneously as a process of active building and as a process of enculturation into the thinking and doing practices of a broader society (Libman, 2013). The constructivist theory is primarily a theory of learning and not a teaching method. In essence, from the constructivist perspective there is not and cannot be a recommendation of an

organized and predetermined program of specific, effective, and efficient 'constructivist' actions that can ensure significant understanding. Moreover, actions that create stimulus and encourage one learner do not always influence the same way another learner (Libman, 2013).

Glaserfeld (1995a), one of the researchers identified the most with constructivism in education, declared that from the constructivist outlook it is a mistake to address the teaching methods like listening to a lecturer, memorization, and even mechanical practice as lacking benefit. The question is which additional acts are performed and how the learner is encouraged to be active and involved in the formation of understanding in connection to the topics learned. According to Glaserfeld (1995a), the challenge is to find the right balance, taking into consideration that not all the aspects of the topic can or should be taught in the same way. Hence, it should be expected that a repertoire of processes will be collected as a result of the description of the attempts and efforts of different educators and teachers. These educators and teachers have internalized that they do not perform transfer of knowledge but they act to mediate and assist the process of creating and building among the learners. This is in the spirit of the perception of Socrates, who described teachers like these as filling the role of a midwife in the birth of understanding (Glaserfeld, 1995b).

Action research is often performed by educators and people who work in the treatment professions. This is a cyclical process with the goal of examining the reality and making in it improvements and then re-examining it. The process begins with the identification of a practical problem in the researcher's work world. The researcher attempts to understand what the source of the problem is and to define it through a research when the outcome is grounded theory. The insights that derive from the research lead the research to introduce a change in the system and to examine whether it had benefit. During the changes and the examinations, the circle in the framework of which the changes are made broadens and the theory undergoes changes, corrections, and extensions. The stages of the process of this research are: choice of a dilemma, investigation of the dilemma (mapping, focus, assessment, analysis of the creation of a shared language of concepts), formulation and adoption of action theories, shaping of action programs and assessment, deployment of programs and their parallel appraisal, and consequently the preparation of an improved program or the identification of new dilemmas for treatment.

Methods of Analysis: The constructivist methodology strives to structure the reality through interpretative negotiations between the researcher and the participants, when at the end an agreed-upon structure is formed, sophisticated and richer in knowledge. It begins with the

study of the meanings that the social actors attribute to the certain reality that they experience and the processes that occur. These meanings are on two levels. The first level is that of the research participants, who build their everyday reality and explain it to themselves and to the researcher. The second level is that of the researcher, who creates his own interpretative description of what he finds as an observer from this relationship with additional knowledge and seeks to say something more general on people's actions (Schultz, 1967). In the second stage, this methodology includes the interpretation, which is reflexively controlled. Hence, the action of the research itself is an action of the structuring of the reality according to the researcher's interpretation so that the research findings **are created** as the investigation advances (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 207, in Shlasky & Arieli, 2016).

7.3 Data Collection Method

The method of data collection in this research study is based on the research instrument of the semi-structured in-depth interviews (Friedman, 2007). The interviews enable the understanding of the processes and the circumstances. The objective of an interview of this type is to understand the process through the eyes and perception of the interested parties, such as teachers, principals, parents, and graduates.

This instrument meets two needs in parallel: the "depth" of the interview provides broad and rich information on the basis of the interviewee's experience and interpretation and the "semi-structured" nature meets the need for the comparison in the interviewees' statements for the purpose of the construction of a knowledge base. In other words, an in-depth interview with structured characteristics enables the findings to be analyzed in two channels, what is common to the interested parties and what is unique to each one of them.

The collection of the data in the present research study was performed using the research method of the qualitative method of interviews and the research technique of in-depth semi-structured interviews. An interview is performed between the interviewer and interviewee who spend a long time together. While the interviewer is guided in his work by general headers, the interview develops according to the topics that arise. This research style is a survey, in which the interviewer asks a person questions from a given questionnaire (Beyt-Marom, 2014).

When the researcher acts as interviewer, the research participant can receive the question in writing or orally (in an interview), and the interaction between the asker (the researcher) and the respondent can occur face-to-face, on the telephone, or in writing via the

Internet or the mail. In the interview, the researcher collects the information using the direct querying of the informants (Beyt-Marom & Ashkenazi, 2012).

The method of the interview called the semi-structured interviewer the interview is based on a detailed guide for the interviewer that includes a list of topics and possible questions. The interview is less rigid and less uniform than the structured interview: different people can receive questions that are phrased differently and also answer a question that derived from previous answers. This is the common type of interview in surveys but also in ethnographic research (Beyt-Marom, 2014).

In this interview, it is necessary to assure the interviewee of anonymity and confidentiality, in order to obtain his or her cooperation. The interviewer should note to the interviewees the importance of the information about their thoughts and feelings and should thank them for their cooperation. The interviewer should ask the respondents for their permission to write and record their statements and explain why this is necessary. To achieve cooperation, it is necessary to allow the interviewee to lead the interview in the framework of the themes that the researcher outlined beforehand (Beyt-Marom, 2014).

Since the interview is less structured and the environment is stranger for the researcher, it is harder to conduct the interview and to obtain meaningful information. Frequently it is difficult to achieve initial cooperation, and it depends on the trust that the participant has in the researcher. However, even when the participant has trust and willingness to cooperate, it is not easy for the interviewee to express everything relevant and to provide the information the researcher is interested in. Therefore, the researcher is frequently required to adopt different means to encourage the respondent to answer. This process is called prodding, which is a type of investigation intended to incentivize the respondent to provide information without "putting into his mouth" the information the researcher is interested in. There are different ways of investigation. The hardest way is silence; the researcher is silent and waits for the respondent to add information beyond the answer already provided. Echoing is another way; the researcher simply repeats the informant's last sentence. Neutral inquiry is a reaction of indetermination or consent that indicates that it was heard attentively and understandably. These inquiry methods attempt in different ways to cause the respondent to add information, without directing him and without pressuring him too much (Beyt-Marom, 2014).

Sometimes the participant will voice things that are strange to the researcher or even contradictory to the researcher's perceptions, values, and belief. In this case, the researcher

needs to adopt the method of "putting to the side" what he himself thinks in order not to convey to the interviewee a message of judgment or condescension (this requirement is not easy at all and mainly requires the interviewer to put forth considerable emotional and intellectual effort) (Geertz, 1973).

In phenomenological research, the researched phenomenon and the focus of the research are "the thing as it is perceived". In other words, the researchers focus on the understanding of the meanings of the research subjects and the processes by the participants themselves (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994).

The research instrument is an in-depth semi-structured interview. The in-depth interviews constitute in many cases the primary source of information, although not necessarily the only source. The objective of the in-depth interview is not to obtain answers to questions or to examine hypotheses. At the root of the in-depth interview is the desire to understand other people's experience and the meaning that they attribute to this experience. The interview provides access to the cultural contexts of people's behavior and therefore it provides the researcher with a way to understand the meaning of this behavior (Seidman, 1991). In-depth interviews are conversations in which the participant / the speaker and the listener / the asker develop the meaning together. The image that is commensurate with in-depth interviews is a series of social conversations. During the social conversation and in a style appropriate to it, the researchers cautiously direct the informants and as needed suggest new aspects to help the informants respond as informants. Through cooperation in the research process, the researchers and the informants connect together different and separate pieces of the story and the meaning into a whole story with meaning, a story that is meaningful for both partners in the conversation (Riesman, 1993).

The interview is not only a device for the collection of information. This is a process of the construction of a reality that both sides contribute to and are even influenced by. Thus, the researcher is a well-directed research instrument, with meaningful skills, but he is also a person, with values, beliefs, and selfhood.

The advantages of the interview is that it enables comparison of the information between the different participants, serves as a reminder, enables conceptual focus on the research topic. The disadvantages of the interview enable little flexibility for the interviewer as a response to individual changes. As the interview is more structured, there is less possibility for unexpected information to arise. It is necessary to change the interview guide during the

research according to the interviews conducted – the changes enable the in-depth research of the topics that the interviewees experience as important. The interviewer provides a way to research the interviewees' viewpoint and experience (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In addition, the disadvantages of the in-depth interview are that the interview is based only on verbal interaction and what is told to the interviewer and is context-dependent, dependent on what the interviewees are willing to say to the interview, on what they know.

The aim of this type of interview is to understand the process through the eyes and perception of the interested/involved parties. This instrument meets two needs in parallel. The "depth" of the interview provides broad and rich information on the basis of the interviewees' experience and interpretation. The "semi-structured" nature meets the need for the comparison of the interviewees' statements for the purpose of the construction of a systemic knowledge base. In other words, an in-depth interview with structured characteristics enables the researcher to analyze the findings in two channels, what is common to the interested parties and what is singular to each one of them.

The interviews will address the perception of the goals and their implementation, including short term and long term goals, difficulties with implementation, expected and unexpected contributions, satisfaction, promoting factors, and inhibiting factors. In addition to the structured questions, the interviewers can advance in different topics, unplanned, which will arise during the interview (Shkedi, 2003). The semi-structured interview provides the freedom to research, to phrase questions, and to change the order of questions. It focuses on general topics that the interviewer intends to discuss, and this enables to go in-depth in the topics by asking additional questions.

This research method is good for the present research study, since the interview is used to learn the facts, opinions, and attitudes of the participants in the research (principals, teachers, parents, and students). Therefore, to produce benefit from this research instrument, it is important to properly manage the process of the interview and to be willing for the interview process.

According to the interpretative approach, the researcher cannot understand the human action from a position of outside observer. The researcher must be "inside". In other words, the researcher must be assimilated in the social context and in the participants' awareness and know their value (Beyt-Marom & Ashkenazi, 2012).

The interviews addressed the perception of the goals of state education in Arab society and the alternative schools in Israel and their implementation, the difficulties with the implementation, the expected and unexpected contributions, satisfaction, and promoting factors and inhibiting factors. In addition to the structured questions, the interviewers can advance different topics, unplanned, that are brought up during the interview.

The personal interviews with the school principals focused on the factors in their work and in their choice to work in the bilingual school, the positions regarding the school aims, the position of the Ministry of Education about the school, the limitations and difficulties, financial and value-oriented, with which the bilingual school copes. In addition, it addressed the methods and conditions of acceptance of students and teachers in the school, and the position and perception of both sides, Arab and Jewish, to the other side. The interview asked their opinion about what is unique about the school, about the school successes and difficulties are, and about their experiences in the management of the bilingual school. The interview asked about the perception of the influence of their employment in the bilingual school on personal, political, national, and pedagogical opinions.

The personal interviews with the teachers in the bilingual schools focused on the reasons and factor for their work in the bilingual school and their attitude towards the idea and objectives of the school. In addition, the interviews focused on their expectations from the school and on their attitudes towards the state schools and the bilingual schools, both in terms of the learning contents and pedagogy and in terms of the formation of the student's personality and national identity. The interviews asked how they perceive the goals of bilingual education, their experiences, their satisfaction, and the bilingual school's strengths and weaknesses. The interviews addressed the perception of the influence of their employment and work with Jewish peers and the teaching of students from two nations on their manner of work, their teaching, and their personal credo. The interviews asked about the perception of the influence of their participation in in-service training courses and community meetings on them in terms of awareness, the contact with the other culture, and the narrative of the other. The interviewees were asked about what happens among the teachers themselves and among students from both nations following the studies in the bilingual school.

The personal interviews with the graduates of the bilingual schools focused primarily on their experiences learning with an Arab teacher and a Jewish teacher and with the "other side" in the classroom. The interviews addressed their expectations from their school and their attitudes towards the state schools and the bilingual schools, both in terms of learning contents

and pedagogy and in terms of the formation of the student's personality and national identity (especially for graduates who moved for secondary education to the state school as opposed to the students in Jerusalem who were in the bilingual school for both elementary education and secondary education). The interviews asked how they perceived the goals of bilingual education, their experiences, their satisfaction, and the strengths and weaknesses of the bilingual school. The interviewees were asked about the studies and participation in the bilingual school, about the contact with the culture of the other students and the narrative of the others, and about the topic of shared life and coexistence. They were also asked about their experiences both inside the school and outside of the school. The graduates were asked about any differences between them and the Arab students who were not in contact with and who did not study with Jews in school.

The personal interviews with the parents in the bilingual schools focused on their expectations from the school and their attitudes towards the state schools and the bilingual schools, both in terms of learning contents and pedagogy and in terms of the formation of the student's personality and national identity. The interviews asked how they perceived the goals of bilingual education, their experiences, their satisfaction, and the strengths and weaknesses of the bilingual school. The parents were asked about the perception of the influence of their child's studies and their participation in the community meetings on them in terms of awareness and about the value of a common life and coexistence following the contact with the other side's culture and narrative. The interviewees were also asked about what happens in their children following the studies in the bilingual school.

7.4 Research Sample

Since this research study is a qualitative research, it is not representative of any overall perceived population. Hence, the research study cannot be generalized, and the acquired knowledge refers solely to the analyzed phenomenon and to the specific context and time of the work. The sampling was purposive and selective, so as to access a particular set of people who constitute the informants of the present study. The sampling is a non-probability sampling and the informants were chosen according to their profile. The research population is expressed in a group that is defined according to the research objective, and it is the Arab principals and teachers who work part-time or full time in the bilingual schools in Israel as well as the parents and the school graduates. The research population is a certain group, Arab society in Israel, which is defined for the research objective. The age of the population ranges from 21 to 55. The research population is composed of groups relevant to the research aims. (The research

informants are discussed further in the next section of the Research Process and in the following chapter of the Research Findings.)

7.5 Research Process

The identification of the teachers and the principals was performed in an official manner, with an official request submitted to the Hand in Hand Association, to the manager of the education department of the Hand in Hand Association. After a draft of the research objective was submitted to the manager of the education department of the association and the researcher's request to enter the research field was reviewed and after a personal meeting was held between the researcher and the manager of the education department in Jerusalem, an official approval from the association was obtained for the researcher to enter into the school. The education department manager provided the details of the principals of the schools participating in the research: the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem, the Galil School in the Galilee, and the Bridge over the Wadi in Kfar Kara.

The researcher appealed on the phone to the school principals, presented herself, the topic of the research, and the approval of the association, and after the school principals consented to participate, she conducted an interview with them. Then the researcher was transferred to the different school secretary offices so that they could coordinate interview times with the researcher and the teachers. In addition, the details of the graduate who "organizes" the other school graduates for meetings was given to the researcher, so that she could obtain from him the details of the graduates – names and phone numbers, after their consent to participate in the interview. Following the interviews with the graduates, the phone numbers of the parents of these interviewed graduates were obtained.

All the principals and most of the teachers were interviewed face to face, within the school walls, on a day and time that suited every teacher. Some of the graduates and parents were interviewed face to face at cafés in the region, while others were interviewed by telephone, because of difficulties with coordination and meeting, following occupational and/or academic reasons.

The teachers and the parents are educated and have a degree in education, and/or a bachelor degree and/or a master degree. A few hold doctoral degrees. Some degrees are from Israeli universities, and some are from Israeli colleges. Most of the interviewed graduates integrated into the Israeli universities and some are registered for coming academic year.

7.6 Data Analysis

The process of data processing was suited to the research questions. The data produced from the interviews was processed using qualitative methods – qualitative content analysis to derive the main themes. Qualitative methodology facilitates the unmediated recognition of the manner of performance of the studies in the state Arab schools and in the bilingual schools and the experiences of the operators and the participants, including the students' parents, and their impression. This information contributed to the development of the possibility of examining research issues at a broad scope, as well as drawing comprehensive conclusions.

The open questions were processed using qualitative content analysis of the informants' responses. The interviews were analyzed so that main themes could be produced from them.

7.7 Ethical Considerations

Before the interviews were coordinated, the research participants were given information about the nature of the research study. The issue of the informant's anonymity was emphasized. The research was performed by the researcher herself, and the use of the data was solely for research purposes. The participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity before the interviews were conducted.

8. Research Findings

This chapter will present the findings of the research study according to the description of the research questions for each group of informants. The findings address and focus on the data that were learned from the interviews with the staffs of three schools: the Galil School in the north, the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem, and the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara.

The **uniqueness of the Max Rayne School** in Jerusalem derives from its location in the city that is at the hat of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The uniqueness derives from the fact that the Jerusalem population (in part Muslim and in part Christian) is considered residents and not citizens. The residents of Jerusalem generally learn according to the theological Palestinian curriculum and not according to the Israeli curriculum that leads to the Israeli high school matriculation certificate. In addition, they do not study in these schools the Hebrew language from the elementary school but only as an elective in the high school. Therefore, the result is that the decisive majority of the Jerusalem residents who live under the "Israeli regime" do not know to speak Hebrew and do not have a high school matriculation certificate that enables them to study in the Israeli system of higher education, thus forcing the Jerusalem residents to learn in higher education in the West Bank and consequently maintaining the continuous relationship between the Jerusalem residents and the Palestinians in the West Bank.

Furthermore, the uniqueness of the Max Rayne School is that the decisive majority are Arab citizens who came to learn in Jerusalem and continued to learn and to work and to live in Jerusalem and the Jerusalem schools/frameworks, which are Muslim theological or Christian Church schools, do not meet the needs of their students, who are citizens of the State of Israel. According to one of the founders of the bilingual school, the school was established to provide an appropriate and suitable solution for the Arab student who is a citizen of Israel (and not for the residents of Jerusalem), whose parents do not have a choice of a school suited for their child (since all the schools in Jerusalem are Jewish school, Church schools, or Muslim theological schools). Therefore, this decisive majority is Arab students who are citizens of Israel and a small part is Arab students who are residents of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem residents avoid sending their children to learn in the bilingual school, although the school is situated in their city, since they fear they will be perceived as traitors or collaborators with the establishment. Therefore, the fear of the social-political stigma causes Jerusalem residents to refrain from

sending their children to the bilingual school, despite the quality of the school relative to the theological public schools.

The uniqueness of the background of these Arabs is that generally the Jerusalemites are less educated and have a low socioeconomic situation, from the lower class. However, the Arab citizens of Israel who live in Jerusalem are for the most part educated and have a higher social-economic situation. Most of the Arab families are characterized by traditionalism.

The **uniqueness of the Galil School** is its location in the North. This area is known for its "willingness" for a shared life and coexistence. The main reason is that the Northern region is the most mixed/diverse region, where all the Druse live, where the decisive majority of the Christians live, where all the Circassians live, and where a large part of the Muslims and Bedouin live. In other words, the uniqueness of this region is the "inclusion" of all the different ethnic/religious/cultural groups that comprise the State of Israel. In addition, the uniqueness of the Arabs of the North is that they constitute the majority in the region, with the Jewish population the minority. In other words, the percentage of the Arabs in the north is high relative to the percentage of the Jews. Furthermore, the uniqueness of the Arabs of the North is that they are "urban" and more educated than the regions of the Triangle and the South. The Galil School was established shortly after the Al-Aksa Intifada in the year 2000, when in the North thirteen Arab citizens were killed. Consequently, according to the school founders, it was vital to establish a school for a shared life and coexistence, from the geographic reality in which the populations live together in the North.

The uniqueness of this school is that it was first established in the Misgav Region, when around it was the Misgav Education Complex, or in other words all the Jewish schools in the region. This made it easier for many Jewish students to study in this school and not in the Jewish schools, since in the breaks all the school students would meet in the yard and they would take the same buses. Then the school moved to Ashbel Kibbutz, and the relocation detrimentally influenced the percentage of Jewish students for economic reasons (the parents needed special transport to the Kibbutz) and for social reasons (the Jewish students were disconnected from their Jewish friends in the Misgav schools, the selection of Jewish students for friends in the bilingual schools lessened, and couple relationships between Arabs and Jews was "forbidden"). Therefore, the relocation of the school caused the decline in the number of Jewish students, primarily in the secondary school and thus caused the middle school to close, when only the elementary school survived and is struggling to remain open.

The uniqueness of the background of the Arabs is that they are Muslims, Christians, and Circassians. The decisive majority is educated, generally the economic situation is average since the northern region is characterized by the lack of a strong job market, thus necessitating them to travel for work to the center of the country. The population of the North is characterized by less religiosity and more secular people in the north, which is a center of humanism and of the HADASH Political Party.

The **uniqueness of the Bridge over the Wadi School is** its location in Kfar Kara, which is an Arab village in the center north of Israel. The residents of Kfar Kara are all Muslims. This village is known for the level of education and the quality of teaching in the schools and for the competition between the schools in the village.

Most of the Jews who are partners in the school are left-wing Jews who support a shared life and coexistence. Most of the Arab parents send their children to the bilingual school not because of the quality of the school, since in Kfar Kara the schools rae relatively strong, but because of the formation of their children's personality and the search for alternative and unique education.

The uniqueness of the background of the Arabs is that they are all Muslims and are all believers. Most are educated, and most have a high social-economic status in their village. The decisive majority are from traditional families.

The findings will be presented in four main chapters. The first three chapters will be presented according to the 'categorization' of the participating research populations, when in each chapter, the themes / main topics that arose during the collection of the data will be presented. The chapters according to the research population are: (1) the school staff that includes principals and teachers, (2) the parents of students/graduates of the bilingual school, and (3) the graduates of the bilingual school. The fourth chapter addresses these research populations together and will describe the criticism, recommendations, and suggestions for improvement of these populations about the bilingual school.

The first chapter addresses the principals and teachers who work and teach in the bilingual school, who have at least five years of experience in teaching, from three bilingual schools in Israel: the Galil School, the Bridge over the Wadi School, and the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem. This chapter will present the factors and causes of the beginning of their work in the bilingual school, the difficulties they experience and/or experienced during their work in the bilingual school, the process of change and the influence in the personal,

professional/pedagogical, and national facets, and their sense of satisfaction with the ways of coping with the difficulties and with the quality of the teaching in the school and the final product of the students who have graduated.

The second chapter addresses the parents of the graduates of the bilingual school, for the three schools: Galil, Bridge over the Wadi, and Max Rayne. The chapter presents the parents' educational background and socioeconomic status, the reasons why the Arab parents send their children to learn in the bilingual school, their difficulties and experiences from the beginning of the sending of their children to the children's completion of the studies in the bilingual school and their satisfaction.

The third chapter addresses the graduates of the bilingual school, from the elementary school until the middle school or until the high school (since only the Max Rayne school in Jerusalem has the full range, from first grade until twelfth grade, unlike the Galil School, which only runs through the middle school and a few years earlier only through the elementary school, and unlike the Bridge over the Wadi School, which is only an elementary school although there are attempts to open a middle school). This chapter will present the attitudes of the graduates of the three bilingual schools, Max Rayne, Galil, and Bridge over the Wadi, both in pedagogical terms and in terms of the formation of the personality and the national and religious identity. In addition, this chapter will present the personal experiences that the students had in the bilingual school or in the Arab schools when they completed their studies in the bilingual school and shifted to the public schools. Furthermore, this chapter will present the graduates' satisfaction, regarding their achievements, their personality, and their national identity.

The fourth chapter presents the criticism, recommendations, and suggestions for improvement of all the interviewees – the teachers and principals, the parents, and the graduates of the bilingual school. The topics include areas in which the achievement can be improved, the dropping out of the Jewish students, deficient or inadequate marketing, difficult employment conditions for the teachers and suggestions for improvement, neutrality and exaggeration in the presentation of the two narratives, the encounter with reality in Israel and shock, confusion in the identity, and the importance of maintaining relationships between Jews and Arab after the schooling has ended.

8.1 Findings about the School Staff in the Bilingual Schools

The findings of the first chapter are divided into five subchapters. The first section addresses the informants and the second section focuses on factors and causes of the beginning

of their work in the bilingual school. The third section addresses difficulties that they experience and/or experienced during their work in the bilingual school, and the fourth section engages in the process of change and the perception of the influence in the personal, professional/pedagogical, and national aspects of the teaching staff and the principals. The fifth section addresses the teachers' sense of satisfaction with the final product – the students who have graduated.

8.1.1 Research Informants

The present research study was performed in three schools of the Hand in Hand Association, which implements bilingual/binational education. The research population for each one of the three schools consists of the school principal, the school teachers, the parents, and the graduates of the Arab schools.

Arab Principals

- The vice-principal in the Galil School in the Ashbel Moshav in the north of the country is from Kabul village in the north. She is a former teacher and a mother of three children, two of whom studied in the bilingual school. She has an undergraduate degree in geography and a master degree in education in Haifa. She has 25 years of experience in teaching, and 17 years of experience in the bilingual school. Her positions include teacher and vice-principal.
- The principal of the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem is from Nazareth. She is a former teacher. She is a parent of children who attended the school. She has an undergraduate degree in special education from David Yelin College and a master degree in education administration. She has 24 years of experience in teaching, and 10 years of experience teaching and 7 years of experience as principal in the bilingual school.
- The principal of the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara is from Ein as-Sahla. He has three children, all of whom learned in the bilingual school. He has a doctorate degree in education. He has seven years of experience as principal in the bilingual school.

Arab Teachers

- Four teachers from the Galil School: three teachers who live in Sachnin and one teacher from Nazareth.

- Five teachers from the Max Rayne School: all live in Jerusalem but four were born in Jerusalem (one lived as a child in Ramallah) and one in Taibe in the center of the country.
- Three teachers from the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara: one teacher was born and lives in Kfar Kara, one teacher was born in Haifa and lives in Kfar Kara, and one teacher lives in Ar'ara.

In light of the research problems and research questions described in the previous chapter (Chapter 7, Section 7.1), the interviewees were asked the following questions in the interviews:

1. What are the factors and reasons for the work in the bilingual school? (Objective/idea of the unique school, in pedagogical, personal, and national terms and in terms of teamwork, work with the community, and the school curriculum)
2. What are the unique difficulties in the work in the bilingual/binational school? (Employment conditions, work hours, social labeling, 'foreign' school, work in pairs, school curriculum, dropping out of Jews, lack of stability, Arabic language, difference between the Arab parents and the Jewish parents, parent responses)
3. What is the sense of satisfaction with the school coping with the difficulties?
4. What is the perception of the influence of the work in the bilingual/binational school on the personal/self, pedagogical/professional, and identity/national perception?
5. What is the sense of satisfaction from the 'realization' of the objectives and goals of the school – pedagogical, personal, and identity? (Humanist education + acceptance of others + reciprocal respect + achievement, the student's personality + identity + religion-language) What is the sense of satisfaction from the product/quality of the staff? (achievement, personal national ways of dealing with the difficulties)
6. What are the recommendations of the staff for the improvement and promotion of the school in terms of achievement and in social, cultural, and national terms?

8.1.2 Causes of the Work in the Bilingual School

The interviewed teachers answered the following question. What are the causes and reasons for the work in the bilingual school? What is the goal/idea of the unique school (in pedagogical, personal, and national terms and in terms of teamwork, work with the community, and the school curriculum)?

8.1.2.1 Disappointment with State Public Arab Education

It is important to note that one of the reasons for the dropping out of Arab teachers from the public Arab schools is their great disappointment with the instructional, social, and personal services provided to the Arab student. They event sent their children only to the bilingual school (with the exception of one teacher, who will be discussed in the continuation).

One of the main factors for the work of Arab teachers in the bilingual school is their great disappointment with public Arab education in Israel for the Arab student (SOURCE) in all aspects – pedagogical, personal, and social. The main argument of all the research participants is that the Arab schools remain traditional and do not have new and advanced teaching methods. The Arab schools do not consider the work on the formation of the student's personality to be important. In addition, the Arab school does not see its role to be the formation of the personality and identity of the Arab student in social and national terms. Rather, their perception of the school is that it is only for the inculcation of knowledge. The disappointment and criticism regarding the service provided in the Arab schools were referred to a number of directions: the Ministry of Education/the establishment, the school principals, the young teachers, and traditional Arab society.

Pedagogical Disappointment

The pedagogical disappointment arose for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the pedagogical achievements in the Arab schools are very important, while on the other hand the continuous decline in the quality of the teaching and the achievements of the Arab students. The main argument according to all the research participants, or in other words, the Arab teachers, principals, parents, and students, is that the main disappointment in the public Arab schools is that the perception of the school role and its goal is only the students' achievements.

One interviewee said, "… It is as if the student is like a 'bottle' that I go into so as to pour the material into this bottle … the knowledge … and this is it. … And I connect with the excellent students and weaken (put into the margins) the other students …., everything was always more achievement-oriented than educational…"

Another teacher continued and said that following what was stated in terms of the quality of the teaching and the achievement, there is no chance that she would send her own children to study in the regular Arab school. Sega said: "There is no chance that I would send my daughter to the regular Arab school. No … it is difficult … there are a number of reasons

… I hear much about the problems of the regular Arab schools. Many are of a low level, in terms of the studies … there is no follow up in the schools."

According to one teacher, there is pedagogical disappointment with the bilingual school since it 'adjusts' for its students texts that will be suited to the needs of the Arab student, which 'apparently' the Arab teacher in the Arab schools teach how it is, without adjustment. Apparently, one of the reasons for the low achievements of the Arab students is the low quality of the textbooks in the Arab schools, when the teacher and the school must teach only according to them. "The textbooks of the Arabic language are from the Center for Educational Technology. I do not teach all the texts ... and this is not on a political background or something like this but the opposite … I choose what is suited."

Another facet of the pedagogical disappointment is that the Arab education system still uses the traditional and frontal teaching methods and not the advanced and innovative teaching methods. The main teaching method in the Arab public schools is the memorization without understanding of the textbooks or without meaning to the students, and not up-to-date teaching methods.

For example, one of the teachers asserted that the main part of teaching in the Arab schools is only from the textbooks of the Ministry of Education. "The regular school … primarily teaches from the book … and this is it … maybe maybe if you want to be creative and you think and put some effort maybe this will be received without encouragement and maybe it will not be received with encouragement …"

Another teacher adds that the Arab schools still do not change the teaching methods for students who have learning difficulties. "And we, Arab society… we have difficulties of our own … like students who have learning difficulties … attention problems … there are many … but in the end everybody is found in the same framework … there is no accommodation and I do not feel that our principals in Arab society … have willingness to learn something new or to make new changes … for many excuses."

The perception of the school only for the inculcation of knowledge and only for achievements was not only the perception of the teachers and the principals but also the perception of Arab society and the Arab parents who push and pressure the schools to improve achievements and to compete. This is one of the sources of disappointment: that the Arab parents only want achievements for their children, without the promise of understanding of the learned material or even the requirement to form the student's personality.

One interviewee said, "…I remember that a parent once came to me and brought his son's workbook and threw it at my face and said, 'Look where they reached in the other school!' and you are still here … counting pages …"

Another disappointment, in terms of the pedagogical aspect, which was noted in many interviews, is that the Arab schools care and it is important to them only the learning of 'formal' education and the transfer of a quantity of material, even if this is without quality, and even the informal education has really marginal value. For instance, one interviewee said, "They do not emphasize the quantity of the learning but the methods of learning … the main point with us is not to end the book according to what the Ministry of Education asks … the principal will not yell at me … we are not entering a competition … in the schedule of the class in the Arab school there are eight hours of Arabic language, eight hours of arithmetic … there barely is one lesson for sports … this lesson is as if doing a 'favor' for the students … it is essential that the student will hate the school."

The pressure and the perception that the school is only for achievements and the acquisition of knowledge for the student is, apparently, following the pressure of the establishment on the Arab schools to complete the learning materials dictated by them. One of the interviewees expressed pedagogical criticism of the establishment, that the main thing according to the Ministry of Education is the quantity of material and books that the teacher is committed to use with the students, and this quantity prevents 'creativity' and education for values or for the formation of the personality. "… The supervisor comes here, and is happy … about this school … the principal asks him, 'Do you believe in the meyzav[40] (tests) … he answered him, 'Yes, sure … these are the measures.' …He said to him … and you stifled the principal with the meyzav tests … and I must finish the learning material since the principal will scold me … if my students do not attain good scores, he will tell me that I am a failure as a teacher … that there are no good scores in the class … and you are … and you are … the principal also will be attacked by the supervisor … that he is this and this … and this is not because they do not want … but there is no possibility …"

Criticism against and disappointment with the Ministry of Education arose in all that is related to the policy of the 'decision' on the contents of the textbooks for the Arab students

[40] Meyzav tests are a set of tests conducted in the elementary and middle schools in Israel in the subjects of science and technology, native language (Hebrew or Arabic), mathematics, and English. The tests are held every year in one-third of the schools, so a school is tested every three years. The tests are administered by the National Authority for Measurement and Assessment in Education (RAMA).

which are not ‘interesting’ and are not suitable for the needs of the Arab students, in which one of the interviewees holds that she is forced to change the book contents so that it will be ‘suitable and interesting’ for the Arab student.

For example, one interviewee said, “We had books from the Ministry of Education … but I add and take out contents from the book … for instance, today there are two groups. … One is stronger and one is weaker … for the weaker one for instance I changed an entire unit … for example … I introduced Ahmad Shuki (an Arab poet) … these contents are not in the books of the Ministry of Education …”

Another interviewee said, “For instance, the textbooks of Arabic … which passed the supervision of the Ministry of Education … I began to photocopy from the textbooks of the Palestinian Authority since I searched for material on our heritage … which do not appear in the Arabic lessons and that are not found in the textbooks for the Arabic language of the Ministry of Education …”

As a result, the perception of the school as a place for the acquisition of knowledge alone and achievements causes competition of two types: competition between the Arab schools themselves and competition between the teachers. The first competition is reflected in competition over the completion of the quantity of the material and not the quality of the material and its understanding in-depth and with meaning for the student and the focus is only on the achievements. For instance, one of the interviewees said that what is important in the Arab schools is the inculcation of the quantity of the material without quality of the material, that the teaching methods in the Arab schools are more achievement-oriented than educational, and that the teachers are always under the pressure of competition of the inculcation of the quantity of material for students without quality.

One interviewee said, “… all the time they compare between here and the school on the outside … they can finish the material, everything was always more achievement-oriented than educational …”

The competition between teachers caused tension in the school climate itself and the lack of cooperation between the teachers themselves in the school itself, which according to one of the interviewees, caused the feeling of ‘isolation’ and lack of cooperation between the teachers and the different and diverse teaching methods, as if the teachers are found in competition who is the best teacher or who is the fastest teacher. This competition between

teachers causes the lack of creativity among the Arab teachers, since they are pressured to complete the study material and the book.

One teacher said that, "… in the regular Arab schools there are 'stay in school' lessons then they are empty … they finish the lessons and go home and that is it … perhaps you have an in-service training course or a teachers' meeting and this is it … in the regular school, there you learn alone, and this is it … there you mainly teach from the book … and hit is it … maybe if you want to be creative and you think and put some effort maybe this will be received without encouragement and maybe it will not be received with encouragement …"

In addition, the problem, according to many teachers, is not that the Ministry of Education does not adjust the study material for the Arab student but that the Arab student does not have much 'choice' in resources or alternative books so as to be helped by them in the Arab schools. One of the teachers of Arabic language said, when she compared between her and the teacher of the Hebrew language or the English language, "The additional problem of Arabic … is that there aren't many resources for textbooks of the Arabic language … and this is in relation/comparison to the Hebrew language … we do not have a selection of books … the teacher of the Hebrew language and the teacher of the English language … they are very much about their 'fun' … they have a big selection … they have a thousand things … they have many prepared lesson plans … but in the Arabic language … there is nothing … we do not have a selection … and there are no resources at all …"

The irony is that despite the importance and investment and perception of the Arab school as a place only for the collection of information and achievements it was found according to many research studies that there is a significant decline in the achievements of the Arab students in the continuation of their studies in the secondary school. This decline in the achievements is expected, because of the lack of suitability and/or use of the advanced, innovative, and up-to-date teaching methods, which are for learning, understanding, and meaning.

The argument of the participants for the decline in the achievements is not only because of the establishment. Disappointment and criticism were also mentioned towards the young Arab teachers, who still did not change their perception towards students and who still adhere to the traditional methods and do not provide a solution for the needs of the Arab student, which is considered one of the reasons for the departure of the Arab teachers and parents from the Arab public schools.

One teacher said, "…There is no accommodation … I blame here the region … in recent years … considerable number of new personnel entered, young, when the old generation is retiring … so why the new young ones … do not change … who will make the change … if not the young people…"

One interviewee said, "…and there are some … do not like the attitude of the Arab schools … about how the teachers … the quality of the teaching and the quality of the teachers (the value) ….is steadily declining … from what it was in the past … and some of the teachers do not look at the student as a person."

Conversely, one of the interviewees maintained that there is no reason that justifies the change in the teaching methods and pedagogy in the Arab schools, since there is a new generation of teachers who can make a systemic change. "… and I do not feel that our principals in Arab society …. There is no willingness to learn something new or make new changes … from many excuses … I blame here in the region … in recent years … many new workers have come who are young … if the old generation retires … then why the young new ones … do not change … who will make the change … if not the young people."

To conclude, it was found that most of the interviewees on the one hand criticized the Arab schools that emphasize only the achievement aspect of the students and on the other hand 'blame' the policy of the Ministry of Education, which emphasizes only the quantity of the material and not the quality or the coordination with the needs of the Arab student. Regarding the power of the perception of the influence of the achievements and the pedagogy, it was found in this research that Arab society in general and the Arab education system in Israel in particular places at the top of its priorities, as the top of the pyramid, the students' achievements, in terms of importance. Conversely, the formation of the personality, the development of a positive self-image, and the formation of the national identity of the Arab student is at the bottom of the priorities, or in other words on the margins in terms of importance, and even ignoring these issues. Why? According to the findings, this follows from the policy of intimidation, supervision, and control of the establishment / the Ministry of Education in Israel (this topic will be discussed in the continuation). This is a source of disappointment and dropping out from the competitive public Arab schools.

The question that is asked is as follows. Are the engagement and the focus in Arab schools only on the achievements and on the completion of the learning material in essence the policy of the establishment regarding the non-engagement of the Arab schools in the formation

of the personality and identity of the Arab student? Is this the method of the establishment to weaken and to eliminate the formation of the personality and national identity of the Arab student? This research study will attempt to answer this question.

In other words, the establishment exploited the 'pedagogical dimension' in the Arab schools so as to weaken the engagement in the formation of the personality and the identity of the Arab student in Israel. This issue will be discussed in the continuation.

As expected, following the focus only on the achievements of the students in the Arab schools and the marginality of the engagement in the formation of the self and social personality of the Arab student, there was a decline in the students' achievements, and not the opposite.

The answer on the reason of the lack of improvement and even the decline in the achievements in the Arab schools is the focus and look at the Arab student as a machine of grades, without consideration of his personal needs: the adjustment of the study materials and textbooks, in terms of the motivation, the empowerment of the personality, and the positive self-image for each and every student separately. It is possible to see this argument from the following findings.

Disappointment with the Formation of the Personality

There is disappointment from the Arab public schools, in terms of the 'formation of the student's personality'. This argument was directed primarily to the policy of the establishment, principals, and teachers. It is possible to argue that the disappointment from the lack of formation of the student's personality is a result of the burden and pressure of the study materials and textbooks that the Ministry of Education obligates the teacher to convey to the Arab student, as if he is a bottle that is to be filled and his perception of the school as a factory or machine for grades, causes and leads to lack of creativity, and the lack of availability of the Arab teachers to the formation of the student's personal identity.

One interviewee said, "And you strangled the principal with the meyzav tests … what is left to him … what is left to him with the staff to work with the students … where will the creativity be … when twill there be innovation/creativity … when will there be education for values …"

One interviewee said, "I felt here the difference … this is the idea of the school that I first address the student as a 'person' … I liked what there wasn't in other schools … since we are in the other schools … as if the student is a bottle into which we can pour material. I connect

with the strong student and weaken the other students … to differentiate, here … I build a person."

One teacher said, "In the school … there is much conversation … the students leave with great ability to manage a conversation, not like the others … they know what their self-worth is."

The distress is not only in the race and competition to finish the material for the student but comes from the failure to provide educational contents in the books suited for the Arab student or to create the Arab student who is proud in his personality or his identity.

For instance, one teacher said, "The books of the Ministry of Education really do not speak to the Arab student and not to his identity … and they do not learn about Arab poets … not at all ... the learning passes are … there is a part … I don't know … how by mistake perhaps this was …there was a passage on Ibn Alhaitam … which is a good passage … almost alone … and I made a big deal of this. From it I went into all the Arab 'researchers' … and I gave a task to each pair of students to prepare a presentation on an Arab researcher … where he came from and his deeds … there was then a month of preparations … the students enjoyed this … they were surprised that there is a researcher by the name of Ibn Sina … they did not know this about themselves … I told them that I was taught that 'if not for the Arabs Europe would have started from zero' … and I wrote this on the board … I explained to them the extent to which the Arabs reached Andalusia … and asked them … what happened, why did we stop …."

Another interviewee added her disappointment with the learning contents in the books of the Arabs. She said that she is forced to change and add and remove contents, so as to form a strong and proud student personality. "We made a change in the students, to be proud … many many … I have a weekly lessons called 'Meeting with the Arab Sage' … this was one of the important lessons for the students' identity … there was a lack in something … since I am so limited in the learning materials of first and second grades … I explained to them that the role of every sage/theoreticians is … that there is nothing at all in the textbooks of the Ministry of Education…". She further added, "When I decided to introduce new contents … for instance … I chose Ahmad Shuki … since this is a very interesting lesson … I want an Arab poet who comes from the children's world … who will speak to the students … the students were 'proud' of this Arab poet … they did not believe that the Arabs were really on a high level … they did not believe that the Arabs were on such a level … I attempt to introduce educational topics that the student likes … and asks for…"

From here they see that the learning contents and the textbooks are greatly deficient in the learning contents suited to the needs of the Arab student which will cause pride in the Arab student.

Disappointment with the Formation of the Personality towards the Teachers

Criticism was leveled and strong disappointment was felt by the Arab teachers not only on the lack of the formation of the student's personality but also on the destruction in this aspect. The Arab teachers do not see the student as a person but as a 'machine' of grades. For instance, one of the teacher interviewees in her response to the question of why she does not teach in Arab public education asserted that she and many parents/teachers removed their children from Arab public education because of the attitude of the teachers who do not see the students as a 'person'.

One interviewee said, "there is a part … do not like he attitude in the Arab schools … how the teachers … the quality of the teaching and the quality of the teachers (the value) … is steadily declining … from what was in the past ... and some of the teachers do not look at the student as a person … some … and not all … there are amazing teachers … **but the absolute majority of the Arab teachers do not treat the student as a person** … there is still verbal and physical violence in the schools … and therefore I preferred to bring my children here … this is the main reason … this situation hurts the parents … and it is hard for them that their children will experience this … and some want their child to learn in a different method from what they learned … since this opens for them horizons differently … To be a person in society …"

To sum up, the findings indicate that in the Arab schools there is no reference and consideration of the formation of the Arab student's personality from the establishment, from the teachers, and even from the parents. Therefore, many Arab teachers, who have another perception of the importance of education and the perception of the role of the school, escape and choose to learn in the bilingual school.

As expected from the previous finding, the non-formation of the self-personality of the Arab student was a disappointment, and criticism regarding the non-formation of the cultural, social, and national identity of the Arab student can be seen in the following finding.

Disappointment with the Degree of the Formation of the National Identity

Disappointment with the degree of formation of the Arab identity, which is inferior, was directed primarily towards the establishment but there was also self-criticism towards the

Arab school principals and towards the Arab society especially for the first generation. The disappointment was expressed and heard from the involvement of the teachers' personal experiences during the interviews are primarily towards the policy of the Ministry of Education / the establishment and then less towards the school principals, the first generation of the Arab society in Israel and the Arab leadership.

First, we discuss the disappointment from the establishment. In the continuation of the previous argument in disappointment in terms of the formation of the personality of the Arab student in the Arab textbooks on the part of the Ministry of Education who did not 'fill' their role in the formation of the personality of the Arab student's personality, it is clear and expected that the policy of the Ministry of Education / the establishment was to totally 'ignore' the needs of the Arab student in terms of the formation of the national identity that belongs to the Arab minority in Israel, which is defined as a national-cultural minority in Israel and even the prohibition according to the law and supervision and control from top down, in all perspectives: textbooks, formation of the formal and informal personal and national identity in the walls of the school, the laws of the state.

Therefore, most of the interviewees reflected their disappointment with the public Arab schools from their own personal experiences, both in the Arab school in their childhood (public and private), in higher education in Israel, and even shared experiences of disappointment on the self-discovery of the extent to which they are ignored and this is during their integration in teaching in the bilingual school.

First, we present the disappointment of the teachers with the establishment, Arab society, and the principals from the school experience in their childhood. The main disappointment with the Ministry of Education / the establishment is because of the policy of supervision, intimidation, and silencing that the Ministry of Education deploys towards the Arab schools and the principals of the Arab schools, who are forbidden to teaching 'illegal' contents and are summoned to a disciplinary committee if they dare conduct education for national identity. For instance, one of the teachers asserted that she taught in a private official school, which is considered a good school, but in this unique school there was no work on the identity of the Arab student. "I taught in the school …. in Akko … a private school … this is a good school … but there wasn't in their ideology … or in that of any other school … **it did not have in the ideology about the reinforcement of the national identity** … **they would come to my father and caution him about his daughter** …"

Another interviewee adds that she also learned in an official private school where it was prohibited to discuss and to speak about national issues and that until today she remembers that one of the teachers would insert national contents (and this proves the extent to which the Arab students wanted to know and hear about themselves, their narrative, and their heritage).

One interviewee said, "This would not be in the Arab schools … at all … I learned in a private school … in that time … we had a teacher who brought to us a poem of Taufik Ziad (a national poet) and for us this was 'wow'… she did a great thing … in the Arab schools there is no education for culture and for the formation of the Palestinian identity…."

A traumatic student experience is one of the causes for the work in the bilingual school. A very interesting and important finding regarding the causes of work in the bilingual school is that most of the interviewees noted and shared in the interviews with them a traumatic experience that they had themselves, whether in the school or in an Israeli university, and this experience caused their lack of ability and/or willingness to teach in the regular Arab school, which is obedient and fearful and which raises students who are 'ignorant' in their personal and national identity.

For instance, one of the interviewees shared a traumatic experience when she was a young student in an Arab high school and was considered one of the few/rare students who have national awareness and acted according to her beliefs. The school administration would complain to her father that she was nationalist and cautioned him about it. "I learned in the school … in Acco … a private school … this is a good school … but there was no ideology in it or in any other school … there was nothing in the ideology about the reinforcement of the national identity … they would come to my father and caution him about his daughter … and I would answer my father, 'What do I have, do I have a suicide bomb belt? What? … this was in the period of the school."

However, surprisingly and ironically, most of these teachers shared their experiences in Israeli universities, as one of the main factors of the reinforcement and formation of their personal identity and their national identity. For instance, one interviewee shared her experience. "In the continuation, in the period of the university … I was in Tel Aviv …the truth is that the first time I am exposed to a large group of nationalists is in the university … the racism that was against the Arabs … and thus your nationalist personality begins to form … true, my national identity is already formed … but was vague."

Another teacher added, “Now when I entered university before the age of 18, I was young, and life in Jerusalem in that time in the year 1985 … and the learning difficulties … for these four years I felt that I am not … I weakened a bit … my personal and self confidence weakened … there are things that will let you feel that this is not you … and certainly we were a weakened minority, there were barely ten students in the department.”

According to another teacher, her student experience caused her to think differently, since she experienced a ‘threat’ to her life in her period as a student and understood the importance of coexistence and that the meeting and discourse between the two peoples who live in the same country is preferable to conflict. “One of the things that influenced me was the ‘terrorist attack’ on the Frank Sinatra restaurant at the Hebrew University … I was in the restaurant … and I was hospitalized at the hospital in Hadassa Har Hazofim … there I felt that this had touched me … and I understood life and the importance of my life, in the sense that the sanctity of life is more important than the sanctity of land, either I was a Palestinian or I was an Israeli …”

These personal experiences caused them to discover in the continuation of their academic and/or professional way that they were under the policy of the military government of the creation of a generation that is ‘ignorant’ in its national identity. According to most teachers, the policy of the creation of an Arab generation ‘ignorant’ of its identity still continues today in the public Arab schools. One of the interviewees asserted that when her daughter moved to learn in the middle school in the village, she was traumatized to discover that the students in her class do not know anything about their identity. She was angry and disappointed with the situation of the public Arab schools.

An interviewee said, “In parallel, I will give you a personal example about my daughter. When she met with students from her village in one of the afterschool courses in the village, she was very troubled by the fact that the students **do not know to identify/differentiate between the date of the Naksa, Land Day, and the date of the Nakba, or even the date of the events of October** … when these dates are ‘your history … your identity’ … they do not know … and for me … to be … somebody who loses his history he loses himself (a person who loses his history is lost) … as Arabs in the Arab schools, of single nationality, … forgetting/losing our history and identity …”

The argument of most of the interviewees is that Arab education raises/educates/creates absolute 'ignorance' of the Arab student's identity, in terms of Arab personal identity, national identity, and Palestinian heritage.

One of the teachers presented the irony that in the single-national Arab schools there is no formation of the national identity for the Arab student while in the bilingual school there is. "… in the Arab schools it is not permitted to say one word … they will let me tell about the narrative … (laughs) … at least here I tell about the narrative."

One interviewee said, "As Arabs in the single-national Arab schools … we forget, lose our history and identity … the irony of this … is that the bilingual/binational school … is the one that teaches our students about ourselves … and not our single-national school … unfortunately."

Disappointment with the Formation of the National Identity towards the Arab Principals

Most of the interviewees noted criticism of and disappointment with the principals of the Arab schools, who are obedient and who fear the supervision and the rigid intervention of the establishment in their schools.

One interviewee said, "Once I sent an email to my principal that I want to hold an activity in the class on Nakba Day … and the principal answered me through the mail that 'we in the school are prohibited to speak about the Nakba and this is according to the directives of the Ministry of Education … and then afterwards I saw the principal the day after and he told me in a low voice 'These things are not sent in official mail … it is forbidden … since somebody could see this …'and he continued and told me that he too understands that the Nakba is important to the students … but not on official mail.'"

This policy caused damage, perhaps irreversible damage, to the perception of the principals of the Arab schools, who are seen as collaborators who serve the needs of the establishment and not the needs of the Arab student and Arab society. Thus, for example, one interviewee noted her disappointment with Arab public education in terms of the education for the formation of the national identity of the Arab students during her work in the public Arab school, when the principal turned to her in a conversation about the fact that she discusses in her class a national topic – Land Day, which is an important topic in heritage and history for Arab society, which every student must know about. She stated that this conversation was a type of "deterrence" or "intimidation". "Once the principal told me … 'I know what you are doing' … I answered him 'what am I doing?' … he answered me 'I know what you are

teaching'. I told him 'really … then come learn a lesson with me'. He told me, "I know what you are teaching and I like what you are teaching'. I said to him, 'so where is the problem?' He answered me 'Nothing, I only wanted to tell you that I know.' So I said to him 'OK … good ... what you know … that I am teaching about Land Day … instead of letting all the teachers in your school teach about Land Day'. Then you think to say … that this teacher who teaches is committed to the person employing him, who is the principal, and the principal is committed to the person employing him … to be as 'obedient' as possible … unfortunately, he is caught by the throat 'he is prohibited to teach this or this or this' … he (the principal) did not tell me not to teach … but this was a type of deterrence…"

It can be argued that the policy of intimidation, control, and supervision of the Ministry of Education hurt more the status and role perception of the Arab principals in Arab education, since the Arab principal was seen as obedient, a collaborator, and/or even a traitor.

To differentiate, some of the interviewees argued that it is prohibited to accuse the principals of ignorance and the non-formation of the national identity, since the principals are also 'victims' of the policy of intimidation of the Ministry of Education against them. Thus, they are 'indifferent', as well as afraid, and they ignore education for important and sensitive issues such as the formation of the national identity and education for values. For instance, another teacher justified the fear of the principals and the teachers to provide an answer to the needs of the Arab student, under the policy of intimidation and supervision, arguing that the state exploits the 'weakness' of Arab society and its economic dependence on Jewish society and therefore she asserts that the solution must be holistic cooperation. "… most of the Arab schools do not have education for identity and nationality. … the problem is not only the principals or the teachers … the problem here is social and the representatives of society … this is larger than the school … since our Arab representatives in the Knesset will not make a change on this topic … we cannot alone as educators change this … or introduce a change … since today if an Arab teacher says something .. he is summoned to a disciplinary committee … so of course I am afraid … since I as a mother will take care of myself … and I will be forced not to speak … I speak honestly … I understand them … but I am here in the bilingual school feel safe speaking … outside no … therefore the solution is a 'social uprising' together … with educators … but educators cannot make the change alone …"

The disappointment with the principals' attitude towards the teachers is also a cause of burnout and lack of motivation among the teachers, even influencing their coming to teach in the school. For instance, one of the teachers asserted that in the Arab schools and following the

'domineering' and repressing attitude, there are many Arab teachers who are absent from the school, intentionally and as a type of protest of the principal's attitude towards them. "In addition, the attitude of the administration is important, and the relationships between the staff members are important. I know that in the Arab schools especially the teachers are often absent … since even if a teacher wants to be absent for a justified reason … he will not agree and will complain ... or threaten her and be frightening … therefore the teacher, who has the right to be absent 30 days, will be absent 30 days …"

Another interviewee also argues this theme in the defense of teachers. "… these values, perhaps are found in the Arab schools … I will not criticize them … God forbid … but the framework … with the abilities that they have … they try but this is not found on their priorities …"

Disappointment with the Formation of the National Identity towards Arab Society, the First Generation, the Parents

Another teacher added another facet to the ignorance, and this is the ignorance from the home in the national topics, which according to some of the interviewees is the fear of the establishment (the period of the military government under which the parents lived). For instance, one teacher argued when she compared herself to the Jewish teachers who come to teach in the bilingual school. "We the Arabs come with zero knowledge … even on our nationalism … and they the Jews with all the knowledge on their nationalism … it is clear why we do not have knowledge on our nationalism … because in our school it is prohibited to speak about this … even in our homes we do not educate about this and raise according to this … such a discussion does not occur in the home / in the family … I do not remember ever in my life as a student that we had a conversation at home on national issues … the Nakba or Land Day … in their schools it is possible … since this is the message that the State sends to the schools … therefore these issues are very marginal…"

In addition to the three aspects in the disappointment, many of the interviewees directed disappointment towards traditional Arab society and criticized the need for the change of thinking or perception of the student in the Arab schools that emphasizes only the achievements of the students without reference and consideration of the formation of the student's personality or identity. For instance, one of the interviewees sharply criticized traditional Arab society, which represses the students personally, socially, and politically from a young age, and this from the teacher's personal experience and school life routine when she was a student. For

instance, one of the interviewees asserted that the personal relationship of the teacher with the student is very important to her and she mentioned this through her sharp criticism of traditional Arab society, which is 'repressive'. "It was very important to me in the personal aspect … to create and produce for the new ages and for my children a life not like mine … both in terms of the preparation, the conditions, the frameworks … and not the attitude … I want a small school, not a large one, I want my children to feel safe in the school … the teacher to know each and every student, to have a personal attitude to each and every student … a personal attitude towards my children … to respect my children … for my son to find the place where he can speak and express himself … say his opinion … since we until today grew up in a society that is not accustomed to expressing its emotions … everything is 'repression, repression'…"

The result of the educational policy and the fear of the military government is the weakening of the student's personality, the 'ignorance' in the national identity, and it is clear that this leads to weakening in the achievements. (Source on the theory that there is a relationship between the student's positive self-image about himself and his achievements; to increase the achievements it is necessary to invest in the students' personality and identity.)

The school is a place/framework not only for the supply of knowledge or the collection of knowledge and information for the student and the evaluation of the student according to his achievements but also for the formation of the personality and the national identity. All this derives from the feeling of personal, social, and national 'ignorance' that the Arab teachers experienced by themselves, both in the universities and in the teachers' meetings.

One interviewee said that, "In the first meeting in the teachers' room … the conversation began about the 'Land Day' ceremony … I discovered that I in essence do not have the full knowledge about Land Day … I do not have enough knowledge, I myself am confused … I do not understand about myself … why do I not know? When you think about this? … I think with myself … I remember my father going to me when I wanted to begin my studies in Jerusalem … and told me "…" You are going to learn … politics and not politics … you are not tied to this … this is not your issue and put it aside."

From this it is possible to conclude that one of the main factors of the work of most of the Arab teachers who work in the bilingual schools was the 'hope' and the goal for change in the perception of the student and the teacher in Arab society.

One of the teachers summarized well the fear and the reasons for the lack of formation of the national identity in the Arab student. She blames all the factors that are supposed to engage and develop this topic. “Most of the Arab schools do not have education for identity and nationalism. The problem is not only the principals or the teachers … the problem here is social and representatives of society … this is greater than the school … since our Arab representatives in the Knesset will not make a change on this topic … we cannot alone as educators change this … or introduce a change … since today if the Arab teacher says something … he is summoned to a disciplinary committee … then certainly I am afraid … since I, as a mother, will see to myself … and I will be forced not to speak … I am talking honestly here … I understand them.”

To conclude, this finding presents the reasons for the full choice of the some of the Arab teachers to ‘escape’ the official public Arab schools and to search for a ‘refuge’ in the alternative private bilingual schools, and this following the disappointment that is accompanied by criticism and accusations towards different factors, the policy of the establishment, the school principals, the teachers, and even traditional Arab society.

It is possible to conclude that the teachers and principals of the Arab schools, as well as Arab society, focused on achievements, perhaps out of lack of choice and lack of opportunity to engage in other issues. Perhaps the establishment intentionally piled on the learning materials and pressures for achievements so as to stifle the principals and the schools not to engage in other, ‘forbidden’ matters.

As a result of the policy of the intimidation of the principals, when in parallel the principals deploy mechanisms of supervision and control over the teachers’ work, which causes the early burnout of the Arab teachers, following the disappointment and burnout and the low self-image of the Arab teachers, many Arab teachers feel alienation and lack of belonging to the school where they work.

The irony is that the Arab schools focus solely on the studies and pressure the students to complete the learning materials and books but nevertheless all ‘contemporary’ research studies note a sharp decline in the scores with the rise in the age. All the research studies note that the level of failure, the lack of eligibility for a quality high school matriculation certificate, is high in the Arab education system. Perhaps the ‘problem’ is not in the ‘doses’ of education but in the goals of education. (Source).

To conclude, most of the teachers maintain that the failure to provide instructional/scholastic service and to form the student's personality and identity is following the supervision and policy of intimidation that the state deploys in the schools that attempt to do this, through the appointment of obedient principals or through 'disciplinary conversations' for those who attempted to develop a personal national identity for the students.

The second factor of the work of the Arab teachers in the work in the bilingual school is presented in the next section.

8.1.2.2 Objective and Idea of the Unique School

The objective or idea of the unique school (scientific quote) is attractive as a type of response for criticism directed towards Arab society. The idea and objective of the bilingual/binational school were found and considered to be one of the main causes of the work of the Arab teachers in it, and not in the Arab public schools, and this is together with the previous factor, the weak situation of the Arab education system in general and the Arab education system in Jerusalem in particular, in terms of the achievements, the quality of teaching, and the reciprocal relationships between the principal and the teachers and among the teachers themselves. As we noted in the previous section, this idea is considered one of the reasons why the Arab teachers choose to work and to teach in the bilingual school, especially in Jerusalem.

One of the Jerusalem interviewees said, "The situation of our schools in Jerusalem is very difficult, unfortunately, in scholastic terms … therefore for me this was the opportunity of my life that I would teach in the bilingual school … in other words, I began to teach there not because I had no choice but because this was a 'planned' goal…"

The argument of all the interviewees was that the idea and goal of the school were considered unique, attractive, different, and challenging for the Arab teachers more than the routine educational reality in the Arab schools. They asserted that this model of the school challenges the values that are 'contradictory' to the educational-political-social and school reality, such as:

1. The encounter and contact between Arabs and Jews, the exposure to one another, and the learning together of Arabs and Jews – all of which do not exist in Israeli reality.
2. The shared task: the value of equality in cultural, religious, and national education between Arab and Jewish students, regardless of the difference in Israeli reality of relationships between majority and minority, teaching in the two languages, Hebrew

and Arabic, in an equal manner in the classroom, when the teaching in the Arabic language barely exists. Providing an answer to the needs and 'uniqueness' of every student as an independent entity with personal, social, cultural, political, and national indications/uniqueness.

3. A friendly and respectful relationship: From recognition, respect, and lingual understanding between the students on the micro and macro levels.
4. Institutionalized support: Recognized and official school.
5. Community life: The uniqueness and importance of 'life in the community' in this school.

According to the findings, it was found that there are two types/reasons for the choice for the work of Arab teachers in the bilingual school following the idea of the school, and this is the choice from full awareness of the idea of the school, choice not from full awareness of the idea of the school. In the continuation, it became a factor in the continuation of the work in the bilingual school.

First, the choice to work from the full awareness of the school goal. It was found that some of the interviewees/teachers worked or had the opportunity to work in the public Arab schools but preferred to work in the bilingual school, because of the uniqueness and idea of the school. For instance, one of the interviewees even preferred leaving and giving up the position in the public state Arab school and teaching in the bilingual school, from full choice and complete awareness of its nature. "First, I am very connected to the school and to the idea, and I greatly understand and know what the idea of the school is and how things happen, because of this I sent my four children to this school, and aside from this I knew and was certain that I will work/will put forth double the effort in the bilingual school … compared to in the regular school … in other words, in terms of the conditions I gave up a lot of things …"

Another teacher, who also chose from full awareness to work in the bilingual school, added, "I was told about this school and its goal … and what awaits me there … and I had background on the topic since I had a 'trial' in teaching in the bilingual school for a period that was not short … therefore I was enthusiastic … since I knew where I was going and am interested in the idea … and until now I have not regretted it."

The unique school climate was also found to be one of the factors attracting Arab teachers to learn in the bilingual school. To discover and 'crack this mystery', since some of

the teachers stated that the idea of the school constituted for them as mystery to be solved, because in the past they worked in the regular public Arab schools.

One of the interviewees asserted, “The idea is attractive … it is different … since this was like a ‘mystery’ … and this is another, a different world … this is a strange framework in all respects … in the respect that I am ‘forming’ … since I am here with another side … with the enemy … with a side of the conflict…”

Another teacher continued that this mystery was for her a type of ‘challenge’. “This was interesting and challenging at the same time … since it is not easy to give tools with the material (to the student)…”

In addition to the uniqueness of the goal and the idea of the school, the teachers added the equal status condition found as one of the main goals of the bilingual school, which is reflected in teaching in two languages and education for two cultures different in national and religious identity. Equal status is considered one of the main factors of the attraction of Arab teachers to teach in the bilingual school, as well as to bring their children to equal, humane education. One of the interviewees, who brought all her children to the bilingual school, said, “The school has a shared life, without the elimination of the identity of another … his beliefs, his heritage, his culture … and thus he will learn about the other person without influencing his identity …”

Another teacher asserted that in addition to the equal status between the Arab students and the Jewish students, she was entranced by the possibility and the ‘freedom’ to teach and to speak about her national identity, without fears, without threats. “It was important to me personally … it is to create and produce for the new age groups and my children a life different from ‘mine’ … both in terms of the preparation, the conditions, the frameworks … and not the attitude … I want my children to feel confidence in the school … and it is important to me since here my son will be with a Jewish student … that they will begin from an equal point … also on the issue of identity and nationality … to give me permission and freedom to speak … since not everywhere is this permission given and it is possible to talk about nationality.”

To summarize, apparently the equal status between Jewish and Arab students assumes meaning and great importance among the teachers (who themselves are also parents), because of the reality, which is discriminatory, disappointing, scary, and threatening for the Arab minority in Israel, as presented in the previous section, both in terms of the national identity and narrative and in terms of the social, economic, political, and educational discrimination.

This difficulty reality caused, apparently, the thirst and desire and search for the equal status and the reciprocal respect between the two cultures, which was prominent in the desire of many Arab teachers to work in the bilingual-binational school and to discover themselves the fulfillment of this idea and goal in the school reality.

For instance, one of the teachers maintained, "In the first year the procedure was strange for me … and I was so much in 'shock', so 'blinded' … from the studies of Arabs and Jews together … you are attracted to this as if the reality implements / does according to the 'title' … everybody speaks the two languages … as Jews and Arabs … as if truly there is communication … love … there is this peace … and the patience …"

One interviewee said, "There was something attractive here … there was a different atmosphere here … I did a tour of the school and I felt that this is a different school, other and attractive … I felt here … that I am found here."

There is a friendly connection, and the value of the respect and answer for the formation of the unique personality of each and every student is considered one of the main values that attract teachers to work in it. For instance, one of the teachers opined that until today she has not forgotten what she was told in the work interview: that this school believes it is important to look at "every student as unique" in the personality, culture, and nationality, and the school climate educates for recognition, understanding, and the lingual, social, and cultural respect of each and every student. The principle is that 'every student is unique' and should be respected. This uniqueness should be developed in the heart and personality of each one of the students, when all the teachers, without exception, have agreed and encouraged and supported the principles and this idea (although there were concerns about the blend of Arabs and Jews and the loss of the traditional identity, more with regard to the girls, as will be discussed at length in the continuation) and especially everyone agreed about the importance of the formation of the personality of the independent and national student.

For instance, one of the teachers attempted to reconstruct from the work interview about the 'school objective' as a factor for the agreement to teach in the bilingual school. "Every individual is a 'unique personality', with his own needs and characteristic, and we, it is important, … respect difference and this uniqueness of every student …. It is important to us to develop each student's personality … so he will know to cope with society … and to give him the tools that will help him more than to give him only learning material … this was interesting and challenging at the same time."

The teacher further stated, “On the same day I also held an interview with another school … but there was something here (in the bilingual school) that was more attractive … there was a different atmosphere here … when I finished the interview, at that time, I did a tour of the school and I felt that this is another school, different … attractive … and then on the same day I was accepted.”

In addition, the interviewee noted, “First, they work on the students’ personality … there is empowerment … many things that are learned … they see the student from all sides … there are things … that I love in this school … the meetings with the school staffs … after two or three months … the entire school staff meets … and does a mapping … holds a conversation … about the student’s needs … the regular school does not have this … the exposure and the meeting of all the teachers … the student really is found at the center … the learning process.”

In addition, it was also found that the importance of supplying an answer, respect, and formation of the personality of each and every student is one of the main goals of the uniqueness of the school. This is the shared task for the reinforcement and formation of the student’s personality, not only personal but also social, cultural, and national. The importance of this condition/value to the Arab teachers who teach in the bilingual school is not incidental but is a result of the disappointment, as we presented in the previous finding.

For instance, one of the arguments of an interviewee adds to the previous assertion about the importance of the value of the formation of the student’s personality to the importance and value of the formation of the identity (since the objective of the school is equality in language, culture). (This is also a reason for work as well as a type of satisfaction, which caused despite all the difficulties in the work in the bilingual school the interviewee’s continuation of work there and their dedication to it.) “It has many goals: value-oriented, learning, life … the school is more humanistic … its vision is more about values, equality, respect, human values, acceptance of others … there is considerable conversation … the students leave with great ability to conduct a conversation, not like the others … for whom this is above their age … and to speak … they know their self-worth … it is important to them that they are listened to … and it is their right to be listened to …it is important to them to be listened to … in the school there is a shared life, without the elimination of the identity of the other … beliefs, heritage … and his culture … and thus he will learn about the other without it influencing his identity …”

In addition, so as to provide an answer for the uniqueness of the bilingual school in terms of the formation of the personal, social, cultural, and national identity of the two cultures,

nations, and peoples (and this is unlike the public school that teaches only according to the curricula of the Ministry of Education), it is necessary to build a unique school curricula for the population of students shared in the school, when the curricula takes into account the conditions of the shared task and the experience of both the Arab and Jewish students. It is necessary to build a school curriculum that meets and is tailored to the needs and objective of the school and the expectations/requirements of the parents, as well as the conditions of approval of the Ministry of Education, called 'institutional support'.

The unique school curriculum of the bilingual school is considered one of the factors for the attraction of the Arab teachers to work in the bilingual school and not in the public school, where all the curricula, goals, and objectives are controlled and dictated by the Ministry of Education / the establishment, from the period of the military government until today, which is in essence one of the reasons for their disappointment with the Ministry of Education, which does not provide textbooks, curricula, and educational goals suitable to the unique needs of the Palestinian minority in Israel, and for their departure, with their children, from public Arab education.

The construction and decision upon of the unique curricula for the bilingual schools are in the hands of the teaching staff, and it exclusively decides on the contents, the goals, and the objectives of these unique curricula, which meet, apparently, the personal, social, cultural, and national needs. Thus, for example, it was found that all the teachers who were interviewed, especially those who teach Arabic language, history, citizenship, and geography, maintained, with pain, that sadly the Ministry of Education does not put forth effort to author books or to tailor unique curricula for the Arab students who belong to the Arab minority in Israel. Therefore, they are forced to erase parts or to add educational/scholastic parts during their lessons.

For instance, one of the interviewees maintained, "… I taught in previous years history and geography … the first thing that I would say about the history textbook and the geography textbook is that 'this is a book that is translated from Hebrew to Arabic' … this is a book that presents that Jews were here, and returned to here … and that is how it begins … the geography book … the book is amazing but it is translated from Hebrew … and even the translation of the concepts is a translation, for instance, about the Jewish pioneers who are *altalayun*[41] (a curse). All the time I look with critical eyes … I begin from here … this book for 'students' was written

[41] The word refers to the Jewish 'pioneers' who settled in the land of Israel.

for Jewish students and translated for us … we will begin from here …it does not express you … but we will learn its contents … from here I would begin as a first lesson in history and geography … and I would insert lots of national material (from me) during the teaching … from the first sentence that you speak about the work … since the book significantly speaks and turns to and is suited for the Jewish students … who will understand why? Why this book is this way, who does it turn to…"

Another interviewee said, "Today we have books from the Ministry of Education, but I add to and I remove contents from the book … for instance, I replaced a while unit … for instance, I inserted about Ahmad Shuki (an Arab poet) … these contents do not appear in the books of the Ministry of Education."

Therefore, it was found that although the building of unique school curricula for the bilingual school is difficult work and requires many hours of work and enrichment in the knowledge of the teacher who builds it, the value of these school curricula exceeds the effort and difficulties. These curricula are very important for the continuity and attraction of many teachers to work in the bilingual school, despite the investment and the increased effort in the work, in comparison to the public Arab school.

One teacher asserted that, "In other words, we also teach like the rest of the schools the core curricula … but we also have our own school-based curricula, all the parents participate and are partners in our school and in the building of the curricula … they even have the right to intervene and express their opinion on the activities … they are involved in the decision on the activity and the topics of the school … they are an important part of the school … and the association."

In addition, it was found that following the school a community life was created, and a value of 'shared life' in the community is one of the unique goals of the bilingual school, considered by some of the teachers to be a cause of the continuity of the work and cohesion. The argument of this main idea as one of the foundation stones of the school is that the work and the goal are not only for the students but also for the parents. The argument is that for the school and the association to be considered a social, cultural, and political 'agent of change', it is important to act and work according to the change of perception of the community and the parents of the students so as to succeed in the realization of the school objective – shared life in the community.

"We are what makes us special … a school works on the topic of life in the community … it does not only address the teacher, student, and school management … but the perception of our school as a family … and we are all parents … and shared life with all the parents of the students …"

Last, it was found that one of the factors for the work of the Arab teachers in the bilingual schools is the school and student experience they themselves experienced, as we presented in the previous finding on 'disappointment'. Their own previous experience is considered one of the causes of their work in the bilingual school, since for them the school constituted a type of 'hope' and/or 'corrective compensation' for their personal experiences, whether in their childhood in the schools or in the Israeli higher education system. A large number of the teachers maintained that their work in the bilingual school in essence constituted a type of "journey for the search for understanding and acceptance and respect from the other, the Jew" for themselves. For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that she had hope that the encounter between the Arab and the Jewish students in the school would succeed in creating a new 'generation' that understands and respects the distress of the minority/culture/nationality, which lives in a 'domineering' state that supervises from above the Arab minority. "They are the ones who ... I will not look at them as enemies but they are perhaps partners in the way … they are the ones who can bring with them the topic of *kadiatek*[42]/narrative … to your place … that they will understand you and what you experienced … since you need people … I will not say, concepts of war and struggle …these came with these people to the place of sadness, in which you are found … and from here there must be a change … it is impossible to be in the same place."

The second type of teachers who work in the bilingual school did so from the unconscious choice about the goal and idea of the school in the beginning. Some of the teachers came to teach in the bilingual school, during the search to find a workplace, and in this case they came out with a school to which they were attracted already in the work interview.

This can be seen in the argument of one of the teachers who searched at that time for a workplace and was accepted to work in two types of schools, the bilingual and the public school, but preferred to work in the bilingual school, because of the school uniqueness. "I came here, they held a job interview for me, with the previous Arab principal … and the Jewish vice-principal and I was accepted … on the same day I also had an interview for another school …

[42] This is the Arabic word that is closest to meaning to the word 'narrative'. It means 'your issue', 'your problem', 'your case'.

but there was something here … more attractive … there was a different atmosphere here … when I finished the interview, at that time, I did a tour of the school, and I felt that this was a different school … attractive a… and then the same day I was accepted … and the same day they got back to me … I was accepted at two schools … but I felt here there is something special … I felt here … that I am found here more …"

Another teacher maintained that she chose to study in the bilingual school not really from choice and this following her disappointment and her lack of 'desire' about the atmosphere of the regular Arab school and the attitude of the principal. "The truth is that I never felt comfortable. I always searched for something else … I was not comfortable geographically and with the school management … I always searched for something alternative … and we submitted candidacy to another school … and indeed after a year I came and conducted an interview and the idea of the school, I really liked it … I held a trial lesson … and I was accepted."

The conclusion is that some of the teachers who from the search for the workplace in general or a search for 'another' school and not from choice with awareness of the nature and idea of the school and were interviewed were attracted from the beginning to the school, from the job interview.

It can be said that the conclusion is, therefore, that the background and influence of the repressive military government on Arab society that we presented in the first finding on the 'disappointment' with the establishment, arose in some of the interviews, as noted by the teachers, principals, and parents, who still are afraid of the 'ghost' of the military government. The fear of the establishment and the military government for many years influenced the education for values, identity, and nationality both for the schools and for the parents of Arab society and for the children, and especially the parents who lived in the 'repressive' and frightening period. This was expressed in most of the interviews, as they expressed the thirst to feel equal and respected, to feel they are listened to (corrective compensation). This thirst for respect and equality, for mutual recognition of the narratives, was for the teachers themselves and for their children and students. Thus, one interviewee maintained that as a teacher and as a parent the fear and prohibition to engage in the national identity continues today in the Arab public schools – the fear and influence of the military government caused the young people to be 'ignorant' in their identity, culture, and heritage.

The conclusion is that the school uniqueness of the bilingual/binational school, where the condition of existence is that of an equal status, a shared task between the Arab teachers and the Jewish teachers in the formation of a proud personal, social, cultural, and national identity for every side with the institutionalized support and friendly relationship between the teachers and the students, the school of the Hand in Hand Association, succeeded in creating and building through intensive instruction sessions in the sensitive topics for principals, teachers, and students (this will be discussed further in the continuation) a framework for the two groups who live together in the same country, to learn together with the two languages, and to provide reciprocal respect to the two groups. This was one of the main factors for the attraction of the Arab teachers to work in the school, with a rare unique atmosphere. Moreover, the teachers brought their children to study in this unique school.

In addition, the disappointment and the pain that the teachers accumulated in their school, teacher, and student experience, which was presented previously, caused them to believe and to hope that this unique education will be an 'agent of change' in a divided society, in which there are many conflicts in all aspects – social, cultural, economic, educational, and political.

The third factor of the work of the Arab teachers in the work in the bilingual school is the closed Arab job market and the surplus in the number of Arab teachers, as presented in the next section.

8.1.2.3 Limited / Closed Arab Job Market

To differentiate from the previous finding, in which the teachers choose from awareness to work in the bilingual school, it was found that some of the Arab teachers who began to work and to teach in the bilingual school did so not from full choice or prior awareness but from lack of choice (five out of twelve interviewees). According to the argument of most of the interviewees, it is known that in Arab society there are many Arab 'teachers' who do not have a job since the job market in the schools is saturated and only a person who has connections and ties will succeed in obtaining a place and in teaching in the Arab schools in the Arab towns and villages. The reason, according to the findings that will be presented in the continuation, is that Arab society is still a traditional society, which prefers that the Arab woman find a job in her town or village, in a traditional job for a woman, as a teacher. Consequently, the absolute majority of Arab women went in the direction of teaching, until this created a surplus of women teachers who do not have positions in the Arab schools. Moreover, another apparent problem

in Arab society is that the Arab job market is limited; or in other words, there is not a great choice of different and diverse jobs in Arab society. Hence, the present research study found that there are Arab women teachers who came at first to teach in the bilingual schools since they had no choice and no opportunity to work in a public school.

For instance, one of the interviewees said, "At first I taught in the bilingual school … this was from lack of choice … since we are a small family and do not have connections … for the first year I worked in the HILA Project … and then I worked … in private tutorial lessons … and then I told myself 'Till when, I want to teach?' … When I went to the Ministry of Education, I found before me a line of twenty people … and I saw a pregnant woman with an infant who came to the Ministry of Education to ask for permission to continue to work … I said 'Oh, no.' … I must work, where will I work … then they told me that I could in … then the first meeting/interview for the school was not in a school but with a parent whose daughter learns in the school, when he sends his children there … He saw me and said to me that you are not the right person for there, but I have for you a better work offer, and it is the bilingual school of the Hand in Hand Association where I taught … I taught there and in the regular Arab schools … but not as a permanent teacher or homeroom teacher."

Another interviewee said, "I pleaded … and I was unemployed without work … there was no work … in addition, all my friends were already working since they had connections with the Ministry of Education … I did not … I am not connected … for a whole year I was at home 'depressed' … I had … in the birthing room I read in a magazine that they are looking for Arab teachers for the bilingual model … and they are looking to interview Arab teachers … I called from the birthing room and I set an interview with them … since I so badly wanted to work …"

Another teacher summarized about the situation of 'unemployment' of Arab women students who complete their studies in the colleges and the universities in the job market. "The truth is … in Arab society … regarding our work as Arab teachers here (in the bilingual school) … if this is from desire and awareness of this type of education or from lack of choice … since there are no places in the Arab instructional job market … as an Arab woman …. I finished the studies and I began to look for work in the Ministry of Education … then as usual I did not find work … it is clear that there is no work for teachers … and then there came this opportunity … I went in and I was accepted…"

Nearly all of the Arab women teachers, who worked from choice and or lack of choice, agreed that the idea and goal of the bilingual school is one of the factors that attracted them to begin to work and/or to continue to work there, even if they had the opportunity to work and teach in the Arab public school. In addition, it was found that nearly all of the teachers (aside from one teacher from Jerusalem) sent their children also to learn in the bilingual school, despite all the criticism they suffered in social terms (this issue will be discussed in the continuation) about their work or about sending their children to the bilingual school.

8.1.3 Unique Difficulties of the Arab Teacher in the Bilingual School

The interviewed teachers answered the following question. What are the unique difficulties in the work in the bilingual/binational school? (Employment conditions, work hours, social labeling, 'foreign' school, work in pairs, school curriculum, dropping out of Jews, lack of stability, Arabic language, difference between the Arab parents and the Jewish parents, parent responses)

Being an Arab teacher in the bilingual and binational school is not welcomed with full understanding and positive encouragement but rather the reaction is the opposite: frequently it is received with direct or indirect criticism voiced against the Arab teacher who begins to work in the bilingual and binational school. This reaction is considered one of the unique difficulties that the Arab teacher encounters, to differentiate from the Arab teacher in the public school or the Jewish school. (It is recommended to research the Jewish teachers.)

According to the findings, it was found that the difficulties that the Arab teachers encounter are unique to the bilingual/binational schools, from a social perspective and the labeling and from a political-national perspective. In addition, it was found that some of the difficulties are shared by all the Arab teachers who are employed in general in the bilingual Arab schools. However, there are also difficulties unique to the school, in geographic-social and political terms.

This chapter will discuss each difficulty separately, with all its aspects, both shared and unique to the specific school.

8.1.3.1 Instructional-Professional Difficulties of the Arab Teacher in the Bilingual School

The research study found that the Arab teachers in the bilingual schools, in all the schools, cope with instructional and professional difficulties, unlike those in the public Arab schools.

1. Salary and Employment Conditions

According to the findings, it was found that the feeling of instability in the continuity of the school is considered one of the main difficulties with which the Arab teachers cope in the bilingual schools, although most of them are satisfied in terms of salary, the Hand in Hand Association attempts to cover all the missing rights not supplied by the Ministry of Education for all the teachers. However, nevertheless the decisive majority of the teachers noted that a feeling of instability that is discomfiting during the work.

For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that it is clear that the difference is significant in terms of their source of livelihood, since it is either the Ministry of Education or the Association, and claimed that the Association is not financially stable. "… It is clear that the salary of the Ministry of Education is better … since the Association … despite all the good intentions … it is in the end an association that lives on volunteering … sometimes when there is distress … when there is no money … there is always a sense of instability … the problem is the instability … the Ministry of Education does not cover these things …"

Another teacher added that the salary received from the Association is different in terms of the conditions from the Hand in Hand Association and in the beginning she thought to leave because of the salary conditions. "The first year I wanted to end the work … in every situation I also wanted teaching for the Ministry of Education … since I always worked through the Ministry of Education … and here no … at first I teach on behalf of the Hand in Hand Association … and it really matters to me ..."

2. Load in the Work Hours and Introduction of School-Based Curriculum

In addition to the uncomfortable working conditions for some of the teachers, another difficulty was found in the employment conditions – the load in the non-frontal unpaid working hours, including the preparation of school curricula unique to the bilingual school and the participation in the mandatory in-service training courses on the part of the management of the bilingual school. Most of the teachers complained quietly about the work load and the hours of preparation and the in-service training courses in which they must participate. They maintained that they work many additional hours without pay.

One teacher added about the difference in the employment conditions between the regular school and the bilingual school. "… In addition, for instance with us in the school and in the Association you have for example one week in the month of July a summary for the past year, and in the month of August there is a week or days of preparation that we did not have in

the regular school … in other words, I gave up two weeks of my vacation, all the teachers here do preparation for the school that no (Arab) school does … until today in Sakhnin they laugh at us and tell us 'What are you doing, developing nuclear power?' … you are going in July and August… in other words, my parents and my in-laws tell me 'what, are they making a laughingstock out of you?'…"

Another teacher said, "To differentiate, here … we have many steps that build … already beginning to build from the month of July … we finish work here … we start vacation ... but already from the start of the vacation, namely from the start of the month of July, we have a whole week to summarize the entire year … and to plan already what the steps for the coming year are … what we will work on / emphasize next year … and in August … every month of August we have meetings throughout the entire month … meetings of preparation and programs … how to build it … what values there will be … as if … do a type of feedback … what was and what we will do / there will be."

The difficulty in these additional hours is that most of the teachers are mothers, who are committed to the care and raising of their children, and this is according to Arab tradition. One teacher said that her difficulty in these additional hours since she is also a mother is that this greatly pressures her and influences her functioning as a mother, when this load has implications on her home. "I as a teacher … tell you … the studies / the teaching here is very difficult … I as a mother, as a person … in society … as a member … it is even very difficult … since I do not have free time … at all … all the time … even … nevertheless I remained working here since there is a great challenge … at the same time … I do not receive wages for this …"

Another teacher added that the beginning teachers especially are those who complain. "Listen, generally all the new teachers always complain why they work so much and indeed we stay a lot, and we work in essence three days a week and we stay after the end of the studies."

The preparation of unique curricula for the school was also found to be one of the difficulties with which the teachers cope in the bilingual school. It was found that following the lack of curricula or the failure of the Ministry of Education to give appropriate curricula or books that meet the needs of the Arab student they are forced to close these 'corners' themselves through the curricula. However there was an argument that they make many preparations for the regular curricula of the Ministry of Education and the unique curricula of

the bilingual school in each one of them, in addition to the many in-service training courses and the preparation for the national days. This is very exhausting, stressful, and also without pay.

For example, one of the teachers opined that despite the importance of the school-based curricula, there is great difficulty with the long hours of preparation. “In addition, there is something very big and this is what is called ‘language and culture’ … that I every three months have another topic that we do … since we do not have books of ‘civics, geography, and history’ … we prepare this … I was awake until the late hours, two in the morning because of preparations … therefore my sleep was ‘short’ … little sleep … and also in the morning I have a partner … and it is impossible to know who she is and how she is … there are many pressures …”

One interviewee said, “…We now attempt to teach through the projects … therefore slowly we return to the fact that what needs to be built/prepared is appropriate contents … there was a time when all the contents we prepared … we have a lesson that is called ‘language and culture’ … and this … there are in the contents … also our values that we want to raise and educate the students with them …” (Better quote)

The in-service training courses for the teachers in the bilingual school, according to some of the teachers, are considered also to be a factor that makes the work in the bilingual school difficult. The work in the bilingual school requires considerable in-service training courses and workshops, especially for the national days.

For instance, one of the teachers maintained that the school principal obligates them to participate in the in-service training courses although this is not legal. “… it is true that from the perspective of the Union and the Teachers’ Organization he cannot obligate the teacher … but you know … and he adds that we have new programs and new things to teach … we know all of us that legally he cannot do anything to us … and I told him a number of times that he cannot compel us to take the in-service training courses since I have a master degree … and I do not need in-service training courses … there are many teachers who do not want a raise in salary or a raise in ranking and this way there will be strong echoes … the opponents…”

“And the pressures of here influenced me at home … I would often return home with much tension and stress … there is much work and there are in-service training courses and meetings…”

3. The ‘Foreignness’ and Dilemma of the Learning Contents

Another difficulty that arises from the findings noted by all the staff members in the schools was the sense of 'foreignness' of this educational framework, which includes Arabs and Jews, where supposedly for the first time they will learn in integrated groups. In essence, this is their first time as teachers and 'citizens' that they meet, that they come into contact with Jewish teachers, that they teach Jewish students. In addition, the routine in the school appears to them to be strange, and this is relative to the regular-frontal Arab schools. This foreignness caused many thoughts, dilemmas, and deliberations in the beginning of their employment about how and what to teach, both in terms of the teaching methods and in terms of the inculcation of the knowledge and the truth in their eyes.

One of the teachers shared her experience at the start of her employment in the bilingual school, her feeing that things are strange and blinding. "I began to teach here. Here in the school … at first … in the first year the procedure was strange for me … I was so much in 'shock', so 'blinded' …. from the studies of Arabs and Jews together …"

In addition, another teacher added her experience of the foreignness of working in the bilingual school, to the initial 'scary' experience. "I really had no idea what the bilingual school is … since I do not know anything about the school … I had no knowledge, nothing … I came from a place … they work in such and such a way … and they do this and this … religious people are against our school … I was in a very frightening place in terms of the threats, politics, and racism…"

Another teacher added to the difficulty of the foreignness of the school for her that this was a type of mystery, which she wanted to 'crack', what kind of product would there be, since at that time it was the first school of its type and there was no model to imitate. So, on the one hand this incited curiosity, while on the other hand this was frightening, since without a model to imitate nobody knew what the curricula were or what the chances of success of the school were.

One interviewee said, "I began to teach in the year 2000, and when I came to teach here, the situation was difficult … it was like a mystery … and this was a different world … my transition to this type of framework … this was a strange framework in all respects … and this was the new school … in other words, there was no model that existed before us."

4. Work in Pairs

Almost all the teachers, from all the schools, asserted that the work in pairs, with an Arab homeroom teacher and a Jewish homeroom teacher, has both advantages and

disadvantages. This section will discuss the disadvantages and then in the continuation of the findings the advantages will be presented.

Work in pairs, in their opinion, is very beneficial but is slightly problematic and sensitive both in terms of the instructional decisions that are exclusive to one homeroom teacher and in religious-value-oriented terms, especially on the national days. For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that she found it very difficult at first to be with a partner in the classroom and especially with a partner from the other nationality since this partnership could reflect power relations (majority versus minority) in the Israeli reality. "The work in pairs … suddenly, from a teacher in the regular class in which you are the dominant teacher and make the decisions, suddenly you have an equal colleague in the classroom … who will speak more, what will happen inside … if I talk in the class, the Arab side will be the weak side or the Israeli side will be the strong side … who will be stronger … this is the dilemma that I had from the start … it was very hard for me to work with the Jewish teacher in the lesson … in the first year it was very hard … it is very hard from all the perspectives … what to give in and what not to … what to speak about and what not to…"

Another teacher shares the difficult experience she had with her Jewish partner in terms of the coordination of the work. "Beforehand, we had the Eid al-Adha holiday, and it is necessary in the class … before we present the topic in the class, I and the Jewish teacher need to sit and talk and plan about what we will say … for instance, on the Eid al-Adha holiday, she did not respond to me (did not answer me) … I sent her materials, and she did not reply to me at all, she did not want to participate … in principle … she is not willing to prepare and is not willing to share … and therefore I took it upon myself to prepare material about Eid al-Adha the holiday alone … on the Haj, the Haj ceremony, and the values of the Haj … and I in essence spoke in Arabic and in Hebrew … and then in the continuation when we wanted to speak about the events of October, she did not agree to participate … with me … and not to speak in her Hebrew language … I felt this was 'condescension' …"

5. Recruitment of Jewish Students to and Dropping out of Jewish Students from the Bilingual School

To differentiate from the difficulties shared by all the schools mentioned previously, a difficulty was found in the recruitment of Jewish students as one of the difficulties shared by all three schools. However, the dropping out of the Jewish students varies according to the geographic region of the school. The main argument of all schools, teachers, and principals

about the difficulty of the recruitment of Jewish students and/or the dropping out of Jewish students is that in Jewish society there is a wide selection of alternative schools of quality.

First, we discuss the difficulty with the recruitment of Jewish students. All the school principals agree that there is a difficulty with the recruitment of Jewish students. This primarily was and will be with the opening of a new school.

Nadia, one of the principals, maintained that, "The school experienced in the first process that was not planned and then there was a growing school and the parents were not willing to take a risk for something they did not know what the end would be, they do not accept this … the school was new and was designing and building itself … there was no clear identity … even from a pedagogical perspective it was not clear and understood … and this was also a dilemma … and the Jewish parents did not count on their children continuing in the high school studies here … then there was lack of certainty from this side … and the problem is that here 'in the region' there is a huge selection of Jewish schools, then there is a large selection for the Jewish students in the schools and less for the Arab students …"

Another principal continued, strengthening this argument about this difficulty with the recruitment of Jewish students for the bilingual school, since the Jewish students always have more possibilities of choice of schools suited to them and are not 'caged' like the Arab student, with the choice only of the state public school. Maslacha, a principal, stated that, "The competition in terms of the schools, the Jews have many models … and the Arabs less …"

To summarize, all the principals concur that there is a difficulty with the recruitment of Jewish students for the bilingual school, and not with the Arab students, since the Jewish student has a diverse selection of schools, both official-state schools, such as the state school, the state-religious school, and the Ultra-Orthodox school, and private schools (in Israel there are about six models), such as the anthroposophical school, the democratic school, the pluralistic school, the school for nature, environment, and society, the school in the spirit of dialogue, and the bilingual school.

In the continuation, from the difficulty mentioned previously and after tremendous efforts to recruit Jewish students for the bilingual school, another difficulty that the teacher is forced to deal with was found. This is the difficulty with retaining the Jewish students in the bilingual school after the completion of the elementary school. According to the findings, the teachers from all the bilingual schools called this difficulty the phenomenon of the "dropping

out of the Jewish students", especially in the middle school and in the high school, a situation that is not found in the single-nationality Arab public schools.

To recap, the present research study examined the three bilingual schools found in the Land of Israel: the Galil School in the north of the country, the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem in the south of the country, both the elementary school and the secondary school, and the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara in the center-north of the country. This research study found that the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jewish students changes according to the geographic region (north, south, center), and type of school (elementary and/or secondary school), as well as from social-political reasons. The phenomenon of the dropping out was dependent on the school. We begin with the school where there is the greatest dropping out, then the school with intermediate dropping out, and then the school with the least dropping out.

The highest dropping out was found in the Galil School, which in the past had a secondary school but following the dropping out the middle school was closed a number of years ago and only the elementary school remained. According to the interviewees, the reason for the phenomenon of the dropping out is complex and composed of the following reasons: financial, social, and national. However, this is found under the handling of the management and the association (and will be discussed in the continuation).

The decisive majority of the teachers in the Galil School mentioned a difficulty with which they cope almost every day, since the principal reminds them at every opportunity, and they continuously worry about the phenomenon of dropping out of the Jewish students. Most of them maintain that one of the main reasons for the dropping out of the Jewish students is the move of the school from Misgav to Ashbel. The reason, according to some of the interviewees, is the search for the uniqueness and privacy of the bilingual school, since Misgav is where all the schools for all the Jewish communities are located. One interviewee said, "…we moved here, since we wanted something special for us … since in Misgav there are a number of Jewish schools, when the learners are in the same area, and we found a place here in Ashbel for our school, and the move was since we wanted our 'uniqueness-privacy' with our students."

One teacher said, "We did not have an adequate school structure … or comfortable or suitable … we wanted to be 'independent'…."

This move, from Misgav to Ashbel, and the search for the uniqueness and independence, caused harm and great dropping out of the Jewish students from the school, for social and financial reasons. Most of the interviewees maintained that the financial cost of the

special transportation to Ashbel was burdensome for the Jewish parents and was one of the main reasons for the dropping out of the Jewish students from the school.

The teacher further aid that, “Perhaps one of the reasons for the dropping out was financial … since for some of the parents Misgav was closer than here … and the travel options to Misgav are better and available…”

Another interviewee stated that, “In my opinion, the main reason for the dropping out of the Jewish students is the geographic distance and the unique travel to our school … since there are no buses to our school, not like the regular buses to Misgav … since there it saves the trip for the parents…”

However, the decisive majority of the interviewees maintained that the main reason was primarily the social facet since the Galil School does not offer many opportunities of ‘friends’. Thus, one of the teachers asserted that, “… when the school was in Misgav … in Misgav our school had around it three-four other Jewish schools … all the schools were Jewish, aside from ours, in which half are Jews and half are Arabs … then when we moved here in the year 2006-7 … only when we moved … there was dropping out … and fewer Jewish students … also the Jewish students in Misgav had a ‘meeting’ and a greater selection for finding Jewish friends, both on the buses and in the common yard of the schools in Misgav. … The Jewish students at a certain stage … begin to search for a framework of friendship … in their communities here and there isn’t much there … thus the single framework where there are ‘friends’ … is the school …. Therefore when our school was there, in Misgav, they had more opportunities to meet/know others … among the other Jews in Misgav …this was not bad for the students or for the parents that their child learns there … the issue was only because of the search for a ‘framework’ to know other friends … since they had the possibility of meeting during the breaks … and in their afternoon extra-curricular courses …”

Most of the teachers were very bothered by the repeated alarm every year of the teachers. According to one of the interviewees, the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jewish students and the threats to the ‘existence’ of the school and/or the closing of the school are always brought up by the management. “If you don’t put forth effort, innovate, and be creative, then the school will close.” This situation caused discomfort, continuous concern, and the teachers are forced to cope with the distress of the dropping out of the Jewish students and to accept this responsibility.

For instance, one of the teachers is already worried about the chance of the even greater dropping out of the Jewish students if another school that is similar to their model of a school in pedagogical terms opens. "… there is a risk that a new school will open among the Jews in the new communities that is really the same idea as our school, 'project based learning' … now there the parents 'why bring my son to us, when I need to travel, when near us there is such a school' … and thus we return to the same point, if the Jewish people is interested in the Arab meeting or not … now if the Jewish people care about the national culture of the Arabs … then we would not be at risk with our existence … and therefore because of this we change things all the time … and because the Jews want new things, this helped us open another two classes …"

To differentiate, one of the interviewees said that the reason for the dropping out of the Jewish students is, in her opinion and from her personal experience, national and political. On the national days they would 'apparently' present the Palestinian narrative and the Nakba as the victim and as the fault of the Jew who killed and expelled the Palestinian mass. "… There was a long period of the dropping out from the Jewish side … the goal is not to create in the Jew the feeling that you are a murderer, you are guilty … and at the same time you want to feel comfortable … and I remember that one of the mothers removed her son from the school … since she came and said … when you told and said about 'a number of villages were abandoned … and a number of massacres …" she removed her son since she did not want her son to continue and she asserted that 'you are distorting his identity … you are harming him …"

To conclude, in the teachers' assessment, the dropping out of the Jewish students and the threat of the Galil school closure are primarily because of the move from the Misgav region to Ashbel, since Misgav was the center financially of the Jewish parents who were then forced to pay especially for the travel as opposed to the free transportation to Misgav. It was also found that one of the reasons for dropping out of the Jewish students in the transition to the secondary school is the 'lack' of a selection of friends for the Jewish students. As a result of the move of the school to Ashbel, many students dropped out of the secondary school, thus causing the closure of the middle school, since it no longer met the standards of the definition of the goal of a school. In the continuation of this outcome, there was also the dropping out from the elementary school, since it was hard for the parents to separate siblings who traveled on the same bus to Misgav.

One teacher said on this topic, "When the middle school was closed … here … a student who would come with his siblings or his cousin or his neighbor … even if this were somebody

in his extra-curricular course … it doesn't matter to them that one was in the third grade and one in the eighth grade … the main thing is together…"

To sum up, some of the teachers noted during the interviews their concern about the problem of the dropping out of the Jewish students and its impact on the feeling of 'discomfort' as they feel they are in a perpetual and continuous struggle for survival in their school, and this does not let them feel stability and security both in terms of the continuation of the employment and in terms of professional advancement.

The Max Rayne School in Jerusalem is the only school of the Hand in Hand Association that is both an elementary school and a secondary school. What makes this school unique is the national, political, and social situation of the city of Jerusalem and the social-economic situation of the Arab population in Jerusalem. (This will be discussed in the continuation – academic quote). This uniqueness is found to be a factor that influences both positively and negatively the nature of the school in Jerusalem.

Thus, it was found that the dropping out from the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem barely occurs in the elementary school. However, the phenomenon starts in the secondary school, or in other words, with the rise in the age group, increasing as the student progresses through the middle school and to the high school. According to the interviewees, the reason for the dropping out in the secondary school is complicated and composed of scholastic/achievement reasons as well as social and political reasons, in contrast to the secondary school of the Galil School, where the reason was primarily financial.

One of the prominent problems of the school in Jerusalem that causes the dropping out in the continuation starts already in the stage of the recruitment of the Jewish students. The principal asserted that the Jewish parents would not build continuity of the studies of their child in the bilingual school after the elementary school. In other words, the decision of the Jewish parents is 'from the start' only through the elementary school, with the argument that there is much choice and many models of excellent and quality schools. The principal, Nadia, said, "The Jewish parents do not build continuity of the studies of their child in the high school here … then there was lack of certainty with this situation … in Jerusalem there is a huge selection of schools for Jewish society … so there is a large selection for Jews and for Arabs less … therefore …there is dropping out … there is leaving from the sixth grade, the seventh grade … but not mass departure…"

One of the interviewees maintained that the reason for the dropping out is the search of the Jewish parents' for an excellent and quality school in terms of areas of knowledge. "… The number of the Jewish students in the high school and in the middle school is less … there is the dropping out of the Jewish students … since in terms of excellence … apparently … we are not providing what is wanted … also, the Jewish students drop out because in the eighth and ninth grades the Jewish student does not have enough friends … it is not enough to have two to three friends in the class … if there were more Jews in the class, then the situation would be better…"

The lowest rate of dropping out from the three schools is in the Bridge over the Wadi School, which is an elementary school. Recently, although at the start of the school there was a complete failure and a large dropping out of the Jews from the school, for national and political reasons of the time. The reason for the lack of the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jews is that apparently it is only an elementary school. In the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara, according to the school principal, there was a complete failure and there are barely any Jewish students.

The principal, Maslacha, said, "In the year 2010 … the school was in a difficult situation … from all perspectives … there were no students … 104 students and only 17 Jews and the rest Arabs … there was one kindergarten … there were only two Jews there … and one left and thus in the kindergarten there was only one Jew … everything was mixed up … this year we have 170 Arab students and 120 Jewish students …"

When asked about the reason for the failure of the school at the start, when it opened, the principal maintained that his conclusion is that the idea of the school was not clear and it was not clear that there were also two principals, Arab and Jew. In other words, the distress and the dropping out of the Jewish students were in the contents of learning and identity, what is Palestinian and what is Jewish. Maslacha maintained that "So I understood that there in essence is no school … parents did not send their children … the majority did not understand what is happening … and here at first there were two principals … they did not understand what is the idea of the school… the distress began with the contents … in terms of the identity program … what is Palestinian and what is Israeli … the conflict in the definition of the identities … this is not learning contents … but national contents. This was a difficult situation … there was a great struggle and a great conflict in the school community … the management did not have the ability to include this problem and this conflict … and therefore many left the school …"

In the continuation, it is argued that the main problem in the Bridge over the Wadi School is first the recruitment of the Jewish students and not the Arab students. The assertion was that the Jewish students have far greater selection and models of schools, unlike the Arab students, who have only one choice in the Arab communities – the state public Arab school. There are no other models. The principal, Maslacha, stated, "The competition in terms of the school – the Jews have many models, and there are less among the Arabs…"

Another teacher continued that the problem with the recruitment of the Jewish students in the elementary school is that the Jews have a selection of schools that the Arabs do not have. "Among us in the Arab schools … they do not know and they have no idea that there are types of schools … everybody knows that there is one style of Jewish school … in contrast in Jewish society there is a large selection and a variety of Jewish schools: Montessori, anthroposophical, democratic… bilingual … the Jewish child and parents have the ability to choose what suits their child … and we in Arab society have our own difficulties…"

Last, it was found that one of the "indirect/mysterious/implicit" factors of dropping out is the stigma in terms of achievement of the bilingual school. It was found that among the Jews in the stage of the elementary school, to differentiate from the Arab parents, the achievements are less important; they find more important the formation of the student's personal and social personality. However, in the secondary school a quality and achievement-oriented school is already important to them. For the Arab, there is no such selection for a quality school, not in in terms of the formation of the student's personality and not in in terms of the quality of the achievements and the pedagogy.

The argument is that the bilingual school has an achievement stigma already from the start of its establishment. The Arab teachers are forced to deal with this sharp and accusatory criticism.

One interviewee said that, "… they say that in the bilingual school they do not learn well … and they come to play in the school … there is considerable criticism of us."

Another teacher continued that she is forced until today to address criticism of this type and defend the school from this achievement-based stigma. "By the way …. until today they say that this school does not teach anything … only games and only activity … and they don't learn anything…"

Apparently this stigma is what causes the dropping out of the Jewish students in the secondary school, when their parents begin to look for them for a framework of greater

'quality'. One interviewee commented that, "Unfortunately, the number of Jewish students in the middle school and the high school is declining, since they search for achievement-oriented excellence … apparently we still do not supply what is needed … but thank God this year we received 'excellence' in studies from Jerusalem … however, there is dropping out of the Jewish students from the eighth grade since they do not have enough Jewish friends …"

This difficulty with the recruitment of the Jewish students and the retention of the continuity of the Jewish students in the secondary school, to differentiate from the Arab students, is because there is a large variety of 'private-unique' schools that provide good service and solutions, both in terms of the quality of the instruction and in terms of the supply of the students' personal needs. This obligates the staffs of the schools to be in a constant race and ongoing competition in terms of the quality – pedagogical-instructional, innovations in teaching methods, informal education, and so on.

In addition, it was found that the unique situation and the Arab-Jewish conflict had an impact on the dropping out of the Jews, relatively, in all that is related to the identity, the Palestinian narrative, and the Nakba.

To conclude, the Arab teachers are exposed to different and diverse difficulties in professional terms and are forced in the continuation of their employment to deal with them in the bilingual school. Thus, these include, for example, the lack of satisfaction with the salary conditions, the load in the unpaid hours for the preparation of unique school-based curricula and lesson plans, participation in in-service training courses, institutional 'foreignness', and work in pairs of teachers, an Arab teacher and a Jewish teacher, in the classroom, and the issue of the recruitment and dropping out of the Jewish students in the school.

8.1.3.2 Social Cultural Difficulties of the Arab Teacher in the Bilingual School

In addition to the aforementioned professional-pedagogical difficulty, it was also found that the Arab teacher is exposed to difficulties from many aspects: social-cultural, value-based, and moral. For instance, many teachers shared the experience they called social "foreignness" in the school climate of the bilingual school. They asserted the "foreignness" of this educational framework, which includes Arabs and Jews. This supposedly is the first time for them that Arabs and Jews will learn in combined groups, and it is the first time for them as teachers to teach Jewish students. As "citizens", this is for them the first time they meet face-to-face the Jewish students and parents. We will call the face-to-face encounter with the Jewish students

and parents the "shock of the beginning". The shock of the beginning is divided into two types: personal and social.

1. The "Shock of the Beginning": The Personal Difficulty and the Social-Environmental Difficulty

A large number of the Arab teachers share the difficulty and the "shock of the beginning" they felt at the start of their work in the bilingual school in the personal facet to which they are exposed already from the start of their path in the bilingual school in different ways. For example, one of the interviewees shared the personal difficulty with teaching Jews since she "lived" the period of the First Intifada, and this is engraved in her memory. She said this caused her great depression at the beginning of her path. "At first I … honestly … I was very, very depressed … and sad … since I lived the First Intifada and the second one … I lived the barriers … and suddenly I am working with Jews …"

Another personal difficulty to which the Arab teachers are exposed in the bilingual school is the negation of their "right" to say and express their opinion "as Palestinian Arabs" in social and national topics, since for those around them this is "not representative" of true Palestinian Arab society, since they are influenced by the contact with the Jews in the bilingual school. Thus, one of the interviewees mentioned that she was told that in the bilingual school they are erasing her personality. "… For instance, my sister's husband … he would tell me (about the bilingual school) 'This is just bullshit … they erase you personally' … and this really hurt me / touched my heart … I would answer him "you do not know the Jews the way I know … you speak from a different angle … until today when I say in my village that I teach in the bilingual school … 'look' a change in their facial expression … they tell me 'I am not with these things' …"

Another teacher added that she is exposed to the "suspicions" in her opinion that she is influenced and in contact with the Jews. "Many many criticized me about this … and even sometimes when we discuss something … they tell me 'Ah yes … since you work with them … and with the Jews'…"

Another teacher added that the personal difficulty was for her the opposition of her close family to her work in the bilingual school, from the fear that she would forget her culture and values. Moreover, proof was seen in the work hours in the evening, both for the in-service training courses and for community / parent meetings. "And my mother yelled at me. … 'What are you doing there?' … and I am a teacher of Arabic and religions … The objection was that

they were afraid /concerned that I would change …in addition to the in-service training courses I would do in the evening … which caused me to be delayed in the late hours."

Second, the "shock of the beginning", in social-environmental terms, was experienced by nearly an absolute majority of the Arab teachers, in different ways and for different reasons. We note this randomly. For instance, one of the interviewees reconstructed the experience of the "shock of the beginning" at the start of her work in the bilingual school as scary, since there was national-religious objection to the establishment of a binational/bilingual school. However, this was more on the part of the Jewish side (in Jerusalem).

One teacher said that, "When I entered the school at that time … the first year, there was scary pressure … I came from a place … they do this and this … and they do this and this … and they struggle against them, religious against the school … and the school was in a very scary place in terms of threats, and politically, and racism … even the walking (going around) Jerusalem is frightening and different greatly from here …"

Another teacher also presents the experience of the "shock of the beginning" as frightening. There was great resistance of the village people (on the Arab side) to the establishment of the school, both among the people of the village and in the mosque. "At the beginning there was great criticism on the part of the village residents about the school …'what, did you start to bring Jews here' … even in the first year of the establishment of the school there was in the 'speech' of the mosque imam in the village of the establishment of the school … against the school and against the establishment … that our girls would begin to wear exposed clothing … and all the mentality and thinking that they have about the Jews…"

For another teacher, her experience of the "shock of the beginning" was the "strangeness" in the encounter and the learning of Arabs and Jews together. This itself was for her a unique experience at the start of her path (on the one hand, a positive experience and on the other hand a frightening experience, the procedure was different from the regular schools).

One teacher said that, "At first … in the first year the procedure was strange for me … and I was so much in shock … from the studies of Arabs and Jews together…"

Another difficulty of the "shock of the beginning" is the "social labeling" directed at the bilingual school, especially at the Arab girls who learn in it. It was found that a large number of the teachers shared that they are exposed at the start of their work and in their integration into the bilingual school to the social "labeling" that is directed at them personally. But this was sharper when they placed their children in the bilingual school, and especially when their

children were “girls”, for whom the criticism was that this way they will be “ruined” in the behavior, values, and norms of Arab girls, as a result of the contact with and exposure to the Jews. This caused many deliberations and a dilemma at the start of their path in teaching in the bilingual school.

For instance, one of the teachers shared her experience of social “labeling” for this school, especially when she placed her daughters (from a traditional society) into the bilingual school. She was told that this would cause them to forget the culture and values of her culture.

“And even when I brought by daughter here … many demonstrated/objected/protested and told me ‘how do you let yourself bring your daughter to this school?’ … and there the Jews … why … give her an education according to the values of her village and with her cousins …”

Another teacher also added about and shared her experience of the social “labeling” directed towards her and towards the school, especially when she placed her daughters in the bilingual school. The criticism was **religious**. “…When I began to teach here … and I placed my daughter to learn here … my mother began to tell me ‘Why and how do you dare to place your daughter in this school? She will end up without values of religion and with zero Arab values and culture… All the time they were afraid that the Israeli or Jewish culture would influence them … and not the opposite. And there was a frequent “rumor” about the girl students in the school that they are “insolent girls” …. who wear revealing clothes.”

Another teacher also added that the criticism and the fear of this school are because of the “forgetting” of the values of Arab society and Islamic culture. “But I began to feel this (labeling/social criticism) when my daughters began to learn here … and when they would go from the house with Purim costumes … her uncle asked her ‘What are you wearing?’ …my daughter answered that today is Purim … he told her ‘How is Purim our concern?’ … and my daughter answer “Her Jewish friend for the Eid al-Adha holiday wore like on the Haj white … and the Jewish boy in my class wore ‘Haj clothes’… how is this a matter for the Jews?’”

One interviewee said, “When they come to talk about the idea of this school … about which they criticize … that the child is insolent… and it is to be expected that my daughter will wear revealing clothing … and the child will lose his identity … but the thing is completely opposite … and on the other hand, we do not have the confusion that they think … for instance, we have here a yard and there is always a teacher watching them … and behind her there is another teacher watching … and even in the parking lot … there are always teachers observing

and there is supervision all the time over the students …everything that happens … there is no use here of concepts of 'cursing'…"

2. The Gap between the Expectations of the Arab Parents and the Jewish Parents: The School and/or the Teacher

Another difficulty to which the Arab teacher is exposed is the gap and difference in the expectations of the Arab parents and the Jewish parents in terms of their children's education. For the former (Arab parents), their expectation is the "effort" for a good quality of instruction and emphasis on achievements. To differentiate, the Jewish parents less emphasize the achievements, and their expectation is for "personal" and "social" education, for their children to be at the center of the educational activity and to have an "enjoyable" time at school.

For instance, one of the interviewees held that there is a "significant" and clear difference between the values and education that the Jewish parents "desire" and the values and education that the Arab parents desire. "There is much in education (of the Jews) for the children … honestly, there is much discourse/opinion about how to talk to/address the children in psychological and philosophical terms … even in my encounters with them I learn much …among us (the Arabs) it is different … perhaps because our culture … but they (the Jews), it is important to them to give education and culture and according to the values of psychology, it is important to them how they answer/respond to their children … about their attitude with them … how they answer them … I feel that they have greater awareness and understanding and creativity on the attitude towards the child … they have this more than we do … I am sure of it."

Apparently, this difference in the important educational values and morals between the Jewish parent and the Arab parent, which derive from social-cultural difference, causes the difference in the expectations between the Jewish parents and the Arab parents from the school and the teacher in the classroom.

For instance, one of the teachers shares one of the difficult experiences she had with one of the Arab parents, who yelled at her that in the regular school they have "passed' in the textbook his son who studies with her in the bilingual school. This experience reflects the gap between the expectations of the Arab parents and the goal of the school, which emphasizes the reinforcement and formation of the student's personality, before the "supply" and acquisition of knowledge. "I remember that once an Arab parent came to me and brought his son's

notebook and threw it in my face and said, 'Look where they have reached in the other school.' … and you are still here … they count pages."

Another teacher strengthens this argument that there is a gap between the Arab parents' expectations from the bilingual school and the declared goal of the school, when apparently the Jewish parents are more aware of it than are the Arab parents. There is a gap in the expectations and the choice of the bilingual school for the education of their children apparently following the lack of choice of Arab schools. As we presented in the previous chapter, for the Arab student there is no choice in schools but there is only one choice, the "public school", while the Jewish parents have a choice of alternative schools, as opposed to the public school. Thus, it appears that the Jewish parents are more aware of the school goal than the Arab parents.

One teacher said, "The Arab parents … send their children to the bilingual school … the truth is that I will say that they all send here since it is from ideology or a shared life … or national identity? No … rather they are searching for alternative frameworks … different from the regular framework … since here the class has two homeroom teachers …. with exposure to two languages … with a regular and dense schedule … so the consideration of the Arab parent is that it is preferable for me … in other words, the Arab parents send their children for reasons of the 'quality' of the school … at first I remember that the Arab parents complained why the children do not have homework … they want tests … and some said that I am happy that my son comes home with this knowledge … therefore we always search for the healthy balance … between the demands of the Arab parents and those of the Jewish parents …"

8.1.3.3 National Difficulties of the Arab Teacher in the Bilingual School

The "shock of the beginning" was also found to be one of the difficulties in national terms for many of the Arab teachers who began to teach in the bilingual school. The absolute majority of the teachers at the beginning of their path had concerns personally, about the self, and socially since they were exposed to sharp criticism and social "warning" that their work in the bilingual school would cause the forgetting and weakening of their national identity and especially that of their children. The decisive majority of the Arab teachers placed their children in the bilingual school. These two types of fears together caused some of the teachers to wonder and feel the dilemma. Does the work in the bilingual school push me to Israelization, as they argue? Is this truly considered a type of "betrayal" of my people and my credo?

The difficulties and dilemmas in national terms are both personal difficulties and fears and social difficulties and fears.

1. Personal Difficulties and Fears

The personal fears the Arab teacher is exposed to because of her work in the bilingual school are of the direct "contact" and the first direct continuous encounter in her civilian-social "life". For instance, one of the interviewees shared the difficult experience at the start of her path teaching in the bilingual school since this was the first model/school established in Israel and there was no model of imitation for a school of this type. Therefore, the beginning of something that does not exist and for which the degree of success is not known was accompanied by many deliberations about what and how the school will be, how to tell/present the Palestinian narrative in the presence of the Jewish teacher and the Jewish students. This caused her to think that this is a "type of betrayal" of her credo and her national identity. The argument is that it was hard for her with some of the national topics, which do not reflect her national opinions and which contradict or clash with her principles and national credo. Thus, the interviewee said that, "In terms of the formation of the identity … as an Arab teacher … there was the Rabin ceremony … this was for me 'what am I doing here? … what does this topic have to do with me?' … since Rabin is a man of peace who called for peace and for the school the value of peace is important …"

Another teacher continued that the beginning of her path in teaching in the bilingual school was exactly with the Al-Aksa Intifada in the year 2000. "This is the dilemma that I had from the beginning … when I am here, am I the representative of the Palestinian people, I am the one who bears the Palestinian identity. And I am?? … What will I be in the bilingual school? I had strong dilemmas … and we also entered with the October Events (in the year 2000) … from the first month already … I began to pray to God … what am I doing here? … What have I become? … in terms of respect … the first question I had of myself: what am I doing here? What have I come to do? This was far harder and severe for me."

It is apparent that this teacher's experiences is the feeling of "betrayal" because she was a partner in the bilingual school, especially following the tense socio-political situation found routinely between the Arabs of Israel and the Jews of Israel. However, what made the matters more complicated and difficult is the timing of the opening of the school, which was exactly with the Second Intifada, the Al-Aksa Intifada, in the year 2000.

Another teacher added to and strengthened this argument that in times of political sensitivity, it is even harder for the Arab teacher in national terms. In addition, an "identical" difficulty in terms of the "shock of the beginning" was found in the personal facet, but

differently. For instance, one of the teachers shared her experience at the start of her path teaching in the bilingual school. She maintained that at the start of her work in the bilingual school, she did not expect to discuss topics that are sensitive in national terms (since this is not something routine in Arab schools). However, it is precisely in the school where there are Jews and Arabs that this is done, thus causing her to feel "discomfort" and mental tiredness, since she did not have the "courage" to express all of her opinions openly. "Listen … here the situation is more complicated … I sometimes feel that I am not comfortable … and especially with the Gaza War … it was very hard for me … and we never sat and talked, Arabs and Jews, in the Gaza War … we must talk during these sensitive periods … but in the beginning when we came, I would return home mentally 'tired' …It's not that I am 'presenting myself as good' and praising … not only because of the Hebrew language, which I did not have … but since I did not feel completely 'free' to say what is in my heart … then I did not expect that I would be exposed to such topics in the school here … and national events …"

Most of the Arab teachers expressed openly the difficulty (fear and concerns) at the start of their path from Israelization. The interesting finding is that the concern and fear of Israelization not only accompany the Arab teacher at the start of her path, as we have already presented, but also continue to exist in the "heart" of every Arab teacher throughout the entire time teaching in the bilingual school (apparently). This was openly brought up by one of the interviewees who on the hand was "angry" at herself for her participation as a representative of the school at one of the official events. "…The principal asked me to walk as the representative of the school with the class students to the Prime Minister's House … I did not think in-depth about this, it was as if I was 'blinded' … and there were security checks … and there were flags and the pictures for our visit … I told myself 'What an embarrassment, what a shame' … I did not think that it would be like this … I entered the heart of Zionism … and I wanted so badly to return home (to flee from there) … since this is … where I am is not exactly me … I was really in a struggle with myself 'what am I doing here?' … and taking pictures with them … there was lots of media … I did not know this … if I were to go back, then I would not go … not for my respect … I do not like remembering this … I prefer not to have been there…"

As a result of the fear of Israelization, there was an increase in the future concerns about Israelization and there was the feeling of the need to prove and defend themselves that they are more "nationalist" than they were in the past and were not Israelized. In the continuation, most of the interviews made clear the teachers' sensitivity and need to prove and defend themselves

that they did not experience Israelization and that the school does not cause Israelization but the opposite, it strengthens the national identity. As seen in the continuation of the findings, there was a clear attempt in all the interviews with the teachers, in which they attempt to prove that they preserved and are preserving, even better than in the regular Arab schools, their identity, heritage, and national values. Apparently, the over-defensiveness and over-adherence to their national heritage is a result of the sharp and direct "criticism" leveled against them by the surrounding environment, which suspects that the bilingual school would erase or blur their national identity and transform them into Israelis, as we will discuss in the continuation. (This point will be discussed in the next chapter of the Arab teachers' satisfaction with the bilingual school).

To conclude, it is very important to develop the awareness of the Arab parents of the nature of the bilingual school, since apparently a person who does not know the goal and idea of the bilingual school will think that the bilingual school is distorting the national identity of those within. This can be heard in the words of one interviewee, who asserted that if she had not been working in the bilingual school then she would not have the "courage" to send her children there. Nasrin said that, "As a teacher and a mother … the idea of this school … would have deterred me … therefore, if I had not been working here then … I think that I would not have allowed my children to enter this school … since my fear and my deterrence that the contact of my children with the 'other' … would cause the weakening of the formation of my children's identity … the national identity, as a people …"

In addition to these personal difficulties in national terms, it was found that the Arab teacher is exposed to an attitude of suspicion that doubts the loyalty to the profession as a teacher. This difficulty arose following the experience of one of the Arab teachers with the Jewish parents who doubted her and suspected that she is a factor that "incites" the Arab students not to stand when the Holocaust memorial siren sounds. This greatly hurt her, and she felt she would never forget this accusation in her professional life. In response, her national opinions strengthened, and not Israelization.

One interviewee said that, "But this does not mean I will surrender something that is a matter of principle for me … that I hold … and I convey to my children… and this brought me to many clashes … even once the Jewish parents doubted my 'trustworthiness and were against me … this began with the Arab students, when there was a memorial for the Holocaust, the Arab students did not agree to stand silently … and there was a complete mess … this reached the parents … and there was a mess … the Jewish parents complained that the Arabs did not

stand when the siren sounded … and there was a complete mess … and the blame was directed towards me primarily on the part of the Jewish parents … that I say what comes to my mind, and that the Jewish partner does not understand what I am saying in Arabic, and this was a difficult blow, to my honesty and believability … and in my work … this was very hard for me … very very hard … this was perhaps in the year 2002 … it was very difficult for me with this."

2. Social Difficulties and Fears

The source of the social-environmental fears to which the Arab teacher is exposed because of her work in the bilingual school comes from their social environment, which levels sharp criticism against them for their work in the bilingual school and holds suspicions that the bilingual school will erase / blur their national identity and transform them into Israelis (Israelization). For instance, one of the interviewees stated that her nationalist brother exhibited his objection to her teaching in the bilingual school and to her sending her children there. "…But for instance my brother is a nationalist … who criticized me that it is necessary to strengthen the national identity and not to send them to this school (her children) …there is always the fear of the Arabs … that the exposure to and mixture with the other will cause a deterioration of the identity or the nationality or the culture or our norms and values … no matter how we will be careful …"

Another teacher added that she too was exposed to this type of criticism and the "fear" that the contact with the Jewish side will cause a loss of the national identity, of the values of Arab culture and society, that this would ruin the Arab students. "…when they come to speak about the idea of this school … about which they criticize … that the child will be insolent and it is expected that my daughter will wear revealing clothing … and the son will lose his identity … but the matter is completely opposite …"

Therefore, it appears that the over-defensiveness and over-adherence to their national heritage are the result of the sharp and direct "criticism" that the surrounding society levels against them, as voiced in the previous quote. The teacher maintains that it is in the bilingual school where there is emphasis on the formation of the national identity.

However, to differentiate from the above argument and as a result of the social criticism and the fear of the loss of identity of the Arab teacher and the Arab student, one teacher (nearly the only one) "removed" her son from the bilingual school, because of the "Israeli" indications reflected her son's behavior and because of her husband's criticism and the "true" (apparently)

fear of the loss of her son's national identity. "…I removed my son … since he would stop when the siren for Independence Day sounded … and I would tell my son that at the time of this siren we do not stand silently … this is not ours … it was hard for me to tell him 'this is the siren of the Jews … and we are not Jews' … it was hard for me … and then my husband would ask and clarify why our son's teacher would allow the Arabs to stand silently during the siren? Then I began to tense and pressured … since my son began to draw, for instance, the flag of Israel … and he really remembered the drawing of the flag of Israel … and his father was angry at him because he did not know the order of the colors of the flag of Palestine …"

3. Difficulties with the Boundaries of the Palestinian Narrative – How Much to Consider Others? – The National Days

During the interviews, another difficulty in national terms to which the Arab teacher in the bilingual school is exposed was revealed. This is the question of what are the boundaries of the Palestinian narrative versus the Zionist narrative that we present in the class that combines Arabs and Jews on the national days. Thee fear and concern and the dilemma of a large number of the teachers revolved around the deliberation on the following question. Who do I as the "teacher" represent in the classroom? Do I represent the Palestinian side? Then what about the other students, the Jewish students, who also belong to me in terms of my class? To what extent am I supposed to take into consideration the emotions and facts that we present in the national events? Is this considered betrayal? Is it Israelization? Therefore, many of them had deliberations about the boundaries of the Palestinian narrative they present in the classroom.

For instance, one of the interviewees presented the difficulty, deliberation, and dilemma revealed to her during her work in the bilingual school. This was when Shimon Peres died, and the Ministry of Education obligated all the schools to give a lecture to the students about Shimon Peres. However, her perspective is different from the Israeli-Jewish perspective.

Nasrin maintained that, "…when Shimon Peres died … the Knesset members did not participate in the funeral … and we had to speak about this topic since it was 'mandatory' to speak about Shimon Peres on the part of the Ministry of Education … the school principal sought the advice of the counselor and spoke with us how to talk in the classes and about what … here there was lack of agreement about how to present the topic … we agreed and decided to present facts about him … and I added a question for thought for the students. 'Why in your opinion did the Arab Knesset members not participate in the funeral?' Thus we let the learners

participate … and we agreed that I would tell, in a nutshell, without going into detail … and not going into the difficult topics and the massacres in which he participated … that we as Arabs find it difficult in national terms … since he is perceived differently by us…"

Another teacher added a similar deliberation/difficulty about the boundaries of the Palestinian narrative, during the national events, for the Rabin ceremony, for which her Palestinian perspective is not similar to the Israeli-Jewish viewpoint. "… there was the Rabin ceremony … since Rabin is a man of peace … I know what happened to Rabin … my dilemma was how would this be? How would this be managed? Since in my class there are Arab students and Jewish students … and there are Arab teachers and Jewish teachers … and then you will be in the thought 'what will there be and how will it be?' … how will we teach it … for the Jews he is a man of peace … for me he is a man of war … he did 'deeds' … true, perhaps at the end he 'did a personal reckoning' … and called for peace."

The importance of the setting of boundaries and objectives for the Palestinian and Israeli narratives according to the students' age is vital and essential to the coordination and a "healthy" balance for the realization of the school objective of a shared life. During the interviews, it was discovered that in the first period of the bilingual schools this difficult was expressed in the classroom, which led to the undesired "product". One of the parents maintained that because of the engagement in the national days and the formation of the national identity, the identity was "strengthened, emphasized, and enhanced" for both sides.

One interviewee said that, "… in the first period … apparently we worked on the topic too much … since the identity is like the 'knife' that has two sharp sides … which perhaps will distance and perhaps will bring close … apparently … in the beginning of the establishment of the school this was more … to the point that one of the parents … said to us 'You have created for me a Zionist son' …. (this was extreme) … and from the very discussion and engagement in these matters …'my son turned out Zionist' … I do not want my son to be this way … in the sense of how much (too much) the identity is enhanced, how much you work on national belonging … and the identity … one of the researchers all the time would say that if the identity is not addressed it will only be a 'separating factor' … and not a connecting factor … the question … the goal is not to create in the Jew the feeling that he is the murderer, you are the guilty one … and at the same time … you want to feel comfortable … you want to present things as they were … it is impossible to refine it or prettify it … and even if you do not want to create this feeling in the Jewish student … and also not to create in the Arab student the feeling that I am the 'victim' … you are the guilty ones and you are the murderers and there

will be hatred for the other side … I do not want this … and we are in a conflict … every time anew we are in a conflict … and I remember that one of the mothers removed her son from the school …since she came and said … when we told about 'a number of villages were abandoned .. and a number of massacres' … she removed her son since she did not want her son to continue here, arguing that 'you are distorting his identity … you harming him in the sense that you are giving him facts only about the Palestinians and you did not talk about the Jewish side' … I reconstruct backwards, since he was in the fourth grade … and I tell myself, 'God, he is in the sixth grade … he is 'not small' .. I can tell him about a massacre … about 530 villages abandoned' … we would use judgment … but from the very fact that we were immersed inside … looking back … these are small children … What will we burden them? … and also attempt to tell them it was not them … good … perhaps if he says that … or to tell him the 'regime' then he will say that 'it represents him … then here there was all the time … how to present the narratives in a healthy and correct manner …".

4. Difficulty with the Arab Teacher's Discovery of Her Own "Ignorance" of Her National Identity

One of the difficulties that arose from the analysis of the interviews is the difficulty discovering that most of the teachers found out about themselves that they themselves are "ignorant" in their national identity, in comparison to the Jewish teachers who come with a broader national background of awareness than theirs. The exposure to the tremendous difference in the formation and awareness of the Arab teachers' national identity in comparison to the identity of the Jewish teacher was one of the difficult things that constituted for them a type of "shock" and disappointment with their ignorance, which was created, not because of them but because of the social-political circumstances.

For instance, one of the teachers reconstructs the difficult experience she had in the first meeting in the school, in which she discovered that she is "ignorant" in her national identity and did not know to whom to assign the responsibility for the ignorance, out of her disappointment, pain, and anger – herself, her family, the school, or the establishment that prohibits the discussion and learning of the national events. "In the first meeting in the teachers' room … the discourse began on the Land Day ceremony … I discovered that in essence I myself … I do not have the knowledge and full facts on Land Day … I do not have enough knowledge, I myself am confused … I do not understand about myself … why do I not know? When you think about this … I think with myself … I remember my father going to me when I wanted to begin my studies in the university … and he said to me: 'You are going to learn …

politics and not politics … you are not connected to this … this is not your issue and put it on the side.' … I do take responsibility for myself and responsibility for my family … but, the law prohibits speaking about political matters … on Independence Day … when we are asked why are you not at school … we would answer that 'We have Independence Day' … without understanding the meaning of this or what lies behind it … this is a completely new world and very important for me … it is important to me to know who I am and what I am … so that my children will also know who they are and what they are and what is their identity … and it is also important to me that they know the other … it is important to me that they recognize them …"

Another teacher added that for her, too, it was difficult to discover that she was ignorant and does not know who to accuse for her anger, the school or the family. "There are many things that I did not realize because of the 'conservatism' in our society … I did not realize things since I was 'ignorant' … it became clear that I finished the school 'ignorant' in my identity … and I was not developed enough … and my parents were conservative."

The "ignorance" in the national identity and the national events result in another difficulty, and this is the weight of the responsibility placed on the Arab teacher who is "ignorant" professionally, since the Arab teacher is supposed to be the representative of the Palestinian "narrative" and the Jewish teacher the representative of the "Zionist narrative". In other words, the Arab teacher has the responsibility to form and to develop the Palestinian Arab national identity in the combined class, since she is the exclusive representative of the Arab students and the Palestinian narrative. Therefore, this gap and ignorance in the awareness of the national events cause the Arab teachers to need to read, to look, to develop awareness and knowledge of herself first, in all that pertains to the national events, so that she can be an "appropriate" representative and a model of imitation for Arab students versus the Jewish students.

For instance, one of the teachers maintained that following the exposure and discovery that she herself is ignorant in national identity and national events she is forced to read extensively and to prepare appropriately for the presentation of the "national" topic. This is not only for her but also for her Arab students, for whom she is the representative and model of imitation. Here the Arab teacher bears the "responsibility" assigned to her for the formation and development of the national identity and the explanation of the Palestinian narrative in an appropriate manner.

One teacher asserted that, “Today I read much on these topics … since I must know to be in a ‘strong’ place … since if I am not strong here … then who will bring my voice here …. Who will speak about me and about my identity or about my nationalism … there certainly is a difference … my voice as representative of Arab society in the binational/bilingual school … here I must be with sufficient knowledge to know how to answer or to participate in the discussions …”

Another teacher continued that she is forced to read extensively to prepare for the days of the national events. “On the national and political days … we prepare … they come to prepare without awareness … you come to preparations with a not good feeling … you are forced here and there to read things to clarify and thus you are exposed to the pain … every picture and so on, this brings you back and reminds you of the pain …”

Ironically, there is one teacher who learned not in the Israeli education system, but in the Jordanian one, and surprisingly this teacher too is “ignorant” of her national identity.

The main responsibility for the teacher’s perception as a “representative” of the Palestinian narrative, who is supposed to be a model of imitation for the Arab students in the school, so as to form and strengthen their personal and national identity, is assigned to the Arab teachers who are not ignorant of their national identity. They are considered relatively to have national awareness, albeit superficial, since according to some of them although they are nationally aware, they must read in-depth and understand in-depth because they will present to both peoples of student, thus requiring the presentation of examined and scientifically proven “facts”.

One interviewee said that, “When I came to teach here … about the national events … I had to read extensively since I am also teaching Jews … it is true that I am a long time a nationalist and read for myself … but now I must read even more and learn even more in-depth since when I speak about a specific national event in front of two peoples, each word you say or fact you present must simultaneously be “objective” and not only considerate of the other side … and you must go in detail … this is not easy at all … this caused me to learn history more and to understand more …”

The irony in the collection of the data was found here as well. The teachers who did not learn in the Israeli education system but in the Palestinian-Jordanian system also came with “ignorance” of their national identity. She also came to the bilingual school and discovered that she, a “daughter of the Intifada” herself, is ignorant of her national identity and she heard from

the first time about the Nakba in the bilingual school. “I learned in the Jordanian governmental schools … even from all the history and the things we learned there … the Nakba I heard and knew about only here (in the bilingual school) … I did not know and did not hear about the Nakba although I am ‘born’ in Jerusalem! I knew nothing and I heard nothing … although this is a Palestinian-Jordanian ‘format’ … but nobody spoke to us about the Nakba … we learned about World War I and II, Balfour, the division of the Arab countries, the independence of each and every country, and about all the ‘uprisings’ … certainly I do not remember from all of this, not even 10% … we learned about all the Arab countries and their independence … and about Jordan and the British Mandate … but we learned nothing about Palestine or Jerusalem.”

5. Difficulty with the Weakening or Insufficient Study of the Arabic Language and Islamic Religion

One of the difficulties mentioned by some of the teachers is their concern about the weakening of the Arabic language and the studies of the Islamic religion which, in their opinion, are not appropriately represented in the bilingual school. This worries them and they fear the distortion of their cultural-social identity. The education for the student’s mother tongue and religion is an essential and central part for the formation of a proud and confident cultural identity. Therefore, the weakening of the Arabic language and the studies of the Islamic religion exposed the Arab teachers to concern and a re-thinking about the nature of education in the bilingual school, and thus the wondering and the dilemma. They asked the following question. For what identity and culture are we educating our children?

For instance, one of the interviewees who removed her son from the bilingual school argued that in addition to the national reasons there was the weakening of the studies of the Islamic religion. “For instance, the issue of the studies of religion … for instance, my husband is religious … that ‘here’ the religion is not emphasized … about how to pray and so on … and therefore I had fears … and also the issue that he stood when the commemoration siren sounded.”

Moreover, it was proven scientifically, through one of the researchers, that the Arabic language is harmed in the bilingual schools. One interviewee said that, “…following the research of Amara … who found that the Arabic language is weakening … there was a blow to the Arabic language.”

However, apparently and despite the attempts to strengthen the Arabic language in the bilingual schools, which came following the research of Amara, this still constitutes a concern

and a difficulty, not only to express in the Arabic language but also to learn religious studies. This is hard for the Arab teacher. According to one teacher, "I lack of the religious side … the Jewish students learned, in essence the spoken and the written language are the same language … in books … their literary language is the language of the Bible … they are careful in the language lessons to also learn the Bible … but with us … our skills and methods of teaching in the Arabic language require considerable work time … more than the Jews … we as teachers and as students … we have a spoken language and a literary language that is different from the spoken language … therefore we struggle over language hours … for instance, religion this year and last year they did not study the religion of Islam … since this would come at the expense of the Arabic language … and we have a lack of hours … to differentiate, the Jewish teachers teach Bible from the lessons of Hebrew language … we don't, since in any event we have a lack of Arabic language hours … we do not manage to give all the skills."

8.1.4 Personal Processes of Change – Personal, National, Social and Cultural, and Professional-Pedagogical Aspects

The interviewees answered the following question. What is the perception of the influence of the work in the bilingual/binational school on the personal/self, pedagogical/professional, and identity/national perception?

Most of the teachers experience, as they asserted, changes in the perception of a variety of areas: personal, national, social and cultural, and professional-pedagogical. These changes were influenced by the teaching in the bilingual school and as a result of the contact and friction with the other culture/nationality. This section will describe each area of change separately.

8.1.4.1 Personal Changes – Personal Aspects

As a result of the exposure and the teaching in the bilingual school, which is diverse and different for each and every teacher, there are shared changes and there are unique changes. For instance, one of the shared personal changes is that almost all the teachers felt and accumulated greater positive self-confidence than they had in the past, since one of the special things in the bilingual school, unlike the public Arab schools, is the respect for the teachers' self-expression and personal opinion. For instance, one of the interviewees asserted that she experienced a change in herself: in the past she "would keep it inside/converge in herself" and not express her opinion or not express her feeling about a certain "topic". One of the teachers compared herself before she entered the school to afterwards and explained the differences and the changes she had experienced *personally*. She opined that at first she was shy and kept to

herself and did not express her opinion. “At first, I was shy, did not speak … they would tell me what to do … therefore, at first … I felt that I am keeping it all inside … not letting it out … and when I return home I would feel uncomfortable … since in the past I would only translate what people say … I, for instance, myself, today I have flexibility …”

Another teacher added that the teaching and the contact with the others in the bilingual school not only changed her for the better and instilled self-confidence but also let her “discover” herself, who she is and what she wants from her life, without shyness or fears to say her opinion and to have the courage to say her opinion. “… and all this … made a general change … to me as a person … I greatly changed … in general … I am not the same person I was … my husband loves me more … and my children love me more … my communication with others has changed for the better … I say thank God … I benefited from this … I encountered many ups and downs in my life … but these downs/difficulties are what opened my eyes to many tings … made me a person … I discovered myself …many things that I was afraid of in the past are not found in me today … I tell you, I finished high school and I immediately continued with teacher training … and there in teacher training, it is considered a framework that is not different from the school framework … even today I think about a master degree that is in general far from the teacher training, therefore, I think that if I studied in Sakhnin … I ‘do not expect’ that I would change this way … or at all that I would think this way (how I think today) there was something that influenced me too.”

Another teacher added that she also experienced a tremendous change in her personality following the friction and contact with the other side in the bilingual school, which exposed her to the “enlightenment-knowledge” in many areas where she was ignorant, and this was following her being in a conservative and traditional society. “I am … where I came in my personality today took me many years … I am not the same person who came before she entered the school … I was a simple and regular person. If you were to teach me one plus one, then I would answer two … I was in a very narrow and not developed framework, and I am not exposed to the world and I do not have experiences in many things … I want my children to reach where I reached after many years before I do, both in terms of the formation of the personality in a correct manner and through conversation and dialogue. …and this is what I had, I learned another culture … it was not that I experienced Israelization … but rather I learned not only the Hebrew language nut also to accept others and everyone around me it is not important how different he is from me … because of my society and my school … I came

out ‘ignorant’ and not developed and I also was married at the age of nineteen … and I want my children to grow up differently from me…”

8.1.4.2 Personal Changes – National Aspects

The personal changes, the empowerment, and the self-confidence that most of the Arab teachers acquired, as mentioned in the previous section, led to a personal change in the political/national aspect. This change is divided into two channels.

The first channel is the change from a situation of “ignorance” in the national identity, to a situation of formation and “awareness” of the national identity.

One of the teachers summarized that the Arab teachers who come to teach in the bilingual school almost all have experienced a process of the change and formation of the personality and the identity, because of the uniqueness of this school. “I felt something different … what I liked in the school that you have … that the ‘Arab teacher’ … forms/educates …. She begins to be educated about her identity, herself, who she is, and in an equal manner with the Jewish teacher … from her own being, this is a teacher who learns about herself, who broadens horizons about her identity … about her culture … about herself … she has more confidence … I know who I am … but here there is always work on this thing in each and every year, about ‘empowerment’ … and this is simply ‘enchanted’ me.”

Another teacher added that for her one of the prominent changes in her as a result of the exposure and work in the bilingual school is the self and social “discovery”. “In the first meeting in the teachers’ room … the conversation began about the ‘Land Day’ ceremony … I discovered that I in essence, I myself … I do not have the knowledge and the information about Land Day … I do not have enough knowledge, I myself am confused … I do not understand myself … but here the school gave me an opportunity to know, to meet, and to discover … and to learn and to know about my identity.”

Another teacher strengthened these statements that her formation of identity was done in the bilingual school. “The formation of my identity was done here … I here formed my identity … when I began to work here … I will tell you something ... I learned things in the school.”

The second channel in the change, which follows the two previous changes, is the self-confidence and the formation of the national identity, which led to change and courage to express the opinion in sensitive ‘national-political’ terms and on national days, as per their definition. They ended the shyness and/or the “fears” to say their true opinion and stopped

translating what the Jewish teacher in the classroom says and took initiative and lead events and planning of national days.

The teacher further said that, “From changes such as even if I have in the planning of the lesson another perspective/viewpoint from my partner’s, in the past I would be too ‘shy’ to say my opinion to the Jewish teacher … in the past I would go according to what she wants … today, no, I too have ‘my’ opinion … I have something to say.”

Another teacher asserted that she experienced a change in personal national terms. She said it is necessary to not be afraid to say the personal opinion on political issues. Today she initiates and says her opinion without fears or concerns and this follows the ‘comfort’ that the school provides its teachers. “Even all the history and the other topics we taught there … when I had not heard about the Nakba and did not know about it, although I am a daughter/native of Jerusalem … but now no … for instance, the last time about Land Day … then I prepared by myself the materials and I presented … and I wrote on the board all the numbers … today I do not surrender … I do not only translate … today no …I say what I want to say … I do not hide anything … but here I taught … in the period of the periods … especially in the politically sensitive periods … not to continue this way … but to share my feelings … I will say that this bothers me.”

The argument was that one of the special things in the bilingual school, unlike the Arab public schools, is the respect of the teacher’s expression and personal opinion not only about the learning contents and the curriculum but also about general topics and national-religious days. For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that in the past and especially in the politically sensitive topics she would not cooperate or ‘express’ her opinion on the topic, which she compared to herself before her entry to the school and after, and explained the differences/changes she experienced personally and maintained that at first she was shy and kept thing inside and did not express her opinion. One of the interviewees said that, with experience and the continuation of the contact with another and the direct exposure to another, she became more self-confident and stronger. “I experienced a great change, year after year … you feel stronger … the self-confidence increases … the look at the self positively grows stronger … the self-respect grows stronger … today what I feel in political terms I can share … since the internal world of the school is different from the outside … it is wonderful, it is excellent … quiet.”

To differentiate, some of the Arab teachers came to the bilingual school with clear and cohesive awareness and identity in national terms. Therefore, they also experienced a change similar to the previous one, and they mustered the courage to say their opinion and not to be afraid or concerned. One teacher stated that, "… I have originally 'openness' in my school and in my personality … therefore, did I experience a change? Yes, I experienced a change … primarily this was in terms of no longer being afraid … of what I am, and what I am … and I am proud of what I am more … and to be brave … with pleasure."

Another teacher experienced a change but in another aspect. For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that she had more of a "struggle" to preserve her identity, from fear and concern about Israelization Holed asserted that, "The truth is I, the formation of my identity, I had from my home … I grew up in a national home … I always participated in demonstrations … of Land Day … the October events … this was then, when I was in twelfth grade … I already had at this time political inclinations … I had background …I am exposed early to these issues … but this exposure in the bilingual school to the other … brings you back another time to renew and focus your identity … and to protect it more … perhaps … because you are found with a Jew … she obligates me to always to be 'present/attached to' my identity … since I am with the other … as if this causes you fear of the 'loss of identity' and this causes you to fight for it more … and this conversely calms me … that there is another side that knows you … and does not deny you … that this is only for Jews … but respects the other side …"

8.1.4.3 Personal Changes – Social and Cultural Aspects

The lengthy contact of the Arab teachers with and exposure to the Jews – teachers, students, and parents – also caused changes in social terms on the other. For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that the contact and friction with the Jews caused a change in her perception of Jewish culture and society. "I learned and got to know much more about their cultures (the Jews'), since in the past I thought that Jewish is only the soldier on the barrier … I learned about their culture, norms, cooking, wedding … accent … I was happy and it was fun to teach here … although I, in my time, I was the only one with a hijab .. but I did not feel a difference between me and the others … frequently I did not like going to visits with them because of the hijab … but today it is difference … there are also good Jews …"

Another teacher agreed. "You went through a process of change in many things … professionally and nationally … listen, from experience you begin to learn about the other … you begin to look at things differently … the friction between Arabs and Jews causes you to

see that this society of yours is close and there is between you connection, relations … this will cause you to stop thinking 'those Jews' … since there are people who … and this is what happened … that their grandparents did this and this .. and they come now on the background of 'let's live together' … this is what exists and the reality … and there is nothing to do … and sometimes it is hard for you to accept what exists/the reality and to accept this that you are the minority and so on … but at least there is an 'optimistic' perception, this is what will cause you to think … for instance, today ... when you watch something on the television … there is a difference between how you looked at this in the past and in the present … on both sides there are 'victims' … in the past I always see myself 'only I am a victim' … they deserve this and this … since we are the poor ones … but today I think … that there are people who are not involved in this … and we are all victims of the security and political situation … of the state."

Another teacher added that personally she had at first "blind" objection to know and to understand the other side, since her brother-in-law was killed in the October Events in the year 2000. She maintained that she 'must' understand the other so that the other will understand her. "I had great 'hatred' for the other … and I was 'closed' and avoided meeting them … but at the same time … but you must at the same time … that I not only stick with what I have but also know and understand what he is experiencing … and even if he sticks with his … even if he refuses to understand me … I must be sufficiently wise … and understand how it is possible to make him understand me and accept me … that I will make my voice heard, in his method."

Another teacher continued that the exposure and lengthy contact with the Jews caused cognitive and social changes with the understanding of another side. Sirin said that, "…they learn about the Palestinian narrative and also about the Zionist narrative … I myself learned many new things about myself … since I myself did not learn about it earlier … which caused me to be cynical … but now after I have been exposed to the information and have understood is, I began to understand different things of the other side …"

The irony of one of the findings is that the change of the social perception of the Arab teachers who live in the South regarding the Arabs who live in the North. In other words, some of the teachers, especially the teachers who are Jerusalem-born, who themselves had stigmas and prejudices about the Arabs who live in the North, realized that the contact and friction between the Arab teachers who live in different regions changed their prejudices about themselves. One teacher said, "I knew nothing … even, I am sorry, about the 'Northern' Arabs of Israel, I knew nothing about them, except that they speak with an accent …"

Last, some of the interviewees saw the contact with the others and the change of the perception and social view of the other side as a type of hope and possibility for "living together". For instance, one of the interviewees maintained that the lengthy contact with the Jews let her think and believe that it is possible to live together and this on the background of her experiences and the obligation to get to know one another, to understand one another, and to reach a solution.

One interviewee said that, "The idea of Arabs and Jews who live together … and I have experienced many things … how to conduct a conversation … and I understood from there that this is real … one of the things that greatly influenced me and caused me to think that this is the only solution … that Arabs and Jews will live together and there is no other solution … since if I continue as a Palestinian to complain and to cry, that they did this and this is their fault … this is not a solution … it was necessary to leave this behind a long time ago and this does not bring benefit … but brings us backwards … therefore today … when they criticize me 'Why do you defend the Jews? Is this because you work for them?' … I answer: no, it is not because I work with them … but because the same mother who cries over her son is like the Palestinian or Gazan mother … the child who was kidnapped … I am also a mother and I put myself in the other person's place … he is also a father … even if he is the father of a soldier … a father remains a father … we are all people … we are all human … and there are many Jews who were also born here … I do not want to repeat the same things … it is important to me that my son know who he is, what is his national identity, will know the Palestinian narrative … will know his flag … I speak as a mother … and as a teacher … that my son will know who he is and his history and who the other is … history is important since he who does not know his history has no future … and from here to advance … and not to remain in the same place and to cry that I want the same land …"

Another teacher continued in this vein. "It is clear that in the beginning, and by the way until today, there is tension between the Arab and the Jewish teachers, but the senior teachers, both the Arabs and the Jews, underwent a process of change … and sometimes there are Jews who become more leftist and the new Jewish teachers then criticize the senior Jewish teacher, 'Why so leftist?' … everybody here undergoes change … and the parents also … there are visits between Arabs and Jews, there are friendships … they invite one another to their homes … there is partnership from love, to know one another …"

8.1.4.4 Personal Changes – Professional and Pedagogical Aspects

Most of the teachers maintained that the work in the bilingual school enriched them greatly in pedagogical terms, since they had to learn themselves about themselves, about the national days, and this constitutes a change in the "awareness" and knowledge in pedagogical terms. One of the teachers maintained that it strengthened her identity for her even further, and not the opposite, because of the constraint in the pedagogical aspect to read and to learn more about the national days. "I thought here people lose the identity … but the reverse is true, the identity further forms here … but when I came here I had to read and learn more about the national days since I am supposed to teach in the class about the topic bot Arab and Jewish students … it is true that I am a nationalist for a long time, and I read a lot … but now I must be objective and not only take into consideration the feelings of others … but must … therefore we learned how to separate … and this was not easy at all … therefore the teaching here let me learn more history and understand more…"

Another teacher continued that in pedagogical terms and in terms of being a homeroom teacher for Arabs and Jews she must be a "master" of all the knowledge necessary so as to be reliable and objective. "…we the Arabs come with zero knowledge … even about our nationalism … and they the Jews come with all the knowledge about their nationalism … when I began to work here I was 25. I had then knowledge … but in comparison to the knowledge I have today about myself and my nationalism … it is very great and considerable … and thus I discover that what I knew at 25 is very little … today I read a lot on these topics … since I must know to be in a 'strong' place … since if I will not be strong here … then who will bring my voice to here … who will speak about me and about my identity or my nationalism … certainly there is a difference … my voice as a representative of Arab society in the bilingual/binational school … here I must be with enough knowledge to know how to answer or to participate in discussions … since our teachers here … they come with zero knowledge about our Palestinian national identity … and our students even more … the Jewish students come with zero knowledge about the Palestinian people and the Palestinian identity … and the Arab students also come with almost zero knowledge about the Palestinian national identity … therefore we as teachers must first make sure we know and we have the knowledge … to know how to build curricula … how I will build a curriculum if I myself do not know anything about Land Day … how will I convince my Jewish partner to accept the principle of Land Day if I myself do not know what there was there … therefore this requires much work … and is a process … so that there will be acceptance from both sides for both sides … with all the things

… certainly the conversation that is held on the level of the adults/the teachers is completely different from the conversation that is held in the classes with the students …. Since it is important to adjust the knowledge and the conversation to the child's age…"

In the continuation to the previous argument, most of the Arab teachers argued that there were changes in pedagogical terms following the constraint to work in pairs both in the preparation of the unique school curricula and in the preparations for the national days, when the work in pairs, which obligates direct contact between them, enriched them greatly in pedagogical terms and in terms of new work methods for them. One interviewee said that, "… The opposite … I learned much from the Jewish teacher with me … about new teaching and learning methods, different from what I know and from all the traditional Arab schools and the learning by rote there … I learned creative teaching methods … here I began to change and to learn much from the other."

Another teacher continued that, "In the planning of the lessons, this was preferable and better in which you and another person plan the lesson … since each one comes from a different mindset and a different mode of thinking and a different idea … there is cooperation, which is very nice … and good … since the work in the class was in the beginning difficult … since in the past I had the thinking that I am supposed only to translate her … and after this to translate for her me (since I know the two languages) … this was only in the beginning … and slowly slowly … we began in essence to complement one another …since the students already began to understand (both languages) … but then we agreed between us … thus I stopped translating … and go with the flow … and in the continuation I am here and there, I tell you 'from a comment' what I said … and we flow onwards … even the parents … when they see … flow … the parents, when we present to them … we complement one another … and thus provide an example to the parents how we teach in the class … it is true that it is fun for them to see this, although the Jewish parents do not really understand … the students … see really … the parents see that their children really understand everything … and this excites them … even when they want to present a project … they complement one another in explanations … without translation … and succeed to convey the message without verbal translation … and thus we attempt to find the common denominator between us, through the two languages and the two identities …"

To summarize, the contact between the Arabs and the Jews and the exposure to one another in the school framework cause personal, national, and social and cultural changes, both regarding the self and regarding the other. It is possible to see this, as one of the interviewees

who summarized all the changes, in its different varieties, for the Arab teacher who teaches in the bilingual school stated, that although she came to the bilingual school with a very clear and cohesive national identity she too experienced a process of change and reinforcement of the national, personal, and social identity in the school. “I experienced a process of change, what is a process … this is not the word … I will only tell you that I am a clean Palestinian … I am proud of my Palestinian and Arab identity … the process that I experienced … this does not say that if I work in this framework then I underwent “Israelization” … not at all .. the process … this … that my identity has only become clearer, it has expanded to other sides … it has received a new image … the entire human process that I experience/experienced … would add another layer/cycle to my identity … my identity is very broad, it is not limited … I am a woman, a Palestinian, an Arab, a mother of two children … I am a woman … I work in an Arab-Jewish framework, I have Jewish friends, I believe that it is possible that the situation will be better than this … and all these layers of identity that add to your identity … it is not something that you just argue … but this … you see … where you speak … for instance, now I did not plan what to tell you … since I am not like that …”

8.1.5 Satisfaction of the Arab Teachers in Personal and Pedagogical Terms, with the Formation of the Students’ National and Religious Identity, and with the Association

The interviewees were asked the following question. What is the sense of satisfaction from the ‘realization’ of the objectives and goals of the school – pedagogical, personal, and identity? (Humanist education + acceptance of others + reciprocal respect + achievement, the student’s personality + identity + religion-language) What is the sense of satisfaction from the product/quality of the staff? (Achievement, personal national ways of dealing with the difficulties).

The decisive majority of the Arab teachers in the bilingual school expressed satisfaction with their progress and personal and professional development as well as satisfaction with a solution to the differences between the students, in terms of culture, achievement orientation, formation of personal and national identity, and education for humanist values. They also expressed satisfaction with the school principals and with the Hand-in-Hand Association for the respect and partnership in the making of decisions and professional instruction sessions.

8.1.5.1 Satisfaction of the Arab Teachers with Their Personal and Professional Progress and Development

The present research study found that the teachers expressed satisfaction with their progress and with the personal and professional development they achieved following the work in the bilingual school. They especially expressed personal appreciation of themselves for all their efforts and investment in the work with their students, who succeeded, thus giving them an immediate and "unforgettable" experience of satisfaction. For instance, many of the teachers argued that they in essence discovered themselves, their tendencies, and their desires through the bilingual school.

For example, one of the teachers maintained that despite the difficulty with working in the bilingual school, in terms of the work hours, and although she had the opportunity to work in the public Arab schools, she preferred to continue to teach in the bilingual school. She asserted that this is an experience for her and fulfills her as a teacher who leads change and success. "At the time I remained in the school … since I liked it and I had an experience … and not from 'crying'… this was not an easy experience for me … but I had a new experience and I found myself there … they felt a really great change in the students I teach … and they felt an improvement and a change in the entire grade level … and this encourages me since I felt that I made a change … and activity … from this place … I went with this class from first grade to second grade … this is a class that I will never forget … and I still had a new experience … but I had great success."

Another teacher added and expressed her satisfaction with the ability, possibilities, and freedom to be "what she is truly" with her students, both Arabs and Jews. This provides personal satisfaction, although the school is far from where she lives. "… since here … I am … my relationship with the Arab and Jewish students … here you give things that no other framework in the country gives … it is important to me that I feel with my students that I, I have existence, I have presence, like me, the Jewish teacher … I have emotions, I have the right to express/fulfill myself and my identity … this caused me, despite all the difficulties … I even became with the 'light' (I blossomed/I was enlightened) … I became a coordinator, and was responsible for the grade level … I took on many tasks very happily … since I wanted to make a change here … here I can live without feelings of repression, of occupation … here you do not feel the occupation … here there is hope …"

Another teacher adds about her satisfaction, both general satisfaction and personal satisfaction, with the school, which respects her by allowing her to express herself freely and safely on the 'personal' experience that is very difficult for her, when her brother-in-law was killed in the October Events of the year 2000. "…what brought me here, and that I want that my son to have his voice heard and not to be afraid to share with others … because I underwent a personal experience in the year 2000 … the October Events … when my brother-in-law, who was in my class, was one of the ones killed in the October Events … when in my first year here … I came in the year 2009 … despite all the years that passed … they let me create an 'activity board' in the school about … I brought information and knowledge on the young men who were killed (shahids[43]) … and to make from this active board … and to make from it a 'place/center of learning' … in which every class will go to this board to learn from it … they let me participate in something that I experienced … following this, we in every year … remember the October Events and what happened … and this became something formal."

Therefore, the Arab teacher in the bilingual school is blossoming and flourishing, following the ability to realize herself, without supervision or fears or anxieties, regarding the Ministry of Education. It was found that the bilingual school, to differentiate from the Arab public schools, allows the Arab teachers to learn and to discover about themselves, about their personal identity, which no other framework permits.

One teacher mentioned that, "I felt something different … what I liked in the school that you have … that the 'Arab teacher' … forms/educates …. She begins to be educated about her identity, herself, who she is, and in an equal manner with the Jewish teacher … from her own being, this is a teacher who learns about herself, who broadens horizons about her identity … about her culture … about herself … she has more confidence … I know who I am … but here there is always work on this thing in each and every year, about 'empowerment' … and this is simply 'enchanted' me … this is what caused me to continue to work with them (despite all the pressure)…"

In addition to the satisfaction and blossoming of the Arab teachers in the bilingual school, one of the interviewees asserted that in the bilingual school she found not only her personal satisfaction but also felt educational leadership. "Here the school gives me the opportunity to know, to meet, and to discover … and to learn and to know to identify … this is mine or not … whether I can go to another school? I can go, and I have been offered to teach

[43] Shahid is an Arabic word meaning witness and denoting a martyr. It is used as a honorific for those who have died fulfilling a religious commandment, especially those who die waging jihad (holy war).

in another school … but this does not suit me … personally I will not find the satisfaction … to give what I want to give … or somebody in front of me …"

Another teacher added that she sees herself as in the task, the 'mission' and she is satisfied since in her opinion she succeeded with her task, her mission, to build the 'person' in the student, before the acquisition of the knowledge for the student. "Since the idea of the school as a school that 'I am a teacher' first addresses the student as a 'person' … this was something very … I liked it that it is not in other schools … here … we have many steps that build … this is an amazing feeling when I see that I touch … I build a person … as a person …despite all the difficulties that I am found here ... I have a mission and I want to do it … this mission is a very great challenge that does not exist anywhere … unfortunately … so I at least, I can produce a generation from here that will have different thinking…"

Teachers with a 'veil', who are especially religious, noted that they feel satisfaction with the equal respect given to them, without racism or discrimination, since they are Arabs (a minority) and religious (with a veil). One of the interviewees stated, "But I, as a woman with a hijab[44], I need to hear that somebody will tell me how much he accepts me and respects me … as a Muslim Arab woman, with a hijab … who teaches his son … there are some who do not … I felt that some, in contrast, they really respect me and accept me since it is important to them, the perception and the thinking … and not my background …" (אולי לבדוק מה עם עלייא...ואולפת שהן עם רעלההה)

Satisfaction in National Terms

The principle of equality regarding national days/events in the bilingual school, equality in the right, and equality in the making of decisions between the Arab teachers and the Jewish teachers about the Palestinian and Israeli national days and about the curriculum is considered one of the factors in the satisfaction of the Arab teachers, in comparison to the Arab schools, where teachers are afraid and do not hold national days at all. The Arab teachers expressed satisfaction with the national days presented in the school, unlike the experience and reality in the Arab schools.

One of the teachers maintained that she is very happy and satisfied with the quality of work and planning for the national days, which added to her new things, such as visits to the villages "abandoned" after the Nakba, all in comparison to the Arab schools. "The nicest thing

[44] A hijab is a head covering worn in public by some Muslim women.

here is that there is no event/thing that does not have special activities for it … for instance, there is knowledge for many things, in the end we complete this knowledge with a trip to an abandoned village, although I do know and read much about the abandoned villages, but I never put forth effort for an excursion there … therefore, I discovered many things about myself that I can be 'objective' and considerate … therefore I must continue there since it is worth it that I remain since you begin to know and recognize your rights more … since you deserve what she deserves since we both have the same citizenship (the Jewish teacher and the Arab teacher) … like she has the right and I have the right … here they strengthen your identity … to differentiate, there (in the Arab schools) in all that is related to politics they are afraid … do you member when Sheikh Ahmed Yasin was murdered when I was there at that time … there was nothing … there were helicopters, they closed the school, and they released us to go home and they closed everything … then I greatly hoped that they would discuss or hold a conversation about what happened … but as a teacher I could not decide alone such a thing or hold a conversation just me … therefore it was hard for me and greatly influenced my "mental" state … therefore, when I have the opportunity to criticize I will speak and will point 'fingers' at the school…"

Some of the teachers expressed satisfaction, although there were changes in the frequency/quality of the national days, but they still were satisfied. One teacher maintained that despite the intervention and the limitation of the Ministry of Education of the contents of the national days she is still satisfied. "The national days … it is very important to me to teach the Palestinian narrative … since we here are limited … last year the supervisor came … in the Nakba ceremony … but we did what we want ... in borders … not with 'shouting' … there was a separate ceremony … we did the national song … we stood and sang … there are some who remained sitting … but this was nice… and this developed … and it was not … the Jews would go to celebrate independence … and we would remain in the class to note the Nakba … now no … we began to assemble … two years ago this began to change … a year ago I came since I was on maternity leave … and there was a ceremony in the library and it was excellent … even for me, I as a teacher … it was very emotional … but the truth is it is necessary to respect all the sides … we left happy with our achievement … this changes …and we also as teachers … work … and put forth effort … find material, we brought from here, we brought something nice … in the end we felt that we expressed as necessary … since in the past it was not …"

Most of the teachers said that they are satisfied with the policy of the decisions and the planning and organization of the "national days" that was not done only by the principal and

was done from a place of mutual respect. Moreover, this is different from the Arab schools that ignore or are afraid of remembering these days.

For instance, one of the teachers is very satisfied with the planning of the national days, which are important to her, since it is important to her to express her pain/anger. “It is very important to me … my degree of involvement in the staff … I give my opinion … I told you before …that we as a staff sit together to plan how to hold these days … and I as a teacher give mine … with all confidence and speak of the pain … and all that I feel … and I receive the respect … I say my piece and she says hers… we attempt to find shared points, a shared conversation … this was not easy … the decision on planning the ceremony for Rabin, as Arab teachers we were partners … we have a planning staff for every topic from these topics … and not only the planning of contents … for instance …we have a Nakba ceremony … when schools are afraid of remembering this day or this event … these places are what bring you to think and to remember that there are schools that remind me … do not forget that our Arab schools … not only do not remind … but also they are afraid to remember … even here (in the bilingual school) … we remember the Nakba … you have the right to say what you want as an Arab citizen …. and to bring your identity without fear … there is awareness and learning of both narratives … the Palestinian and the Israeli … and this … the opposite … lets you feel that you have a place here … that he addresses you … about what I am … and not only to learn about the other … and to be afraid of speaking about my identity … the opposite … this lets you express with comfort, without worry, to express yourself…”

To conclude, it was found that the unique curricula of the school for the national days are considered a compensation that “fixes” the experience of “ignorance” that the Arab teacher discovered about herself during her work in the bilingual school. For instance, one of the teachers opined that the “unique” lessons of the bilingual school, called “language and culture”, are the most satisfying for the Arab teacher, for they constitute for her the “lever/life preserver/mandate” of human values and Palestinian heritage that is used to provide and complete what is missing in the Arab education system in general and for the Arab teacher in particular, for whom the preparation of these ‘unique’ programs added much knowledge and was an experience for many of them. “We have a lesson called ‘language and culture’ … it is as if this is our mandate … in which we insert all of our values, for instance on all the national days … in this lesson Arabs and Jews … I tell about the Nakba with Arabs and Jews … about the memory, even with both sides and about Land Day and so on … there are in the contents

… also our values that we want to raise and educate them in the students … development of all the everyday social and life skills that we need in our life …"

Satisfaction in Pedagogical Terms

The decisive majority of the Arab teachers expressed satisfaction in pedagogical terms, both in the preparation of the unique school curricula and in the preparation for the national days, and this to differentiate from the Arab schools, in which the Arab teacher is passive/pessimistic and does not exert judgment since there is nobody who asks her opinion or cares about her, not the principal, not the supervisor, and not the Ministry of Education. Everything is dictated from top down, and she must obey the directives of teaching and education.

The satisfaction with the national days derives primarily from the involvement of the teachers in the decisions and planning for these days. It was also found that there is satisfaction in terms of the building of the school-based curriculum. It was found that most of the Arab teachers were satisfied with their very inclusion in the decision on the learning contents in general and on the unique curricula for the school in particular.

For instance, one of the teachers maintained that the very fact that they involve her in the decision on the learning contents and the national days and respect the opinions and proposals that she conveys to her students caused her to feel that she is a part of the leaning materials and not "obedient". "I personally … I felt that parts of me and of my personality entered the material/learning contents … this is how I feel … I am present in the learning material, both in Jerusalem and in the Galilee."

Another teacher continued that one of the reasons for the continuation of her work in the bilingual school is that the teachers are given the right to decide upon the teaching contents. "Here my brain says 'Thank God' that there is here this language (this understanding) of involving the teacher in the learning materials she will teach … that I as a teacher 'I have this right … and most of the teachers here, in the bilingual school … they have the right to share and express an opinion on the learning materials … since this is the spirit of the bilingual school … perhaps this is in the different methods … but these are the values … this is the center we revolve around ... here … everything is us (the teachers) … we (the teachers) decide everything … I will explain to you how … when the school was established … and there were no contents suited to us (then) … there is no curriculum suitable for bilingual education … therefore we created things … we worked and built … we built everything … and the learning contents."

Another teacher continued that the very fact that the teachers in the bilingual school in general and in the Arab school in particular are allowed to decide and to change what suits or does not suit the Arab students in the curricula, especially the Arabic language (since according to the previous findings it was found that most of the curricula for the Arab students are not suited and/or do not develop personal and national pride for the Arab student in Israel), provides great satisfaction for what she develops in the heart of the Arab student. "The decisions about the school-based curriculum must be with the agreement of the majority … and there is no resistance to this decision … I can decide 100%."

Another teacher continued similarly, stating that the textbooks that do not suit the Arab student and the flexibility of the school and the principal to change/ exchange in the curricula according what suits the Arab teacher, or in other words, the teacher becomes active and not passive, caused satisfaction with their investment. "For instance, the books of the Arabic language that we teach … but I at the start of my work in the bilingual school I would photocopy materials from the textbooks of the Palestinian Authority and I was cautious in this, for example, I would photocopy about the sayings that are Palestinian … in other words I would photocopy 'things' related to our heritage/culture .. in other words, I would introduce the heritage into the Arabic language lessons … since these 'things' are not found in the regular textbooks of the Ministry of Education … the books of the Ministry of Education do not really talk to the Arab student, and not about his identity … and not to learn about the Arab poets … not at all .. for instance, and I gave a task to every pair of students to prepare a presentation on an Arab 'researcher' … there was then a month of preparations … the students enjoyed this … they were surprised that there is a researcher by the name of Ibn Sina … they did not know this about themselves … I told them that I was taught that 'if not for the Arabs Europe would have started from zero' … and I wrote this on the board …"

In addition, the teachers expressed their satisfaction with the constant innovation to the teaching methods, the learning contents in the bilingual schools. Many teachers maintained that what was "good" in the bilingual school is that they are a "learning body", about itself, always in "constant thinking" about how it is possible to improve, and everything for the success of the students, in all respects.

For instance, one of the interviewees said that in the bilingual school they always think about a "positive" change. This is exhausting but it is worth the effort. "…this will be unique … then the change is that we will teach our students in a completely different manner … therefore, first of all … we inserted every day in the morning a first lesson of 'mentoring' …

personal meetings with the students … every day… meetings/visits to the students' home … all this from the framework of mentoring of 'learning to live together' … in addition, one of the changes we made in the teaching methods is learning through 'play' … in arithmetic, in Arabic … alleviation of stresses … the 'projects' … educational ones, we do, according to every class/group … adjustment of the project to them and their age … the project begins to be built already from August, until November … then a pedagogical celebration of the project that we produced … this change brought/attracted students … and also influenced us as teachers … and the students … and nevertheless despite this difficulty of brainstorming and efforts to build the project … and therefore there is a lot, a lot of work … but this formed us."

In addition, it was found that there is satisfaction with the work in pairs and in a team, which leads to benefit in the diversification of teaching methods since there is 'brainstorming' of two teachers and not one alone, and this situation adds to, enriches, and challenges the work in the bilingual school. One teacher said, "In the planning of the lessons, this was preferable and better in which you and another person plan the lesson … since each one comes from a different mindset and a different mode of thinking and a different idea … there is cooperation, which is very nice … and good … since the work in the class was in the beginning difficult … and this was only in the beginning … and slowly slowly … we began in essence to complement one another …since the students already began to understand (both languages) … but then we agreed between us… and go with the flow … and in the continuation I am here and there, I tell you 'from a comment' what I said … and we flow onwards … and thus we attempt to find the common denominator between us, through the two languages and the two identities …"

She further added that the teamwork adds to and enriches greatly the work together, for the teacher and for the student. "I love this school … the meetings of the school staff … after two or three months … the entire school staff meets … and does mapping … holds a conversation … about the student's needs … the regular school does not have this … the exposure and the meeting of all the teachers let you see the students' needs from different perspectives … from points you did not see … this lets you see other abilities … and gives you tools … this is a very important meeting … that lets the teacher see the student's situation in other lessons .. this way you don't miss students."

8.1.5.2 Satisfaction of the Arab Teachers with the Arab Students/Graduates

The decisive majority of the teachers expressed absolute and complete satisfaction with the product of the Arab students who finish their studies in the bilingual school from many

respects. First, in terms of the formation of the Arab student's personality, it was found that the teachers expressed their satisfaction with the school's attitude towards the student as a person and the importance to build a person with a formed personality, to educate him for values and for a clear and proud national identity.

For instance, one of the interviewees praised the graduates of the bilingual school. "The students with us are respectful… but most of the students know they must respect the pain of the other person … here we work on the students' personality, there is empowerment … there is strengthening … many things are learned … the student is seen from all sides … since if there is creativity for the student in a certain topic … thus we develop him according to this creativity … the student really is found in the center …"

Another teacher further strengthened this argument that the graduates of the bilingual school finish with self-confidence, conversational and speaking ability, and respect for the other, which she concluded from the praises she hears from the outside environment about them. "My evaluation … that I succeeded in realizing the goal … through conversation and it resonates that we receive … for our students, both from the parents or any other framework found in it … everybody tells us that our students are 'different' … what do they mean? They are different in terms of the pride in the self … in terms of the self-confidence … in terms of the personal empowerment … they can cope and they can speak … and they have the ability to work and to initiate things … the intention is initiative … we raise them from a young age to be 'broad-minded' … and to be a leader … and to do tasks …"

Another teacher added further that students of the bilingual school turn out to be independent "graduates", who are respectful and understand the outside dynamics of the State of Israel. "The students I taught already / from the first grade they are now in the eleventh grade … they are very mature and ready for the outside world … the very knowledge of another and the identity of the other … this made them prominent … and their identity … this is truly … here they focus on the identity… they have acceptance of others and those who are different … they teach her much about the acceptance of others … and those who are different … I feel that our students have awareness and are more prepared than others …than other schools."

Another teacher reinforced this assertion. "Our students have so much awareness and consciousness of themselves … they will stop seeing me as a trustworthy personality … we from a young age teach them … it is necessary to know … express yourself and your opinion …"

One of the teachers explained that the secret of the success in the bilingual school is to create a student with self-confidence and a strong personality. This is the policy of constant and routine discourse, which respects and enables the students to express themselves without fears or repression. “There is much discourse … the students leave with great ability to hold a conversation, not like the others … this is above their age … and to speak … they know their self-worth … it is important to them that they are listened to … and their right is to be listened to … it is important to them that they are listened to … the school has a shared life without the elimination of the other’s identity … beliefs, heritage … his culture … and thus he will learn about the other without this influencing his identity … we, this is what makes us unique … and the rest is like a regular school…”

Second, the Arab teachers expressed satisfaction with the graduates of the bilingual school in terms of the formation of a proud national identity. It was found that the Arab teachers in the bilingual school (except for one teacher) expressed complete satisfaction with the degree of the formation of the national and cultural identity in the Arab student, as no other public Arab school has done.

For instance one of the teachers maintained that the students in the bilingual school, according to their chronological age, develop and form a proud national identity that respects the other. “As they grow up … it is crystallized for them more and more who and what they are and they become aware of their clear identity … and this especially comes following the learning with the other and the mastery of the language of the other (the enemy) … and the recognition and learning of the culture of the other … especially in Jerusalem, this gives the student much self-confidence … in comparison to the Jerusalem student who learned in the public schools that do not teach the Hebrew language … so our students and following the excursion … to the holy places … this forms for them their identity.”

Another teacher added that the graduates of the bilingual school have a clear and proud identity, and for her this is the main achievement. “Our test was when there were the first ‘graduates’ of our school … who were exposed to the regular school … every child finishes elementary school (in the bilingual school), sees he is ready and knows himself and has a clear identity … this is an achievement and great profit … the influence is very positive on the student’s self-image …”

Another teacher added against the arguments and criticism directed towards the bilingual school that distorts the national, cultural, and religious identity of the Arab student.

She said that the graduates of the bilingual school are the complete opposite from what they were afraid of. “About the identity, the reverse … there is no such thing as ‘distortion’ … the reverse is true, the student here is the one who strengthens and focuses his identity … the reverse is true …”

Another teacher compared between the Arab students of the bilingual school and the Arab students who did not learn in a single-nationality framework. She attempted to prove that the students in the bilingual school are not “distorted” in the identity but they are more national, more developed, and more secure in themselves. “Students are different, also in terms of the national feeling … that they have … more than the rest … they … the national belonging that grew on him … the very fact that you learn in the bilingual school … immediately … your identity is formed … there is no doubt/dispute … as long as you are in the framework of the Arab or Jewish school … I do not have something to prove … since this is clear, because we are all Arabs or Jews … but … I am an Arab, a Palestinian … I know who I am … even I do not know the extent to which they know/recognize their Palestinian-ness … but here (in the bilingual school) … there is immediate exposure on the spot with the other side … here, here … the graduates who leave here are ‘other’ … the product is different … in terms of the formation of the identity that until now it forms.”

Last, a teacher summarized an exciting experience for her and maintained that in the bilingual school the identity of the student is not distorted but rather the experience proved her success as a teacher and the success of the bilingual school with the development of a clear and proud national and personal identity and not a distorted identity, as was argued. “…we held an exhibition … every student would bring an object that would tell about his national, religious, scientific, cultural affiliation … I never felt like I did today … in my life I never saw such a thing … what there was today simply proved to me that the way and what we do, over time, during five-six, realize the goal we want … what there was today … for instance, today a student brought a musical instrument of his grandfather with pictures of his grandfather who at the age of 95 is playing … it is important to preserve our heritage and culture … and another student whose father is a doctor of physics chose to present on Ibn al-Haytham.”

Third, the Arab teachers expressed satisfaction in terms of the achievements of the Arab students in the bilingual school. Many of the Arab teachers maintain that in terms of achievements the bilingual school meets the needs and is even above average among the schools in Israel. Most of the Arab teachers in the bilingual school believe that their uniqueness

and the secret of the success of the students in the bilingual school are that they emphasize teaching methods and strategies and learning skills and not learning by rote.

One teacher claimed that, “My evaluation … in terms of achievement, we meet all the required standard achievements … our scores in the meyzav tests are good … above the average for the Arabs in most of the external tests … our students do not learn by the book … rather we give them more strategies and tools … with which the student will leave with independent learning ability … we do not emphasize the quantity of the learning but the learning method … the main thing with us is not to finish the book according to what the Ministry of Education asks … the principal will not yell at me … this is alright with him … in the sense that I achieved things in parallel that are more important … the quality and not the quantity … we do not begin to compare ourselves to others … we do not enter a competition of achievement … since we work differently … in any event our group less than there is outside … for instance with me there are 16 Arabs and 15 Jews … then when in the Arabic lesson we divide into groups according to ‘native language’ … then I have 16 students … in the native language they are divided separately …”

Another teacher continued that she is satisfied with the school policy and teaching methods and that every student learns according to his potential and reaches achievements he is “equal” to, since in the bilingual school the student is at the “center” of the learning process. “… What is nice in the matter … you create with the student a project … in which the child will understand what is a good inquiry question … will build and will plan with the teacher the stages of planning… and will come with her to the end/to the product .. from here I say that we build students, in scholastic, intellective, and social terms differently from any other place, but again I will say this is according to the difference, of abilities, skills, and tendencies of each and every student … as a person and connection with the families …”

To conclude, most of the Arab students who “move” to the Arab frameworks/schools (since two of the three bilingual schools are only elementary schools and only one also includes a secondary school) are successful and succeed in closing gaps and even excelling, according to one of the interviewees who summarize the “success” in the bilingual schools, even in terms of their students’ achievements, and not only in the formation of the personality and national identity. She held that the secret of the students’ success is that they emphasize in their teaching methods not the learning by rote but the learning skills. “But the first graduates were our test … how they cope … as Arabs and Jews … from clarifications, about a month later our students close gaps and are excelling … since here we taught learning skills and not learning by rote …

and they are prominent in their schools both in their opinions, in their sitting, in their behavior … in their style… and in their conversation …"

8.1.5.3 Satisfaction of the Arab Teachers with the School Principals and the Hand-in-Hand Association

The teachers expressed satisfaction with the principals of the bilingual schools, in terms of the human relations, in terms of the personal and professional attitude towards the teacher, in terms of the coping with difficulties and commitment to the school and the Hand-in-Hand Association, in terms of their equal treatment and mutual respect for Arabs and Jews, and in pedagogical, national, and social terms and in terms of the formation of the student's personality. However, they expressed less satisfaction in religious terms.

First, a large number of the teachers expressed their satisfaction with the manner of coping of the school with the difficulties, primarily political and national difficulties, with which Israeli society lives. For instance, one of the teachers argued that she herself found it difficult in one of the difficult periods, the "stabbing" period, and did not want to meet and discuss the topic with the Jewish teachers. However, to her surprise she left this session with "hope" and understanding about the importance of the joint discourse so as to enable life together and coexistence. "I remember that once we were forced to come to a meeting, last year, after … the events of Jerusalem …the 'stabbings' ... they forced us to be here … they obligated us to attend a joint session between Arab teachers and Jewish teachers and with Arab and Jewish parents … we met in the assembly room … but I remember more than this what exactly was in the session … and I came out happy/optimistic from this meeting, since at least the people who were partners, a small percentage … they said 'we need to find a shared language, different from violence … this is what I remember … that this was for me a positive and cheery experience …"

Another teacher added that the routine of the bilingual school is not rosy; there are difficulties and it is necessary to cope with the 'reality' and the difficult conflict that exists in Israeli society. However, in the bilingual school they do not deny or ignore the reality of 'enemies/in conflict/in struggle' but respect it, with the attempt to accept the other, with his opinions and his credo. "And what is special here … this is a way of coping, when each one would leave here … each one would know that she comes from a 'background', the pressure she is found here … or from defense or from 'adherence' to their credo … they would go and

argue outside … and return … in the morning, regular, with hugs … and this was very emotional …"

Many of the teachers maintained that the atmosphere in the school gives them hope and inspires them hope that perhaps one day the internal reality of the bilingual school, which succeeds in holding a 'shared life' and coexistence, based on respect and mutual recognition, will be replicated elsewhere. For instance, one of the interviewees said that, "the internal world of the school is different from the outside … it is wonderful, it is excellent … quiet … for instance, there was now a presentation in Arabic and Hebrew … and both enjoyed (Arab and Jewish students) ... I even sent on WhatsApp that this was wonderful … and then the principal came to me … and told me 'I wish the outside world would be like this.' … the pair that held the presentation, both are Jews, but the Jewish youth really knows the Arabic language … and was excellent … you will feel the pride that we can live together … there can be coexistence … this was wonderful…"

Another teacher further added about her satisfaction with the improvisation of the school of methods and ways that connect Arabs and Jews together, to succeed in coping with difficult topics, such as the Nakba, with the hope and belief in coexistence and a shared life. "For instance, the ceremonies … in the past, we would begin the Nakba and memorial ceremony … and each one returns home with his sadness … but about ten years ago, still at the initiative of the parents … and the recommendation of the researcher Beckerman, who will imagine for us a shared ceremony … the group and I … and we called it by the name of 'from sadness to hope' … and until today the joint ceremony between the Arabs and the Jews is 'from sadness to hope' … as if we leave sadness for a new hope for the future … the very fact that we are together, this is hope … and not obvious …"

Another teacher added that she is satisfied with the ways of coping of the school management on the national days. She held that despite the criticism of the school supervisor of these days they continued to respect and to provide an answer to the needs of the Arab student and were not afraid and closed up. "I like many things here, how we assemble, how we go to a restaurant, the in-service training on the national days … it is very important to me to teach the Palestinian narrative … since we here are limited … last year the supervisor came to us … in the Nakba ceremony … but we did what we wanted … within boundaries … there was a separate ceremony … we did the national song … we stood up and sang … some remained seated … but this was nice. And it developed … in the past the Jews would go celebrate Independence Day … and we would remain in the class and draw about the Nakba … now no

… we began to gather … two years ago it began to change … a year ago I came … there was a ceremony in the library and it was excellent … even for me as a teacher … it was very emotional … although I am not from the team that prepared … but the truth is that there is respect for all the sides … we left happy with our achievement … it changed … and we too as teachers … as workers … and putting forth the effort … we find material, we brought from here, we brought something nice … in the end we felt that we expressed as necessary … since in the past it was not … again it depends on the management … it permits and prohibits … the principal is flexible … she seeks the advice of the majority … she does not object … she asks for explanations for everything to make the best and most suitable decision."

Most of the teachers emphasized their satisfaction with the principals of the bilingual schools, to differentiate from the public schools, since they are respectful, involve them in the decision making, and have great human relations. One of the teachers, who at the start of her path in the bilingual school wanted to leave because of the working conditions and the salary but remained because of her "self-fulfillment" with the students in terms of the planning, organization, and decision of the learning contents for her students maintained that this is all because of the "protection" and approval of the principal who enables, pushes, encourages, and develops creativity for the teacher so that she succeeds with her students. Moreover, this attitude is reflected in the teachers' room, where teachers feel comfortable expressing what they don't feel comfortable expressing under the supervision of the 'management' in the public Arab schools. "To remain here … there are many reasons … things that do not have a relationship to the bilingual school … I greatly like the management … the management team is amazing … when the management ... when you are comfortable with the management … half of the problem is resolved and this flows more … I like the teachers' room with us … there is a feeling of exposure to the entire world, to the Christian, the Druse, the Jew … exposure to many cultures … to speak about myself, about food … I pay attention to others … since we are only three from Jerusalem … the rest are from the North … I was exposed to many cultures, accents … we laugh at the accents … the teacher … is a Jerusalem fellah[45] ... and I am a Jerusalem urbanite … our speech is different."

Another teacher continued that the management and the teachers' room appear completely different from the teachers' room in the public schools. There is much happening in the teachers' room, advising, collaboration, deliberations of difficulties, formation, and

[45] Fellah is a farmer or agricultural worker.

educational activity. "… here you will not feel that you are an 'isolated' teacher but you always have the team … there is a dialogue, professional and even personal … there is more 'collaborative' activity, there is more understanding, more enthusiasm … in the regular school, there, you teach alone and this is … there you mainly teach from the book … and that is all … perhaps if you want to be creative and you will sit and put forth effort on something then perhaps it will be accepted with encouragement or perhaps it will not be accepted with encouragement … here, no … the requirement is not to teach regularly … there is a requirement for creativity … they ask you to go in-depth and to understand your students well, before you prepare the lessons … in other words, on the basis of your deep acquaintance with the students you build a creative lesson accordingly … and you need to bring interesting things to the students, and things that they will be enthusiastic from …"

Most of the teachers expressed satisfaction with the principals' human relations, to differentiate from the public schools, where the principals are more rigid, thus influencing the degree of 'commitment' and giving of the teachers in the bilingual school, as opposed to the teachers in the public school. One interviewee said that, "In addition, the attitude of the management is important … and the interpersonal relations in the staff are important … I know that in the Arab schools especially the teachers are absent much … since even if the teacher wants to be absent for a justified reason … he will not agree and will complain … he will not agree and will complain .. or threaten her and be frightening … therefore the teacher, who has the right to be absent 30 days, will be absent 30 days … here the situation is different … if the teacher that day informed that she cannot come since she has something urgent … this is alright … there is a good attitude … therefore when she asks from me something I will certainly do with all my heart … I and most of the staff of teachers greatly weigh whether to be absent or not … truly only if it is urgent … sometimes we ourselves are very sick … but nevertheless we come since we have the responsibility and know that there is a lesson and there are students who wait for us … and I have a partner and work programs … we have great responsibility …"

Another teacher added about the importance and satisfaction with the human relations of the principal with the teachers, which come from an equal place, and not from top down. "The relationship for example between the management and the teachers … the principal's room is always open and he always accepts every teacher … there is no principal like this … the principal talks straight, both with teachers and with students … I remember that the principal in the past, John … would himself pull the trashcan outside … I had never seen a principal do this … the principal does not act like he has a role but that he is a person above all

… this human relationship … and this place that lets you talk and find yourself … I had many tensions and angers and so on … but there always was a place to go back and reach agreement … this is not the end of the world for anger … there is always conversation and the possibility of return … all this is found here …"

The teachers also expressed satisfaction with the instructional sessions of the Hand-in-Hand Association. Many of the teachers thanked the association for the sessions from it which are very beneficial and encourage the difficult coping with the difficult topics of both sides in Israeli society. One interviewee said that, "I coped with the difficulties … and certainly the staff here … although it is small but it is very cohesive and crystallized … the management and the teacher staff all the time accompanied with the instructional staff … this kept up your backbone … (strengthened you) … kept me stable … about how we will reach agreements between us …"

8.2 Findings about the Parents in the Bilingual Schools

The parents of children in the bilingual schools were asked about their attitude towards the idea of bilingual schools.

1. What do you think about the bilingual school?
2. Why did you choose to send your child to such a school?
3. What do you think is the most important advantage of the school?
4. What is more important for you: the better quality of schooling or the ideological aspect?
5. How do you assess the idea of bilingual schools?
6. What do you think about the separate model of education in Israel? Why didn't you send your child to the public school?
7. What was the reaction of your family and social environment to the decision of choosing the bilingual school? Why do you think they have a problem with accepting your decision?
8. Have you had any concerns / dilemmas about your child studying in the bilingual school?

The parents were also asked about representation of the national identity/ies in school everyday life.

1. How important for you is the mission of school to shape the national identity among the students?

2. Do you think it is important to celebrate national holidays at school? Why?
3. Have you ever heard about any conflicts in school on the basis of national / religious identity? Have you/your child experienced such a conflict personally?
4. Are there any arguments against talking about national identity in the classroom? Can you give examples?

8.2.1 Research Informants: The Parents

The informants are Palestinian parents, citizens of the State of Israel, whose children learn in bilingual-binational education. Four parents belong to the Bridge over the Wadi School in Kfar Kara, three from Kfar Kara and one from Ar'ara. Three parents belong to the Galil School, two from Sakhnin and one from Kfar Shab. Three parents from the North who live in Jerusalem belong to the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem.

In addition, there are eleven interviews of parents who are also teachers in the bilingual school. During the interviews, they also addressed the bilingual school from their perspective as parents. Therefore, in this chapter the parents who are teachers are addressed in their own special subsection.

8.2.2 Reasons and Personal Experience that Led the Arab Parents to Send Their Children to the Bilingual School

The parents were asked the following questions. What do you think about the bilingual school? Why did you choose to send your child to such a school?

The reason underlying the choice of the Arab parents to send their children to be educated in an alternative school, such as the bilingual school, is the **disappointment with the Arab school in all respects** – in pedagogical terms, in the empowerment and cultivation of the student's personality, in the ignoring and/or fear of the national days. This disappointment is the outcome of their personal experience, both in the school itself as students or in the difficult experience/trauma they had when they went to learn in higher education in Israel, in terms of their difficulties with the Hebrew language, difficulties with adjustment and coping with higher education, perception of self and low self-confidence in the contact and friction with the other side/people (the Jews), and in national terms, since they discovered that they are "ignorant" in their Palestinian narrative and identity, in comparison to the other side/people (the Jews).

First, in this chapter we present the disappointment with the development and cultivation of the personality of the Arab student in the Arab school, following the emphasis

and focus of the Arab schools solely on the student's achievements, as if the school is a "factory for grades".

In the parents' response to the questions of "why did you choose to send your child to such a school?", all the interviewees from all the schools answered that the Arab public schools are very disappointing in their quality of teaching and in the failure to form the student's personality and to provide a response to his needs in many regards – values, formation of personal identity, formation of national identity. This is seen clearly in the argument of one of the parents when he compared between the bilingual school and the regular Arab school, "… since I sent my children to this school … to form the personality ... since I am very disappointed with the public schools … since they do not function appropriately in all areas … behavior, value, education, achievement. … there is no reference to the student's personality or the look at the student's thinking … or the thinking outside of the box … even in pedagogical and achievement terms …it was not on the highest level … but also the rest … but in social terms … every public school does not provide the necessary service … the intention … the building of the student's personality so that he can cope with … (speak Arabic or Hebrew) … form a personality that will cope with the everyday and social problems in Israel … in addition, the professionalism/training of the regular schools in which there isn't anything …"

A different parent continued and added a reason: "The reason is that the teaching method is completely different from here … it lets the student express … say that he wants … to say … work on the principle of comprehension … more than repetition … this is the point regarding the teaching, regarding the relations … unfortunately, here (bilingual school) there is respect, not like the school where there is violence, where there are beatings…"

In addition, many of the interviewees asserted that the Arab schools do not look at the student as a person who has an opinion and special needs but as a 'grade factory'. One of the parents maintained that the competition for achievements is one of the main reasons why they fled from the public Arab schools. "For many reasons, I in my work … visited many Arab schools, and from my education and what I experienced in my childhood in the Arab schools, most look only at the grades, and the person who learns faster, there is even competition between the families whose child has the best grades … and in my opinion this method of teaching … on my part there should be especially in elementary schools enjoyment and fund and activities and also to learn, but without pressures. 'How much did you manage to learn today?' … But when I went to see how they teach in this school I saw something different, I saw that they work on the student's personality, the discovery of his abilities and talents that

they attempt to develop and promote in the process of the studies, and this is the power that attracted me to register my children to this school … since there are also no tests."

Another parent continued and compared nicely the difference in the feeling of his daughter between the regular Arab school and the bilingual school: like being in a greenhouse and then going out into the cold and emptiness. "In the Arab schools the emphasis is on achievement … only the grades are important … it is true that the grades are important but the 'formation' of the student's personality … the self-confidence, for him to be creative and thinking and all those … for the 'daughter' … in other words, she acquired all of them … she certainly saw the gap and the emptiness (coldness), it is great, like going from hot water and tossing into cold water."

Therefore, most of the Arab parents search for a school framework for their child that will be enjoyable, experiential, without fears of achievements and self-esteem. It is possible to hear this in the quote. "I want my children to learn from love of learning and reading, also not to give them much homework. The problem is that the Arab schools give so much homework it is exhausting."

The parents were also asked: What do you think is the most important advantage of the school? This connects to the reasons why the parents sent their child to the school.

Second, most of the Arab parents expressed disappointment with the Arab schools in the cultivation and development of the values, the national identity, and the Palestinian Arab culture of the Arabs of Israel. They believe that the Arab schools refrain from this because of their "fear" of the establishment, which prohibits this.

The findings in the continuation of the interviews with the parents indicate that one of the reasons why the Arab schools do not engage in value-oriented, national, and identity issues of the Arab student is the fear of the establishment. "… But in principle a private or public school is 'limited' by and 'dependent' on the government in political terms, and the principals of the private schools with us definitely greatly support and are interested in 'satisfying' the establishment and the budgets will not come from the State … therefore the schools among us search for more 'excellence'. More in the field, and therefore for them personally the student, his heritage, his national awareness develops with the parents, and they are not connected to one another, and it is not supposed to happen with them …"

Another parent shares a finding with proof of this fear, which is not unfounded, and it does exist, with justification, in his assertion. "… First, they have fear … second, the Ministry

of Education always or the supervisor always attempts to prevent these things (establishment of ceremonies for national days), does not like and does not encourage it…. Do you understand … once, for instance, in the high school here in the village they attempted to do activity on 'Land Day' … outside factors came and sought the permission to establish a ceremony for Land Day .. .and we did this ceremony in the school building … then the principal was summoned for a discipline investigation by the Ministry of Education about how he does such things … in other words, the fears among us are justified and real."

As a result of the fear of the public Arab schools to discuss and to develop the personal and national identity, educated Arab parents prefer alternative education over public education. For instance, one parent asserted that he sent all his children to the bilingual school, primarily because of the clear and stable and orderly engagement in all that is related to heritage, events, and national days of the Palestinian Arab society in Israel, which the Arab schools are afraid of addressing.

The national events and days of Palestinian Arab society in Israel, which Arab public schools are afraid of addressing, "have topics that speak about the Nakba, about the independence, about Land Day … you know our school (the Arabs) have fear both on the part of the teachers and on the part of the principals, from the Ministry of Education."

The policy of intimidation, as it was defined by one of the parents, is entrenched until today in the heart of the teachers and the older generation, who convey it to the students. When a parent is tired of this fear and looks for a change, it is seen in his statement. "We were in the parents' conference … and the homeroom teacher comes to tell us the same thing 'if he has a black mark, then he cannot learn … (if the establishment gives him a black mark)… and here I stopped the homeroom teacher and said … till here, stop, every person can educate his son as he wants' … you, your role is to give us the contract … and I don't need you to give us your opinion … this policy of intimidation … it is forbidden to us to instill in us this fear, that this will be conveyed to our children and this will be conveyed to the descendants. It is forbidden to us to be afraid of this policy of intimidation … thus we will never advance … I always hope that there will be an age and generation with awareness and with thinking … that the coming generation will make the change … since our role is to educate, to encourage, to push …"

Third, the experience and personal trauma experienced by the educated Arab parents who learned in the universities in Israel, in terms of the difficulties with the Hebrew language, the exposure to and contact with the other, the adjustment difficulties, and the coping with the

academic life caused the Arab parents not to want their children to have such a traumatic experience but to master the Hebrew language and have self-confidence and the ability to cope with difficulties, when the Arab schools do not provide the unique needs for the future life of the Arab student.

Regarding the question of 'Why did you choose to send your child to such a school?", most of the interviewees shared that their personal traumatic experience, both in the school and in the institutions of higher education, was one of the main factors that caused them to search for an alternative framework for their child, other than the standard Arab public school, which does not provide the 'merchandise' as necessary, in terms of the Hebrew language, self-confidence, proud and positive self-view of their personal and scholastic ability, learning skills, and most importantly the ability to cope with difficulties. For instance, the Arab parents shared their 'traumatic' personal experience. Parents maintained that they first had exposure to and contact with the Jews in the university and thus felt like second class citizens, who suffer from lack of self-confidence and do not demand rights as equal citizens. One parent said that, ""First, my personal experience began when I was a student in the Hebrew University, when I was at that time eighteen years old, for me the encounter/exposure with the other side, the Jewish side, was almost the first, in other words, this is the first time that I am in friction with you in a serious, direct, and long manner, I felt that I am a second class citizen. … I felt racism and discrimination as an Arab student from the lecturers and from the students, and this was very difficult for me, or in other words, my experience for four years in Jerusalem when I really hated Jews since I felt weak and truly second class … therefore, my experience caused me to think that I do not want my children in it … do not want my children to feel they are second class or weak or that the Jews in front of us are more cultured or better than us … rather, the reverse, I want that they will live and will see and will know and will be in contact with them, this is one thing. Second thing, it is important to me that they will be equal in rights … and that the Jewish student will know that the Arab student is not a monkey or … that he knows he is a person, that he has a culture and a heritage … and we are not less than them ... this is what is important to know about one another …"

Regarding the questions of "Why did you choose to send your child to such a school?", "What do you think is the most important advantage of the school?", and "What is more important for you: the better quality of schooling or the ideological aspect?", the parents brought up their personal experiences.

On the importance of the exposure to and knowledge of one another, another parent continued and talked about his personal experience as a student. “I personally experienced when I began to study in the university … how great the gap between us and the Jews is, in thoughts, in knowledge, when I was in the university … I was 19 years old … they are strange to me and I am strange to them … and every side has its stereotypes about the other side … and is closed in it … I did not like it and I did not want that my children would experience this difficulty …”

Another parent added that although he is considered to have a strong personality he feels lack of self-confidence and weakness with the others, even in the university, and he does not want this for his children. He opined that “I remember when I was in high school and I was one of the good and strong students, I remember that I was afraid to sit with the Jews and talks with them… even sometimes I would not ‘answer’ in the lecturers although I wanted to answer … since perhaps I had ‘lack of self-confidence’ and weakness in my personality with them. Therefore, I wanted my children to be educated and to grow up with Jews and to see that we are like them and are the same thing and there is no difference between us …”

The findings of many interviewees in the interviews indicated that difficulties with and lack of mastery of the Hebrew language are considered one of the main reasons for their personal and academic weakness, which harmed their self-confidence and self-image in the Israeli universities. For instance, one of the parents stated from his difficult personal experience in higher education that it was clear to him that the barrier of language is one of the main issues that inhibit the progress of the Arab “student”. “What is good in the bilingual school is that they teach two languages and they learn the Hebrew language as a mother tongue … this greatly helps the student tomorrow (in the future) in the university … since our experience, we as parents, when we went to learn in the universities, when we at the time had not mastered the Hebrew language, since the lack of mastery of the Hebrew language constituted a problem … since we even when we finish a bachelor and a master degree, we still feel that there is the language ‘barrier’ … and it is not like the students for whom the mastery of the language helps in many things…”

Another parent compared the difficult experience both with the Hebrew language and in the academic life he had in the university to that of his daughter who learned in the bilingual school. “I wanted for my daughter to have a strong personality, to be able to cope with the difficulties in life in general and life in academia in particular … for everything to be easier for her, not like us, the Arab students who when we went to learn in the university and encountered

these things … the intention is the new environment and the language … in other words, my daughter will not have the problem in language like I had in that time, since Hebrew is not new for her, she can speak with the lecturer directly without fears and without concerns…"

Last, a parent summarized the disappointment of the Arab parents with the quality of the instruction of the Hebrew language in the Arab schools, when the Arab students have a low level of ability and mastery of the Hebrew language. He maintained that, "Regarding the Arab student … we all as Arabs speak Arabic … but there is a difference between an Arab student who was raised with this language (Hebrew) and a student who was exposed to it more in the academia … even twelfth grade students … leave with weak Hebrew … here (in the bilingual school) they finish with a high level … there is a tremendous difference between them and the students who studied Hebrew in the Arab school …"

To differentiate, the childhood experience of another parent, following the feeling of inability/paralysis in communicating with Jews in general and in the Hebrew language in particular, is one of the main factors of sending their child to the bilingual school. "I remember when I was little I had a great problem how to communicate with Jews in language and in values, I did not understand their opinions, their thoughts … even … I did not know how to speak with them … I saw that this is a good step to give my children what I thought that would be worthwhile for me … if I had." "Therefore, I see today that I must let my children know these people and this society … and for good … so as to achieve something more believable in Arab society …"

As a result of the traumatic experience presented previously of the Arab parents themselves, they asserted that they are interested in their child knowing and being exposed to another culture. On the one hand, it is important since he lives with them in the same country, but on the other hand it was important for the educated Arab parents for their child to also know and recognize his own heritage and culture and be proud in it, to know he is not less than the 'hegemonic' Jewish student but he too has a heritage, history, and culture.

This "traumatic" experience led to the fourth factor, the Arab parents' desire that their child learn not in the public school but in the alternative/bilingual school, following the disappointment with the cultivation and development of their children's national identity and Palestinian culture/heritage. For instance, one of the parents asserted that from his experience and personal feeling Arabs and Jews are disconnected from one another and he was educated

and raised in an environment that weakens the Arab citizen and strengthens the Jewish citizens and he does not want this for his children.

"The combined learning of the two languages and two nationalities was important to me since we Arabs grew up in villages and do not have contact with Jews and we also grew up with the fact that they are the rulers, they are the strong ones, and they go to the military … and we always had a fear of them … and always we had the feeling that they are stronger and better and wiser than us."

Another parent added to the argument above. "This problem … is I am like him, he is like me, and he is no better than me … perhaps I am better than him … and I personally have experienced a difficult experience … in the first year to the point of depression (in the university) … I do not want my children to be such … and how I will do this, already from a young age … that you are not less … and perhaps you are more than him …"

It is possible to conclude from the previous statements that some of the Arab parents who had experienced experiences of "weakness" and lack of self-confidence when dealing with Jews reached the conclusion that the source of this "weakness" in the national-cultural-personal identity is apparently in education and therefore it is important that their children will obtain an education of value for the personality and for the culture.

The Arab parents who live in the Northern region (Kfar Kara and Sakhnin) to send their children to bilingual education and the parents who 'live' in Jerusalem are different in their reasons and causes for the choice of the bilingual school for their children. It becomes clear that most of the parents in Jerusalem who send their children to the alternative/bilingual school are originally from the North, and they came to Jerusalem in pursuit of their higher education and continued to live there. They maintain that they suffer from 'lack of options' and from no choice in the selection of the Jerusalem public schools. The residents of the city of Jerusalem are 'residents' who learn according to the Palestinian format that does not correspond to the Israeli format and its core subjects and primarily does not teach the Hebrew language. Moreover, the Jerusalem education system suffers from far lower quality and teaching services. In comparison, the Arabs who are citizens of the State of Israel must learn according to the Israeli format and take the high school matriculation certificate and learn the Hebrew language. It is possible to see the reasons for sending their child to the bilingual school in the saying of one of the parents that they are originally from the north and live in Jerusalem, in the differences

between Jerusalem education and Israeli education, and even in the differences in the life routine of both regions.

"But here…I do not have another good option…here in Jerusalem I do not have any options…here there is no possibility of choosing or making a comparison between the north, and the study in the north and the study here in Jerusalem…since here…the scholastic situation and the quality of the teaching here in Jerusalem are terrible … and did not give me the possibility of choosing…and the bilingual school is very very good, in terms of both the teaching, the culture…education…and the independence of the student…the self-confidence of the student…"

The parent continued about the differences between the two regions. "Many things are different … it was very hard for me to adjust to them … therefore, when I registered my son to the school, even education in the 'Beyt Safafa' school, it is different from us … we will open a bilingual school … where Arab and Jewish children are taught … many of the Arabs … most of them are from the North … this was very suited for me."

Another assertion was mentioned during the interviews as an answer to the question of "Why did you choose to send your child to such a school?" on the causes of sending the child to the bilingual school, deriving not only from the differences between the Palestinian education system and the Israeli one but also from the tense life routine in Jerusalem. The Arab parents stated that the importance of the knowing of the Hebrew language is vital and is a way of coping for their child in cases of danger, since not knowing the Hebrew language is a cause of concern. "So that they will get along since if she knows the language (Hebrew) she will get along in everything …you will not have a problem, and things will flow since the language is very very important … I see here … from my work in the eastern part of the city here … educated people … of a high level. They have certificates and high roles but when they come to ask something from the department … how much this person has education, culture, and knowledge … if he has a problem with the language … he cannot express himself … then I need to leave my office to understand from him something in Arabic what is his problem/request … to help him… he does not know how to read and write in Hebrew … although he is a person with an important role in his village … look, he has a prestigious social position in his village but look … he does not know how to express himself and does not know to say what he wants…since he did not learn the Hebrew language…such things…caused me to think about my children…I don't want them to have this problem…I want them to get along

… so that they can cope with life here in Jerusalem, since life is hard here especially in the recent period."

To conclude, it seems that most of the Arab parents who chose to send their children to the bilingual school come because of their disappointment with the public Arab schools and following their own difficult experience, primarily in the institutions of higher education, where they felt weak in many respects, both in terms of the language and in their view of themselves as weak and not as good. All this caused them to think and search for their children for a framework that would provide all that was missing for them, in the Hebrew language, in the encounters with others, in the learning skills, and in most importantly the 'acknowledgement' of their heritage and identity, in a proud and positive manner, without the fears found in the Arab public schools in Israel. We call this 'corrective compensation'.

8.2.3 Dilemma of Arab Parents Who Sent Their Children to the Bilingual School

The Arab parents were asked the following questions regarding sending their children to the bilingual school. "What was the reaction of your family and social environment to the decision of choosing the bilingual school? Why do you think they have a problem with accepting your decision? Have you had any concerns / dilemmas about your child studying in the bilingual school?"

Most of the Arab parents maintained that at the beginning of the learning of their children in the bilingual school, they received sharp criticism, negative, frightening, and deterring, about the future their children could expect. The main caution and criticism were on the issue of values, culture, and norms of Arab society in contrast to Jewish society.

The findings indicate that the deterrence and intimidation about sending their children to the Jewish school was directed especially when there was a 'daughter', as if this is a great disaster. This can be seen from the statement of one of the parents in the deliberation about the warnings encountered at the beginning of the path of the registration of his daughter to the bilingual school. "Then there was very great criticism…you are exposing your daughter to a culture different from ours…perhaps they will be influenced by it and will change…and will be impolite and insolent."

Another parent added on the argument that there was criticism directed to the sending of their children to the bilingual school. "Many began to scare me and to tell me that tomorrow your girls will love a Jew and will begin to dress, I don't know what …"

The findings indicate that the price of sending a daughter is higher than the price of sending a son. This can be heard in the statement of one of the parents at the start of the path. "When they would ask me where I registered my children to, I would hear negative criticism. Why are you sending them to learn with Jews, do you want your children to be like the Jews? You are lucky you don't have girls, since I only have boys. When I asked why, they would answer since if you had a girl she would dress like the Jewish girls … they said that they would be influenced by them and would be insolent like the Jewish children and would dress differently … and they would be impolite to their parents."

Another dilemma revealed during the interviews at the beginning of the way to the Arab parents is that their child would forget his identity, culture, and heritage. It was even 'expected' or 'predicted' that the child in the future would betray his nation and would cooperate with the State of Israel. This can be seen in the parents' statements. "You are sending them to learn about Jewish culture … and thus they will be alienated and will be distant from their identity … it is as if you want to make them into collaborators … who will be distant from their social culture … be like all the Jews … he will have a Jewish girlfriend. His girlfriend will not come to the home … all this." Another parent who encountered deterrence at the beginning added that, "… many began to frighten me … it's as if they told me that my son and daughter would be Israelized, and they would take all the Jewish norms and values and forget their culture/heritage and forget their identity and forget everything."

In addition, a considerable number of the parents argued that they received 'cautionary' criticism about the quality of the teaching and achievements of the bilingual school. One of the parents shared criticism directed to him at the start. "There was criticism from all sides, from my family and from my wife's family. They claimed that this school … beginning from they don't learn anything … their achievements are not so sure … this is an unrecognized school…"

A minor dilemma revealed during the interviews among the Arab parents is about the learning of the Islamic religion and the Arabic language. For instance, one of the parents shared the deliberation and dilemma of the spouse, who objected to sending their son to learn in the bilingual school, since it was argued at that time that "… My son would take on their values … the behavior of the Jews … the norms of the Jews … would be like the Jews … would forget the Islamic religion and would forget the language … would forget and forget."

To sum up, it can be seen that most of the Arab parents who decided to send their children to the bilingual school encountered sharp criticism, cautionary and deterrent, about

the ‘miserable’ future of their children. The main focus of the deterrence was that their children would adopt the values and norms of Jewish culture and especially that the Arab girls would adopt the clothing of the Jewish girls. Another deterring dilemma that was brought up before the Arab parents was that their children would forget the national identity and Arab heritage and would be Israelis in all respects. The concerns that the children would forget the Islamic religion and that the level of achievement would be low were also mentioned, but only slightly.

8.2.4 Perception of the Sense of Satisfaction with the ‘Product’ of Bilingual Education

The parents were also asked the question “How do you assess the idea of bilingual schools?” to try to gauge from their responses about the perception of their sense of satisfaction.

The perception of the sense of satisfaction of the Arab parents was measured according to a number of parameters, such as quality of teaching, quality of formation of the student’s personality, and quality of the formation of the national and religious identity. The perception is that the parents are highly satisfied with the formation of the personality and the national identity. However, there were differences of opinion regarding the quality of the teaching and the degree of the studies of the Islamic religion of the Arab student in the bilingual school.

Perception of Satisfaction with the Formation of the Student’s Personality

At first, I present the perception of the satisfaction of the Arab parents, opening with one of the nicest statements, which characterizes the warm atmosphere of the bilingual school. “You feel that the school is a small village and everybody knows everybody both about the students and about the teachers, There are good relations between them. This gives the student the possibility of feeling the tranquility and the ability to draw close from everyone and this strengthens the student’s personality.”

Then we continue, asserting that it was found that parents are satisfied with the degree of formation of their child’s personality in the school, which is clearly seen when one parent was asked to compare the personality of his daughter who learned in the bilingual school to his other children who learned in the Arab public school. He presented the differences, “I tell you what is the difference between my daughters, they are all strong, but the difference is that she (the bilingual school student) appreciates herself, she is stronger, in other words, she can cope with the challenges and difficulties in life and even in the studies in the university…without concerns or fears.”

Most of the parents maintained in the continuation of the interviews, in the transition of their child from the bilingual elementary school to the Arab public school in their village (the Galil school and the Bridge over the Wadi School are only elementary schools) that their child's personality was prominently praised by the teachers who teach them. "Until today they ask in the school what was the 'secret recipe' that these children take from the bilingual school, they come with this personality and they know to speak and to express and their language is good, in Arabic, in Hebrew, and in English. They speak seriously and they have great self-confidence…with limits."

Perception of the Satisfaction with the Formation of the National and Religious Identity

The perception is that most of the parents are satisfied with the degree of the formation of their children's national identity, when most of them asserted that in the bilingual school they did well what the public Arab schools did not do: the preservation of the heritage, history, and the national days that are important to Arab society in Israel, such as Land day, the Nakba, the abandoned villages, and so on. For instance, one of the parents said: " … in the school, they address the national days and the religious holidays, like Land Day, for instance… or when there are strikes in the schools and how they cope with this in an educational and academic manner … in other words, there are topics in which they talk about the Nakba, about independence, and about Land Day … you know in our schools (the Arab schools) there is the fear on the part of the teachers and the principals of the Ministry of Education … so they knew that this school reinforces the student's personality and maintains his heritage … his national identity … this is not only co-existence and we are together like the Israelis or the Jews and thus the reverse preserve our values and norms."

Another parent adds that ironically the bilingual school does better in teaching the national days and heritage, and even the Islamic religion, than do the public Arab schools. "Regarding the national days for the Jews and the Arabs … the school I think it was preferable and better in this regard than the Arab schools in Sakhnin … even for the religious days … I remember once there was a birthday for the Prophet Mohamed and in the school there was a ceremony … and the next day I asked my nephew (not in the bilingual school) and I asked him why there was no school today … my nephew answered me that he does not know why there is no school … he did not know that it was because it was the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed, in parallel in the --- school there was a ceremony especially … I am very very satisfied with what the school gives in the national days."

There were differences of opinion regarding the sense of satisfaction with the studies of the Islamic religion. Most asserted that the ceremonies/holidays important in Islam were conveyed but not in real depth. Therefore, one parent said that he had to assume the responsibility to fill in what was missing at home in the studies of the Islamic religion. "…He was taught in school about the Islamic religion … but I continued at home … what he was missing I gave him …"

Perception of Satisfaction in terms of Achievement and Pedagogy

To differentiate from the previous findings, when it was perceived that the Arab parents expressed great satisfaction in terms of the formation and empowerment of the student's personality and in terms of the national days, there were differences of opinion regarding the satisfaction in terms of pedagogy and achievement. For instance, there is wide agreement of all the Arab parents about their satisfaction in terms of the learning and quality of the Hebrew language for their children. The parents all concurred that their children acquired the Hebrew language as a "mother tongue" and they are very satisfied with this.

For instance, one parent said that, "They learn two languages … and the Hebrew language is like a "mother tongue" and this will help my son in the future in the university." Another parent mentioned the importance of the mastery of the Hebrew language for the success in the university, unlike his suffering. This parent stated that, "The students of the bilingual school have mastered the Hebrew language, and this enables them to succeed and to find work in many workplaces … since they do not have the language 'barrier' … and they can get along, in the academia as well." In addition, another parent maintained that "My children have mastery of the Hebrew language, which I did not have in my childhood. The importance of the acquisition of the Hebrew language – this will help them be accepted and succeed in university."

In terms of the quality of the teaching and the achievements, there were clear differences of opinion about the quality of the teaching. Some of the parents maintained that the quality of the teaching was very good. "I am very very satisfied in terms of the teaching and in terms of the informal education, the formation of the personality … in terms of the teaching this is correct … it is not necessary to give him instruction in learning by rote … but they work more on the understanding, they give him tasks of search and inquiry … and home … they give the child his contentment in which he can collect information … there is a border

for everything … it is not 'borderless' … but the student is allowed to search … and to clarify from the parents … once they had a task and they went to ask their grandfather."

Another parent added that the bilingual school students who transfer in the secondary school to the Arab public schools are excellent students, because of the teaching methods and learning skills they acquired in the bilingual school. He maintained that, "The students of the bilingual school got the best grades … since they have the tools with which to cope …"

A parent added that the good point in the bilingual school is the emphasis on the diverse learning skills and teaching methods, which help the student deal successfully in the future with all learning material. "It is true that the bilingual school does not hold tests … but it teaches the student how to deal with certain difficulties, gives him tools and skills to cope, and this is a way of empowerment and reinforcement of the self-confidence … it is true that I heard from some of the Arab parents that the grades of the bilingual school are not good, but the students of the bilingual school when they shift in the secondary school to the regular schools are the most prominent in their personality and in their achievements."

Unlike this parent, another parent maintained that the quality of the teaching slightly concerned him at the start. "… and in pedagogical terms … in terms of achievement … there was no infrastructure in scientific terms … as a father I had … I do not remember why I said to learn material … I remember that in the first year he did not know to read and I waited to the following year … in terms of achievement it was not so prominent or important … even the report cards, they are not report cards of grades but certificates of assessment… for instance Arabic, the assessment is how he reads words and so on … or how much he can solve in mathematics … this is not a report card to present to the neighborhood or to society … like other parents, Arab society is also … the mother takes the report card to show off … you know what I am talking about … this is not something that I am 'imagining' … the report card is not to show off … but what he is and what his abilities are … and how it is possible to improve…."

Another parent added that the quality of the teaching, which some of the parents view as not good, caused her to remove her son from the school. She voiced the argument commonly found among the Arab parents that in the bilingual school "they don't really teach". "Some parents would say that the teacher does not teach anything … and that they want to transfer their child … for instance, my husband's sister transferred her son and again returned him … she moved him since the teacher would teach half of the material … and she returned him since her son was more 'comfortable' and happier in the bilingual school."

An important finding that can explain the criticism of the quality of the teaching in one of the parents' arguments is that " … some of the teachers, in my opinion, are not suitable … this is professionally, in terms of personality they are all excellent … some of them professionally are supposed to improve or to take an in-service training course … and the curricula, in my opinion they … the Hand in Hand Association is responsible for the building of the curricula … and I as a father am satisfied with the curricula, it is diverse, it has different topics, the students are really benefiting from it … and they also realize some of their desires and inclinations, especially with the recent extracurricular courses they offered … in general … I ask and clarify with my children about the school … I feel that the children are really happy … they go gladly to school and do not need to be forced … they are very serious, and energetic."

To sum up, most of the Arab parents are satisfied with the work and the atmosphere of the bilingual school. All admit that there is a perception of a positive influence of the school on the formation of personality and the national identity of their child, but in parallel there are differences of opinions about the degree and quality of the teaching and the teachers who teach and about the right to learn Islamic religion studies.

8.2.5 Conclusion

The findings show that the educated parents' choice of a framework other than the regular Arab school was a good and correct decision, especially when their children began to learn in the institutions of higher education in Israel. Here it was possible to see that the formation of the personality was of great help, since these students were prominent in their personality and ability to cope with difficulties and challenges, unlike their parents' experience in the past. In addition, their mastery of the Hebrew language was also one of the main factors supporting their parents' argument about the importance of the Hebrew language in Israel.

The alternative school, the bilingual school, is considered by the Arab parents to be a positive and correct option, despite the dilemma and the warnings they received at the beginning about the registration of their children to the bilingual school: that this would ruin their social personality and their national identity. The Arab parents asserted that fortunately the outcome was the opposite from the 'dilemma and the warnings' they encountered in the beginning, and they are very satisfied with the educational, personal, and identity activity of their children.

8.3 Findings about the Arab Graduates of the Bilingual Schools

The Arab graduates of the bilingual schools were asked the following questions.

- How do you feel about the bilingual school? Was it a good experience? Why (examples)?
- If you had a chance to continue your education in a bilingual school, what would be your decision?
- Have you ever experienced negative comments concerning your education in a bilingual school? (for example, from your friends or from another school)
- What are the biggest differences between the public school and the bilingual school?
- Do you think your previous school put forth an effort to shape the national identity of students? Do you think it is important to shape one's national identity?
- What are the differences in the shaping of the national identity between public schools and the bilingual school?
- Has the school influenced your Palestinian/Israeli identity? How?
- What did the school do to influence your national feelings? (How were your roots/the history of your nation presented in the classroom?)
- What is your attitude towards the bilingual school and what is your sense of satisfaction with it?

The findings of this chapter address the Arab graduates of the elementary bilingual schools, the Galil School and Bridge over the Wadi School, and of the secondary school, the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem. This research study attempts to examine the uniqueness of the school in the eyes of the Arab graduates, the degree of formation of the Arab student in different aspects, such as the formation of the personality, the national-cultural and pedagogical identity, and their satisfaction in these aspects, the perception of influence of the school experiences both in the bilingual school and in the public and private Arab spheres on the perception of the different values and life of coexistence (shared life) in Israel.

The following list presents the main topics/themes of this chapter.

1. This section will present the uniqueness of the bilingual schools in the eyes of their graduates, in comparison to the Arab public/private schools.
2. This section will present the attitudes of the graduates of three bilingual schools, the Galil School, the Bridge over the Wadi School, and the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem, in terms of the formation of the personality, the “student at the center”, in

terms of the formation of the cultural-social-national and religious identity, and in pedagogical terms, in comparison to the public and private schools.

3. This section will present the difficulties, concerns, and dilemmas of the Arab graduates of the bilingual schools, both in the bilingual schools themselves or in the public/private schools, and ways of dealing with them. It will also address the stigma.
4. This section will present the perception of the sense of satisfaction of the graduates with the three bilingual schools, in terms of the formation and empowerment of the student personality, in terms of the formation of the national-cultural-religious identity, and in achievement-pedagogical terms, as well as the mastery of the Hebrew language as a native language.

8.3.1 Uniqueness of the Bilingual School according to the Arab Graduates

How do you feel about the bilingual school? Was is a good experience? Why (examples)?

The Arab graduates noted and emphasized the "uniqueness" of the school. In their opinion, the fact that the school is bilingual and equal in all areas is one of the reasons for their positive attitude towards the school. (This will be discussed further in the continuation.)

In the opinion of the Arab graduates, the uniqueness was expressed in "equality" between the Arabs and the Jews in a number of aspects that recurred among most of the graduates. For instance, Arabs and Jews learn together in the same framework for a number of years and not only for one or two sessions, and the teaching in the class in the two languages is through two teachers, when an Arab teacher teaches in her native language and a Jewish teacher teaches in her native language.

One of the graduates asserted about the uniqueness of the school that, "The unique, in addition, is that both Arabs and Jews together, two teachers for 25 students … the uniqueness in my opinion is the beauty of teaching in Arabic and in Hebrew, which gives a sense of equality … and we are together … and the fact that the sentence in Arabic and the sentence in Hebrew in teaching … and that the teachers "agree" between themselves and there is an atmosphere of laugher in the class and everybody is happy … and thus we learn and acquire two languages in an excellent method…. In the bilingual school the differences in religion are not felt … at last until the ninth grade."

In addition, the findings indicate that a positive system of relationships, respectful, and mutually attentive between the teacher and the student, is considered by most of the graduates

to be unique to the bilingual school. One of the graduates asserted that, “The attitude towards the students in the bilingual school is very direct/personal between the student and the teacher … I remember until today that although I am 22 … how I had in the second grade … I did not know how to ask to go to the bathroom … no, this did not worry me …they gave me the feeling that I in the end will adjust … they calm you … and you feel that you are in a good place and a good atmosphere …”

Another graduate added that this uniqueness enables every student to express his opinion and everybody listens to him. “Every student receives reference to him, his voice is heard.”

In addition, another important finding arises from the interviews, which emphasize the uniqueness of the bilingual school in the eyes of the Arab graduates: the inner reality/routine of the school is different or even opposite completely from the outside Israeli reality, the “routine” reality seen as natural by most of the Arab graduates, who maintained again and again that for them “equality” and the equal treatment and attention between Arabs and Jews, the mutual respect and the acceptance of the other person, was something “normal” and not exceptional. It is interesting that the students unconsciously during all the interviews held a perception of the routine and natural Israeli reality that was like the school reality and in their view the outside Israeli reality was unusual and not them. In other words, the uniqueness in the bilingual school is that it made the unusual situation into a usual one and the usual situation into an unusual one.

This is clearly seen in the assertion of one of the interviewees, who stated that, “When you go outside, and you see people behaving and thinking differently, and not accepting you because you are Arab … in this school it was otherwise … everything was “regular” … there was no irregularity in the behavior between Arab and Jew … because you are (Arab or Jew) … (he means reciprocal respect and equality) … there was nothing of Arab or Jew … there was no such thing … in our school, there was no view of you as Arab or Jew … not at all.”

Another graduate added about the uniqueness of the internal “reality” of the school, which is opposite from the outside reality. “I was enthusiastic because this is another experience … this is Arabs and Jews … and this is otherwise … there always is a barrier between us that they are different from us and we do not know anything about them … when I moved to the school and became friends … there was no difference between us as Arabs and

Jews there … I did not feel the difference … it is as if I got used to them … and everything was routine and regular."

Education for values such as mutual listening, mutual respect, consideration of others, and so on was mentioned by a large number of the graduates, who understood the meaning of education for values, which was unique to the bilingual school. This was especially apparent among students who transferred to a secondary school from the bilingual school (from the Galil School and the Bridge over the Wadi School, where there is no continuation to a secondary school from the elementary school).

One of the interviewees maintained in general that the uniqueness of this school is the values adjusted to the school goal. "The uniqueness of the bilingual school is the existence of the school itself, and the school principles and school values until the sixth grade, and … education and teaching of the school is very unique …"

Another graduate explained about some of the values he learned in the bilingual school, such as the acceptance of others and their opinions, respect of others and their opinions, and avoidance of stigmas and prejudices: "… from what I learned and grew up on in the "school" … not to draw conclusions according to your opinions … that are you are different from others … each one has his viewpoint … each one will understand the issue differently, and this is alright … but … I am different from them … there are areas that yes, and areas that low … perhaps in thinking ..."

Another graduate added in addition to these humanistic values the value of the "uniqueness of the student" and the formation of the self-confidence and the "self-esteem" for the student himself. "In the bilingual school I felt that the education I received and what I grew upon is the values, the self-confidence, and the self-esteem for me as a special person … without harming the students in my class … I speak with you as somebody who learned in this framework … I would always feel 'you believe in yourself' … you are special … you have abilities, you have things … this greatly opened for me areas … opened for me options … this opened for me horizons and they broadened…"

Some of the graduates maintained that the number of Arab and Jewish students is equal and small and is considered by them to be unique. The number of students is small relative to the regular schools, and there are also two teachers. "First, the uniqueness of our school is that the largest number of students in the class was 30 students and no more."

8.3.2 Attitudes of the Arab Graduates of the Bilingual Schools

The interviewees were asked the following question. What are the biggest differences between the bilingual school and the school you attend now?

The attitudes of the Arab graduates of the three bilingual schools, the Galil School, the Bridge over the Wadi School, and the Max Rayne School in Jerusalem, in terms of the formation of the personality "the student at the center", in terms of the formation of the national-social-cultural and religious identity, and in pedagogical terms, represent a continuation of its uniqueness, in comparison to the public and/or private schools.

Most of the Arab graduates displayed positive attitudes towards the bilingual school in personal, national, and pedagogical terms. However, some of the graduates had different reservations in different topics, which will be discussed in the continuation. First, this research study will present the Arab graduates' attitudes in terms of the degree of the student's formation of the personality. Second, the research will present the Arab graduates' attitudes in terms of the formation of the national-cultural-religious identity and last in pedagogical terms in the bilingual schools. All this is done automatically through the comparison to the public Arab schools at the time of their transition to the secondary school, both through the sharing of their personal experiences and through the "presentation" of the school reality in both schools, the Galil School and the Bridge over the Wadi School. However, it is important to note that the graduates of both these schools had the ability to compare and have a "clear" attitude on the differences between the bilingual school and the Arab regular/public school in all the aspects – formation of the personality, national and pedagogical identity. Only in one school, Max Rayne in Jerusalem, did the graduates have difficulties comparing between the bilingual school and the public school, since for them there was only one school experience, the bilingual school experience. The differences are addressed in the continuation of the section.

Attitudes of the Graduates in terms of the Formation of the Personality

Most of the Arab graduates had a positive attitude, shared and uniform, undisputed, of the degree of investment and perseverance of the bilingual school in the formation of the student's personality and in the encouragement of the student, in the building of his self-confidence, in the acceptance of the student as he is, in the respect of the student as he is, and in the reinforcement of his self-confidence.

For instance, one of the graduates admitted during the interview that he had a weak personality when he entered the studies in the bilingual school and noted explicitly that the

bilingual school is one of the main factors in the reinforcement of his self-image and his self-confidence and in his ability to say his opinion. He remembered himself as scared to voice his opinion or to express himself. “First I in my personality … and I can tell you honestly that my personality was weak, I was afraid to speak or to express my opinion … in the first school it was very strict, scary, and repressive, and if you wanted to say your opinion, it had no importance. … You would be told that you came here to learn and you have no need to speak/express yourself. In the school here, in the bilingual school, they stop the lesson in the middle if somebody wants to give his opinion and you are given a turn/a platform to speak … and you are asked to express yourself now. This has great meaning since the student must express himself to form and strengthen his personality and the student must learn and know how to speak and how to express himself, it is not important how he will express himself, verbally, in writing, or in drawing … the main thing is that he will express himself somehow.”

Another graduate continued that the main formation of the personality in the bilingual school is the constant push to have the student believe in himself, in his abilities, and in the fact that he himself is special and does not need to be like another person. “In the bilingual school I felt that the education I received and I grew upon is the values, and the self-confidence, and the self-evaluation of myself as a special person … without harming other students … I would always feel you believe in yourself … you are special … you have abilities, you have things … only because you are you … you do not need to be like others … this greatly opened for me options … and this opened for me horizons and broadened … the main thing is the self-confidence that would accompany me all the time … and that I can be special and do special things … only because of my personality … and I tell you, certainly, that if I were not in the bilingual school then I would not have such self-confidence, I am sure of it.”

A graduate summarized in general, maintaining that the main thing was the formation of the personality in the elementary school of the bilingual school. “The bilingual school was for me an experience that truly formed my personality … true this was only the elementary school and it was seven years ago now … but truly there are things that I will not forget and that remain with you … since this was not a regular school … truly I had great experiences.”

One of the methods and reasons for the formation of the student’s personality is the mutual relations between the teacher and the students in the bilingual school, in the opinion of some of the Arab graduates. Pride in the self, positive self-image, strong self-confidence, belief in the self – these all come from an equal system of relations between the teacher and the

students, which is respectful, understanding, and attentive. The teacher believes that every student is unique.

One of the graduates maintained that this is the secret of the formation of the student's personality in the bilingual school, since this does not exist in the regular school. "… As teachers who come to the school only to like you, and to give you confidence and to make your personality … and they do not come to frustrate you and not to traumatize you as happened to me in first grade in the public school in the village, when from the start everything is official and too serious…"

Another graduate added about the comforting mutual relationships that respect different opinions between the teacher and the students, the great strengthening of the student's personality. "The bilingual school … they work on the student's personality … I was from my childhood with a very strong personality … what they have in this school … it lets you not be ashamed or afraid to say your opinion and thoughts …"

To sum up, all the Arab graduates agree that one of the main sources for the formation of their personality is the learning in the bilingual school, with the others. According to some of the graduates, the recognition of the other culture is one of the important instruments for the reinforcement of the independent personality, which comes following the contact with and exposure to others, which enhances self-discovery and self-recognition even further. This would not have happened if they had studied in a single-nationality school, since their personal identity became prominent, especially with the contact with others.

One of the graduates said, "Listen, there is no doubt, in the bilingual school, there is influence not only on your national facet but also on the recognition of other cultures … and about one another … and unlike the rest of the schools, Arab and Jewish, in our school there is not only work on the national facet but also on the student's personality… we care about the student's personality, to be different … you learn these things without feeling yourself … you already acquire everything unintentionally … do you understand?"

Formation of the Student's National Identity

A finding on the formation of the student's national identity was a topic of considerable dispute among the graduates. On the one hand, most of the Arab graduates agree that one of the main sources for the formation of their national identity was the bilingual school. However, the findings indicate three additional arguments about the source of the formation of their national identity.

The first argument, one of the main sources for the formation of their national identity, without a doubt, was the bilingual school. This appeared as the main thing among the graduates who moved from elementary school in the bilingual school to a public Arab secondary school in their community. This finding is expected and not surprising, primarily following the repeated criticism from all the interviewees – teachers, parents, and graduates – that the Arab public schools are silenced and supervised by the establishment, which obligates them to adopt a "culture of silence" in all that pertains to the Palestinian national identity of the Arab student in Israel, who flees to form the religious identity as a type of "refuge" from the distress caused by the holes of emptiness (black holes in the opinion of the establishment) of identity versus the Arab students in the school. (This point will be discussed further in the continuation, in the escape to religion.)

For instance, one of the graduates maintained explicitly that the formation of the national identity was undertaken because of the bilingual school and not the opposite, as the rumor/stigma directed towards the bilingual schools as distorting the Arab student's national identity and in comparison to the Arab schools. "The bilingual schools are what strengthen the national identity for the students and not the opposite (as in the Arab schools) … they emphasize that you know what you are and what you need … regarding the Nakba, as a student you get it all … regarding Land Day, you get it all … they see to it that you will receive a clear picture about the events related to you … they tell details, we too learn about Jewish culture, like the Holocaust … and on this you grow up … on these topics … therefore I go every year to the Nakba Day and the Land Day … for instance in Sakhnin or Arava or Dir Hana … for instance, we would go to these ceremonies, in parallel Arab schools do not do this."

Another graduate continued that in her opinion the formation of the national identity is further enhanced with the other, because of the encounter with and exposure to the other. This forms and reinforces the personal and national identity. "I with the education in the bilingual school … over the regular Arab school … there will be Jews in it … since the relationship and interaction are what strengthens the personality … also the work on the formation of the identity and the interaction."

Another graduate concurred with this assertion and with the importance of the encounter with the other, since the very encounter with and exposure to the other, this very contact, are what emphasize the student's national and cultural identity. "I know myself and what I am since I learned with Jews, to differentiate from the Arab girls who learned in the regular Arab school and only with Arabs, I also know what the Nakba is … the Arab student

in the Arab school did not hear and learn about the Nakba … therefore, my identity is clearer than the identity of the Arab students who define themselves as "Arabs of Israel" … only … all that she knows … she does not know her identity truly, only that she is an Arab of Israel…"

Another graduate continued with the criticism of the Arab schools and the culture of silence and the creation of a generation that is "ignorant" of its identity, sharing the difficult experience she had in the transition to the secondary school of the regular Arab school, when she was forced to deal with the "ignorance" of the Arab students of their identity and when some of the students perceived her as "condescending". "For instance, if we speak about the national side, I remember in my lesson in civics in the tenth grade … that nobody knows who the president of the country is or who the prime minister is, they do not know the simplest things, they do not know what "Land Day" is … and what is … they do not know anything … the situation was as if I came from a background of bilingual education and coexistence (experimental school) when the goal of the school is not only to know the other but also we would insert the entire conversation of the Israeli Palestinian conflict in all the topics and layers … we would discuss this issue all the time … and I came to the students who do not know anything on the topic … this was aggravating … you feel anger when you look at them and you ask 'why don't you know these central essential things', this is perceived as if I am 'condescending' … but not, this is not because I am 'speaking through my nose' … the problem is that they do not know anything, and they do not have the desire to know … they did not demand to know … they do not have knowledge and they do not have the desire to know … they do not have this."

Do you think your previous school put forth an effort to shape the national identity of students? Do you think it is important to shape one's national identity?

What are the differences in the shaping of the national identity between the bilingual school and the school you attend now?

In addition, the "unique" routine trips of the bilingual school and/or the school community to the abandoned villages of 1948 in Israel, according to some of the graduates, were one of the main factors of the formation of their national identity. The assertion that these trips, in which both Arabs and Jews, both students and parents, participated was one of the main factors of the process of change in thinking both for Jews in the perception of the Palestinian narrative, for the strengthening and reinforcement of the national identity of the Arabs.

"This did, this influenced my identity ... here we are talking not only about the students but about society, since also teachers and parents were partners …everybody would come, big and small … everybody came to learn … the trips, everybody would be excited about these trips … since it was not hard … but … we grew up under the Israeli government … we belong to the Palestinian people …"

A second argument is that a large number of the Arab graduates maintained that the source of the formation of the national identity, in addition to the bilingual school, was primarily the home. The bilingual school presented to them the events of both narratives, the Palestinian narrative and the Israeli narrative, in an objective manner, so that every student would decide and choose his own "creed" and will form for himself his national identity accordingly. Therefore, the argument was that the school revealed the reality and the home constituted a source of assistance for the understanding of the narratives in-depth and for making correct decisions for the appropriate formation of the national identity of the Arab student.

For instance, one of the graduates asserted that the formation of the national identity comes primarily from the home, although the bilingual school presents the two narratives of the two peoples, the Palestinians and the Israelis, but the formation and the final "polishing" of the national identity, and what is correct and what is not correct, comes primarily after clarification at home. "The truth is that it is primarily the home. It is true that the school participated in the formation of the national identity and emphasized that each one should express his opinion and should speak about his identity without fear and say 'I am a Palestinian' and I am not supposed to be afraid of what my identity card is. Truly, from this perspective the school strengthens the student's personality to say his opinion without fears."

Another graduate continued and proved that the school is what is central and the principle for the formation of the student's national identity, through a personal example, as the only one of his brothers and sisters who learned in the bilingual school, when the siblings studies in the public Arab school. They all have same background and similar national identity, aside from the personal uniqueness that differentiates between him and the other siblings in the family. "And the family has a more important turn … but certainly the school provided me with a background … my siblings, for instance, did not learn in the bilingual school … they have the same knowledge I have … they do not know less than me … but I, unlike them, I have greater 'enthusiasm/belonging' than they do … I am more nationalistic … what is strange is that I am the opposite, although I was the one who studied in the bilingual school and with

Jews, I am more nationalist than they are … and more national belonging and identity than they have … for instance, racism. I am stubborn about my rights or the rights of the Palestinian people and I as a Palestinian who lives in the state … therefore the school is what forms the national identity … and not the opposite."

Another graduate continued that the formation of her national identity formed from the school reality that reflects the reality of Israeli society, where it is not important for the Arabs of Israel which identity they defined, always the Israeli identity will be a part of the definition of their national identity, asserting that the Israeli reality that includes two societies, Arab society and Jewish society, who live in the same state and its citizens of the state of Israel. It has impact on the formation of the Arab student's identity. "I define myself as a Palestinian Arab, a citizen of the State of Israel. From where does the formation of this identity come to me? I truly think that this came to me from the home, the intention, we eat Palestinian food, the everyday life routine is Palestinian … my native language is the Arabic language … I am an Israeli citizen too … and I am not ashamed of this … since in the end I have very good relationships with Jewish society, or in other words, I have Jewish friends …I go to all the chains in the mall but I also cannot say that I am completely Israeli, since I do not feel belonging, and symbols of the State are not connected to me … I think that education in general and the formation of the identity in particular come from the home … since when I deliberate something I ask my mother what I am supposed to do with such a situation … especially when this is related to the bilingual school, since in the bilingual school, we are exposed to many situations/dilemmas that we discussed in the class, and it is very important to have the support of the parents and the continuation of the discussion at home…"

Last, a small number of the interviewees voiced an extreme opinion and emphasized that the formation of the national identity in them occurred in principle form the home and far less than at home. "My identity is defined as a Palestinian in the State of Israel, and it formed in me primarily from the home and less from the school … since 'you' will not feel total belonging to the people … since in our school and to realize/fulfill the coexistence and to live a shared life and agreement … they will need to give up a number of things … since you cannot go to school and remain only 'Palestinian' and the State of Palestine … they also cannot be all the time to speak about Israel and the military … therefore … I would far more accompany my father to demonstrations and so on…"

A third argument is that a small number of adults maintained that one of the main sources for the formation of the national identity, in addition to the exposure of the bilingual school, was mainly the Arab private schools to which they moved in the secondary school.

The assertion of one of the graduates was that the bilingual school revealed to them the Palestinian narrative and the national events/days but the engagement in this was delicate and this in comparison to the engagement of the private Arab school in which she learned in the secondary school. "In the secondary school, which is a private Arab school, the vision of the school is to learn and to hold ceremonies about all the historical events of the Palestinian narrative. Correct, this is in a dictatorial manner, in other words, they decide everything, according to their vision, and do not seek the students' advice … for instance, like the lecture of Professor Mustafa Cabaha, trips to the villages abandoned in 1948, … I felt that in this private school they engaged in this in-depth extensively … in other words, the vision of the school is for their graduate to have full awareness of his Palestinian identity and they really worked on this heavily, clearly, openly, and well …"

Another graduate continued that the bilingual school caused the exposure to the Arab identity and culture in the contact with the other culture. However, in the private Arab school, in the secondary school, where there are Arabs from all the "communities" – Muslims, Christians, and Druse – the national identity was further enhanced and focused. "I, my national identity primarily, formed from the secondary school that I joined … it is true that the bilingual school exposed me to the Palestinian narrative, but the private school emphasized for me even more the national identity … since in the school there were not only Muslims but also Christians and Druse … I remember that we engaged much in national activities … for instance, once we went to a demonstration in Haifa … it is true that there were many problems with the teachers but on the other hand the teachers and the principal would tell us 'do what you want … for instance, the Druse participated the least in demonstrations … the truth is … I still in parts of my identity am 'lost' and in a dilemma … whether to recognize the State of Israel or am I a Palestinian Arab … I do not find myself, 'not here and not there' in my identity … but it is clear to me that in the private school I was more a partner and more active in national activities."

However, in the continuation of the assertion there is a contradiction between the definition of her identity and the dilemma in the definition of her national identity until today. Perhaps the exposure and the shifting experience, between learning with Jews in the elementary school and learning with Arabs from other communities (who are both similar to and different

from them) caused confusion in the formation of the final identity. Perhaps this is a sign of effective "growing up".

8.3.3 Difficulties, Dilemmas, and Personal, Social, National, and Scholastic Experiences of the Arab Graduates of the Bilingual Schools

- Have you ever experienced negative comments concerning your education in a bilingual school? (from your friends, another school)
- Do you think your previous school put forth an effort to shape the national identity of students? Do you think it is important to shape one's national identity?
- What are the differences in the shaping of the national identity between the bilingual school and the school you attend now?
- Has the school influenced your Palestinian/Israeli identity? How?
- What did the school do to influence your national feelings? (How were your roots/the history of your nation presented in the classroom?)

This section will present the difficulties, dilemmas, and personal, social, national, and scholastic experiences of the Arab graduates both in the bilingual schools and in the Arab public/private schools. It was found that the Arab graduates are exposed to a range of difficulties and personal experiences both in the bilingual elementary school and in the public or private Arab secondary school in the transition from the bilingual/binational school to the single-national school (aside from the students of Jerusalem, since the school is both an elementary school and a secondary school).

Exposure to Difficulties and "Unforgettable" Experiences in the Elementary School in the Bilingual School

Most of the difficulties to which the Arab students in the bilingual schools were exposed, as indicated by the findings, are for the most part on political topics and/or on national days, and especially in periods of crisis and "sensitivity" in political terms between Israel and the Palestinians in the territories. For instance, some of the graduates shared difficult experiences in the class/school, especially in the period of the "attacks/war" of the Israeli military on the Gaza Strip. The tension and the difficulty in the conversation in the class caused difficulty, misunderstanding, and/or erosion of the degree of "trust" in coexistence and a shared life, which were the values upon which the idea of the bilingual school is founded.

For instance, one of the graduates shared that, "… this is the time of the year when there was the war of 2006, the Gaza War, certainly … in a given situation … this even entered our

school … the topic was sensitive between the Jewish group and the Arab group … for instance, during the War of Gaza, I remember. I really tell you things that I remember … the Gaza War … there were some who said (one of the students) that if he were to enlist into the army, he would do this … then there was criticism on those, 'How do you believe in coexistence and say such things?' … these things … perhaps … certainly this caused tension among us … there was tension, this is not something you can ignore and continue onwards …"

Another graduate added about this difficulty that the Jewish teachers had a clear "position" sometimes in political situations. For instance, one of the Jewish teachers began to defend the position of the state towards the Gaza Strip, which did not give a feeling of equality on the part of the Arab students and did not represent the position of the Arab students, and one of the students was forced to stop and argue with the teacher on the position. "Once, when I was in the ninth grade … there was an Arab principal and a Jewish one … a Jewish teacher came into the class … this was perhaps in 2009, she began to talk about the perspective of the state … what is the status of the state … as if she is the representative of the state … and defends the state … and this is the right … I remember that there was at the time an argument that Israel had used weaponry that is prohibited internationally … so I began to argue with her … and there was the homeroom teacher standing behind her and writing on the board what we are saying … so I really laid into her … that she has no right to defend the country against the Hamas organization that is not a state … that there is a tremendous gap between the two sides … and there is a gap between the power of the missile of the Hamas and the power of the missiles of Israel, which are precise, strong, and destructive … there is no comparison … and I remember that the homeroom teacher of my class (Arab) really enjoyed listening to me how I speak and express my position forcefully … and even when I left the class he came to praise me …"

This difficulty is since the Jewish teacher does not represent a neutral/objective position but a subjective position that does not represent and/or take into consideration the Arab student. Moreover, this is a position that attempts to condescend, weaken, and emphasize the weakness of the Arab minority versus the Jewish majority. This finding is brought up by one of the graduates in her claim of a condescending attitude of one of the teachers on Nakba Day, when the Arab students decided to "strike" on that day.

"I do not forget … I was in the ninth grade with a Jewish teacher … and this was the day before Nakba Day … on which we decided that we the Arab students would not come to the school … we decided ourselves not to go … there was at that time the publication of an

announcement of a trip of 'return' to Palestine … and indeed they began to draw close to the borders … and a bus came from here … and the day after when we returned … I in any event do not like this teacher at all … she came to ask what we did and this was like a humiliation … that you were absent for no reason … for nothing … she wanted to clarify if we just sat at home or we did something good … and she began to ask one of us what we did, one answered that she was at the mall, and another did not know what … and I wanted to kill them for these answers … and when my turn came … I lied to her since she really angered me … and I told her I went on the bus of the 'return' to Palestine … I lied because I was so angry about her condescending attitude … that she would not think that all the class here is not serious … I wanted to get back at her and to restore our pride … she made me angry since she wanted to make us feel small and like nothing …"

In addition, one graduate shares a difficult experience, the death of Yasser Arafat, which was considered an important national event for him personally in particular and for the Palestinian nation and the Arab citizens of the State of Israel in general, when he was in the bilingual school. He saw the "clear" and visible happiness of the Jewish students at Arafat's death. "A very difficult experience … when for example Yasser Arafat died … I was in the fourth or fifth grade, we were very sad, and in parallel the Jewish students were very happy about this … I heard them speaking among themselves that they were happy that he is dead … and this is hurtful …"

This experience provides another example of the difficulty faced by the Arab students and perhaps by the Jewish students, in national and political terms and on national days, when each side has its pain and joy about the national event. Thus there is a dilemma and there is a difficulty – what is correct and incorrect, what belongs to me and what does not belong to me.

For instance, one of the Arab students shared the experience he had in the bilingual school that was caused following the "ignorance" of the national awareness. He shared a difficult and unique experience he had himself, when he was in elementary school and had not yet understood and/or internalized the meaning and difference between the national events, the Zionist ones and the Palestinian ones, and not the difference and meaning between the siren of the Holocaust and the siren of remembrance of the Palestinian people, and he stood silent on the Memorial Day siren, which caused "looks" from the Arab students who criticized him for this standing. "In the school, I remember … there was once … when I was in seventh or eighth grade … when at that time I did not yet know/understand the events (did not internalize) that this day (Memorial Day) is different … since always we would do everything together … I

remember that it was Memorial Day, and I stood silent … since I did not understand yet this thing … and then the Arab friends looked at me "differently" … and then I understood that something was not right … and then they explained to me what the difference between Holocaust and Memorial Day was … and then the Holocaust I understood and respected … and the opposite … this is a day that it is impossible for it to be regular and not to stand up … since here these are people who died / were murdered who did not do anything to humanity … the Memorial Day … the problem … this is one side (the Jews) do not see the difference between Holocaust and Memorial Day … but Memorial Day … it is at the expense of my people … most of the people who died in Memorial Day … they are people who fought my people … and therefore it is hard for me to understand this and to stand silent…"

Another difficulty in national terms that was mentioned during the interviews is the difficulty in the conversation about the pain of the Palestinian narrative of the "Nakba" and the pain in the Israeli narrative of the Holocaust. Some of the Arab graduates expressed their difficulty on this topic through the criticism of the Jewish people who experienced themselves "destruction" – Holocaust – in Germany and they themselves do this to the Palestinian people.

One of the interviewees shared this difficulty and tension on the topic, when one of the "survivors" of the Holocaust came to tell about her experience in the Holocaust. At the end of her story, one of the Arab students sharply criticized her that her people suffered destruction and how do they allow themselves to destroy another people (he referred to the Nakba and the Palestinian people). This criticism added fuel to the fire. "I remember that we were two classes, in a class there were more graduates than us, there was a student who brought her Jewish grandmother to tell us about her experience in the Holocaust … after she finished her story there was one Arab student who 'criticized' that he is also two years older than us and told her 'if you experienced all this experience / trauma in the Holocaust, you came to her to do another Holocaust' … this is clear criticism for us, but we still were children, I truly was in shock, the grandmother was in shock and began to cry … and the grandmother began to shake … I will never in my life forget this … listen, what he said I always say and believe, this is a people who experienced a Holocaust and trauma and came to my people to do the 'Nakba' and trauma … I believe in the rightness of his argument but not to say it directly to somebody who herself was in a Holocaust … therefore, I know from then that it is forbidden to engage in the pain of another person … and it is forbidden to ask him why and how? … since a person who has experienced trauma for him this is sacred …"

Another graduate added that the discussion and conversation on the Holocaust, for example, was accompanied by the understanding of the pain of the Jewish people but it was hard for some of the students not to reveal or to use the difficult truth against the other side. Sometimes it seems that perhaps the Jewish side is "not considerate". "I was in the seventh grade … at that time all the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades sit together … once it was on the Nakba Day … I remember on this day that I would argue and I would speak from above … and argue with the Jews who are older than I am … by a year … we argued and the argument was really fierce … and people left crying because of me."

The dropping out of the Jewish students from the bilingual school, especially in the Galil School and in Jerusalem, is considered one of the difficulties to which the Arab students are exposed. It caused all sorts of wonderings and dilemmas about the degree of honesty and willingness for the idea of coexistence and shared life.

A large number of the Arab students shared their difficulty with the dropping out of the Jewish students and unconsciously began to give explanations/excuses/reasons for the dropping out of the Jews (perhaps as a source of defensiveness). For instance, the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jewish students in Kfar Kara was at the beginning of the "establishment" of the school that had overcome this problem. However, the difficulty of the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jewish students was the most prominent in the transition from the elementary school to the secondary school, both in Jerusalem and in the Galilee. In the former school the dropping out of the Jewish students was relative and not sweeping, while in the latter school the dropping was very prominent and apparent and caused the closure of the middle school in the Galil School, which remained only with the elementary school.

For instance, the dropping out of the Jewish students in Jerusalem for the most part was because of the claim that the Jewish parents are "searching" for a better and achievement-oriented secondary educational framework. As a result of the fact that Jewish society has a large selection of excellent and achievement-oriented schools, unlike Arab society, where there is scarcely a selection among schools, especially in Jerusalem, there is increasing dropping out among the Jewish students as they grow older, especially with the transition to the high school.

One graduate stated that, "The dropping out of the Jewish students began mainly in the ninth and tenth grades … it is true that we would not discuss this among ourselves as students in the class but not officially with the schools or the teachers … but this was felt and prominent that the Jewish students dropped out from the class … most of the students of the class dropped

out … because the Jews have a large selection … in other words, they have the Leyada secondary school (a prestigious high school) … they do not just drop out … or because they do not believe in the idea of our school (the bilingual school) but because until the ninth grade they are with the 'bi' idea but from the tenth grade there are the high school matriculation examinations … and things begin to be more serious … and the student and the parents begin to search for a better school (in terms of achievements) so that he will get better grades … since here (in Jerusalem) in terms of the Jews there are better Jewish schools than here in terms of achievements."

To differentiate, most of the graduates from the Galil School maintain that the main reason for the dropping out is social and economic, since the transition of the school from the center of schools of Misgav to Kibbutz Ashbel caused the disconnection or distancing of the Jewish students from their friends in the schools of Misgav. Moreover there is no organized public transportation, like there is to Misgav.

On this issue, one graduate said that, "I divide my experience into two parts: the experience until the sixth grade and the experience from then to the ninth grade, since I have a very different experience, between the experience of the elementary school and the experience of the middle school, … and this is for a number of reasons … since until the fifth grade we were in the Misgav region … and then at the end of the year we moved to Kibbutz Ashbel … this move of the school from Misgav to Ashbel caused the dropping out of the Jewish students from the school … they preferred to learn in Misgav .. since their assertion is that their friends are in Misgav … since when they come to our school in Misgav there were buses with friends and other students who learn in Misgav … when they would finish elementary school the Jews would not continue in the middle school … it was hard for them, this transition … I felt the fulfillment of the principles and values of the school until the sixth grade, I lived this until the end, and I had a very very strong and good experience … and I with what I am today is following and mainly because of the education and teaching we obtained in the school and what we received from the teachers and the lessons … and also … from the reality with Jews and Arabs in the classroom … but in the sixth grade there was a completely different experience, we were in a class only ten students and only Arabs … there were no Jewish students in the class … therefore the experience in the second part of the school was very different …"

This quote indicates that the dropping out of the Jewish students influenced the school experience of the Arab students, a large number of whom apparently attempt and prefer "to

believe" that the dropping out of the Jewish students is a "technical" or "achievement-oriented" constraint and not from the lack of belief in the principle of the school and/or the coexistence and the shared life but some of the students after the end of school and the beginning of their studies in higher education and with life experience in the Israeli reality see and begin to "believe" that perhaps the dropping out of the Jewish students is not from technical or achievement-oriented or geographic constraints but from other reasons or from their "satisfaction" of the idea of coexistence and shared life and/or the "recognition" of the Jewish students that they cannot commit to the idea of the school. The expectation of the Arab students from the Jewish students is said directly or indirectly: not to serve in the military.

"The reason for the dropping out … but when I compare with the students of my sister's class … since in her class there remained a number of Jewish students … most of them stayed, the Jews … this is a few … this is as they say perhaps those who finally understood … and this in essence makes you think that perhaps there is another reason for the Jews who finished sixth grade and dropped out … they understand the issue and the idea … perhaps in the sixth grade they began to develop awareness and to understand the matter … perhaps they were not with the coexistence or that they … or they are not suited for the idea."

This graduate further added to her disappointment and the difficulty in the understanding of the reason for the dropping out of the Jews the difficult experience in the attempt to maintain contact with one of the Jewish students who was a good friend, who disconnected from her. "For instance, in my class there were two girls … although our class was large there were fifteen Arabs and fifteen Jews … I remained in contact only with two girls … understand the matter … from this entire group … I have a 'shallow' relationship with these two girls … in other words if one sees the other they say hello … this completely stopped … there is no news … and I remember that once I tried to add somebody who was a very good friend on Facebook … she did not accept me … this already says a lot … therefore … unfortunately…"

Difficulties and Experiences in the Arab Secondary School: National, Social, and Achievement-Oriented

The Arab students, the graduates of the bilingual school, are exposed to difficulties and difficult experiences in their transfer to the public secondary school or in public life in general. Most of the students who are graduates of the bilingual school felt strangeness and foreignness in the public Arab school in a reciprocal way: both in relation to the Arab students and in these

students relation to them. Most of the Arab graduates of the bilingual school felt that they are strangers in the Arab school and everybody is looking at them differently, both because of their different behavior and manner of speaking and arguing and because of their level of mastery of the Hebrew language. For instance, one of the graduates explicitly stated that the school atmosphere of the Arab school was strange and foreign for them. All the students know one another, except for them. The atmosphere is different and strange and caused some of the graduates not to want to continue the studies in the school. "On the one hand, I came from the Jewish-Arab school there the atmosphere was completely different. The teachers and the teachers' attitude are completely different, I had only one friend, who also learned with me in the bilingual school. We became friends since we do not know anybody there … therefore I and she felt like we came from another world … do not understand where we are and what things are … since everybody knows one another ... everybody came from the same elementary school … we felt foreign … it is true that we shared our difficulties in this coping with the principal … but she got tired of us since we complained so much … therefore, I had a period that I hated going to school … I would always come late to school and get punished for this … the truth was I did not want to go and to learn … and I begged my mother to register me to a school outside of our village … since there were students with us in the school who always mocked me … why am I like this? What is this that you learned with Jews? I really felt their mockery when they knew that I came from the bilingual school … this really greatly bothered me …"

Another graduate also maintained that in social terms it was hard for him in the transition to the Arab school in their community. He asserted that he and the rest of the class/school did not accept one another in a reciprocal manner. This was even more from his side towards them, since this school, unlike the bilingual, everything is done aggressively. There is no aggressiveness and violence in the bilingual school. "I felt that they also do not accept me … perhaps because I came from a different school … perhaps … since I did not adjust to them … this was mutual … but this came more from me, the inability to 'adjust' to the environment and atmosphere, which were violent and aggressive, everybody jumps on everybody .. they fight … and I did not grow up and was not raised with violence and I never saw this in the bilingual school … here, in the Arab school there is violence and there is no respect for one another …"

The adjustment difficulty of some of the Arab graduates in the regular/private Arab schools was accompanied at first with a feeling of loneliness. Some continued to feel social

loneliness and some over the years adjusted socially but still felt different. “I and another student were the only ones to come from the bilingual school, even at the older ages there was nobody from the bilingual school … this caused me to think that I have no solution other than to search for a school outside of the village … since I do not have a choice … I cannot continue to learn here … and my mother began to look for a school for me, in Nazareth, for instance, many girls from the bilingual school registered there … and unfortunately, they told my mother that they stopped accepting students from outside of Nazareth … this fact sent me into a terrible depression…”

In addition, one of the recurring difficulties to which the Arab graduates were exposed is the stigma on the graduates of the bilingual schools, socially, personally, and nationally. The personal stigma to which the Arab students were exposed, for instance, is the “widespread” rumor that they are insolent.

“For instance, there is an assertion about the Arab students who learned in the bilingual school that we have (laughs) ‘sharp tongues’ (insolent). What do they mean? They mean that we argue with them … and are not silent and ashamed and do not care about … sometimes they say to us laughing that you are ‘as insolent as Jews’ … and they say this since we say what we want … I for example when I was in the bilingual class they sent a delegation from our school to Italy since we belong to the Hand in Hand Association, in the Galil, in Jerusalem, and in Kfar Kara.”

Another graduate added that the mastery and the accent in the Hebrew language caused the direction of an attitude towards them of suspicion that they are Jewish and not Arab. This was even direct. “In the Arab school to which I moved after the bilingual school, where I had a negative experience, they told me to my face that I am a ‘Jew’ although I am not at all.”

Another graduate added about the interpersonal differences between the graduates of the bilingual school and the regular students, who would be astounded at the simple things and at the level of Hebrew. “They were shocked at simple things, such as how I know to speak Hebrew … or … they would not exactly look at me like a Jew…”

The stigma in national terms, to which most of the Arab graduates of the bilingual school are exposed, is the suspicion of the degree of feelings of belonging and loyalty to the Palestinian people. They are told directly or indirectly that they will become Israelis and that they will undergo Israelization and will forget their roots.

One of the graduates maintained that, “My family did not criticize, but my friends form the neighborhood or my old friends would tell me that you are learning from them and will be like them … what are you doing to yourself / what did you do to yourself … at first it was very hard for me to answer them, since I did not know what to say or how … but slowly I began to know how and what to answer them according to the situation … and I began to learn what I want to respond when they criticize me, for instance I would answer them: since the bilingual school is not how you think, but rather it strengths/forms the student’s personality, not like you think, destroying and trampling the personality … we in the bilingual school always search for the solution to the conflict of the two people, this is a school for peace … we search for solutions and do not make problems for one another … and for how to live together.”

Another graduate added that he is criticized for his national and political opinions, with people saying that he lives in a “dream”. “I for example receive considerable criticism about my opinions on coexistence. ‘I am not a Jew’, but I receive considerable criticism that I am too much, that I have a romantic political life … what is coexistence … not only is there ‘no chance but also this is not ‘moral-educational-cultural’ (insolent) … it is not socially acceptable … they tell me ‘you believe in coexistence in this situation with such racism … in the shadow of all these events?’”

Another graduate maintained that the stigma and suspicion of loyalty of the Arab graduates of the bilingual school are strengthened during the argument and in situations of political crisis, when the regular Arab students are not willing to listen to or hear the other side, since they are not accustomed to or exposed to this two-sided discourse. But conversely, the Arab students of the bilingual school have great experience in the discourse of the political issues, which gives them the “ability” to listen even to a discourse they do not agree with and to know how to listen to another. Therefore, this “model” of a student who listens to another and attempts to present the opinion of another who is “missing” (the Jew) appears to a large number of regular Arab students to be a type of “betrayal” or “disloyalty” or “Israelization” of the student.

One graduate argued that “In the seventh or eighth grade … I had really good mastery of the Hebrew language … since I came from the bilingual school … for instance, when there was the war on Gaza, and Hamas, and there were those who encouraged Hamas … and the firing of the rockets … and there were arguments between us on the topic … I and the rest of the students in the class, since I said that I do not believe in a solution with ‘weapons’ … I was told that I am a ‘Jew’, true the student who said this, just said it … but this remained with me

… and I will continue to remember it … since I was told that it is because I learned with Jews, for instance, there was in my class a student who was very nationalist, extreme … and when I argue with him on solutions he proposes ones that are not logical, for instance, there will be no State of Israel … and we will rule … he says to me I say that I learned with Jews … they think that my opinion on national/political topics is influenced by my learning with Jews … in other words, they suspect my 'loyalty' to my nation … the intention more is that I tend to the Jewish side and not the Palestinian side … as if I am not ok because of my opinions … and that I lived with Jews from first grade to sixth grade … and that they brainwashed me in the bilingual school … this greatly bothered me …"

To differentiate, some of the graduates had difficulties with the exposure of the "ignorance" in national terms in the Arab schools and sharply criticized to the school principals and their parents the Arab schools, the ignorance of the Arab students about the national events, and the "darkness" of national issues and events in the Arab student's identity in the Arab school conversation. They maintained that the graduates of the bilingual school are more nationalist, clearer-minded on the national and political topics, and this is opposite from the Arab students who learned in the single-nationality schools.

One graduate directed his anger at his parents, asking why the situation of the Arab schools is what it is, "ignorant and dark". "This argument was … why all this 'negligence' … this indifference … he answered me that we are found in limited schools, the ability to speak of things is limited … we do not have the ability and the right to speak about topics … for instance, the discourse about the Nakba that is routine in the bilingual school … this does not exist in the school in my village or in any other Arab school … sure, it is not permitted to hold in the Arab schools this ceremony … since it is prohibited in the Arab schools to do this."

Another graduate added criticism and disappointment and the difficulty to understand why the Arab schools do not mention and do not teach and do not develop awareness of the Arab students on essential national topics for the identity and the life of the Arab student. "I attempted to clarify in the school why there is no mention of national days … and nobody listened to me … the argument is that they are not accustomed to such discourse/topics … perhaps because our principal does not really care or is not really interested in political affairs … since she is not political at all … but this is a social problem … since all the students in my class (in the Arab school) do not know anything … they do not even know what the Nakba is … and what is the year 1948 … or … so much that they do not know anything and do not do anything … I, personally, I felt that from the seventh grade until the ninth grade … they did

not add anything … all in all, they gave more perhaps more 'knowledge' but the development of awareness and so on, nothing …"

Last, many of the Arab graduates of the bilingual school who moved to study in the Arab schools were exposed to pedagogical and achievement difficulties. The main assertion was that in the Arab schools the only emphasis is the competition in the transference of the quantity of material among the students and competition over achievements, and this is done in frontal and traditional teaching methods, without the student's involvement in the learning materials and/or the student's involvement in his opinions about what is learned, all the teaching methods are from top down, and the student's role is only to listen and agree. This difficulty derived primarily, according to most of the graduates of the bilingual school, from the different teaching methods in the bilingual school, where all the topics of learning undergo discourse and argument between the students and the principle of "meaningful" education was central.

Another difficulty the Arab graduates of the bilingual school faced when they went to the Arab schools is the sole and single emphasis of the school on the achievements and the advancement in the study material. The competition in tests and grades is the sole challenge of the Arab education system.

The graduates of the bilingual school maintained that the main thing for the Ara schools was achievements and the rest – the formation of the personal, social, and national identity – is completely marginal and does not even exist. One of the graduates noted the teaching method of the regular frontal Arab school that emphasizes only the transfer of knowledge, without the student's understanding and the internalization of the material, but only with learning by rote. "In the regular school, all the importance, all the emphasis is on achievement … they greatly emphasize the student's achievements … to differentiate, in the bilingual school the main thing is understanding … and they attempt different methods to explain the learning material until they are certain the student understands the material …"

Another graduate added that the Arab schools address the student as a machine of grades. If the student has high grades then he has value in the eyes of the school and the teacher and if his grades are low, then he has no value. "In the private school I moved to … to differentiate from the bilingual school … the emphasis was on the grades … how to get good grades, like a machine … you (the student) are not a person, you do not have feelings, and they

do not care about your opinion … what is important is the grades … and make the school proud with your grades."

Most of the Arab graduates repeated the assertion that they would be forced to go to the Arab school, they would go bored, they would go unwillingly, they would go without motivation, and this is different from the bilingual school. (This point is addressed in the section about the graduates' satisfaction with the bilingual school.) "In the Arab school it was all grades and learning/teaching … most important is the grades but there are other things that the Arab school must work on … in contrast to the bilingual school the most central thing is not grades … everything here is to learn and to learn and to learn".

One of the graduates added and shared one of the difficulties, also mentioned by other graduates. At the start of the transition to the regular school, the graduate made attempts to clarify, to ask the teacher about the topics of study, and this was met with indifference on the part of the Arab teacher, since it is "not" important and not part of the study material. In other words, the Arab schools repress the students' curiosity. "I could not get along with the teachers … for instance, when she would come to clarify the topics of studies, this is ok, but when I would want to ask in-depth about the material, this did not really interest them … I attempted to share with them my opinion on the study subject and they would not respond … in other words, their approach was such: if we learned the material, then enough digging into the topic … this we learned, we finished, we go to the next topic. … this was very depressing … I stopped asking questions … and I began to look myself what interests me and to satisfy my curiosity by myself … since they did not help me with anything."

The Arab graduates had a positive attitude in general to the manner of learning and teaching methods that place the student at the center of the learning and the meaningful learning. However, a few of the graduates had reservations about the learning, more regarding the Islamic religion lessons and less regarding the learning of the Arabic language.

In general, most of the graduates did not feel that the level of the studies and teaching in the bilingual school was low, but they heard this only from the social environment of the family and/or in their transition to the regular schools. For instance, one of the graduates maintained that in the walls of the school he does not remember that there was criticism or a negative attitude on the quality of the teaching or the students' achievements but he heard from society outside of the school that the bilingual school is weak in terms of achievements. "There was never criticism on the school but when I grew up certainly my mother began to say, and

my father, about the response that there was in the village to the school … the criticism was not in national terms but about achievements and academics … the argument was that they do not learn there…"

Another graduate continued that he heard criticism about the bilingual school as weak. "The level of the school was different … even the teaching methods of the bilingual school are different … this is a school that is less … since the Arab schools are more serious, rigid, forcing things on the student …"

To conclude, the common thinking in Arab society, which the Arab graduates in the bilingual school heard, is that in the bilingual schools they only "play around". "After a number of years … my mother somehow said that at the beginning of the start of the school it was commonly heard in the village that in this school people most of the time play around, and do not learn seriously … all the time they have activities …"

But among the absolute majority of the Arab graduates, the position on the quality of the teaching and achievements is not unequivocal. Many of them argue that this is in comparison to the public Arab school, which is pressuring in terms of studies and does not take into account the students' comprehension in the transmission of the study material or does not provide an answer to the questions on the study topic asked by curious students, where the teacher and the school address the Arab student only as a "machine for grades".

This will be addressed in the following section that discusses the satisfaction of the graduates with the bilingual school, including their satisfaction in academic and achievement-oriented terms.

8.3.4 Satisfaction of the Arab Graduates of the Bilingual Schools

The interviewees, the Arab graduates of the bilingual schools, were asked the following question: What is your attitude towards the bilingual school and what is your sense of satisfaction with it?

This section will present the perception of the sense of satisfaction of the graduates in the three bilingual schools in the formation and empowerment of the student's personality, the formation of the national, cultural, and religious identity, education and enrichment for education for humanistic values, and in terms of pedagogy and achievement and the mastery of the Hebrew language as a native language (satisfaction and ability to cope that are unique to the students of the bilingual school).

The graduates expressed a great sense of satisfaction from all perspectives: personally, socially, nationally, and pedagogically. However, a small number of the Arab graduates had less pedagogical satisfaction with the studies of the Islamic religion. (This will be discussed further in the chapter of criticism and recommendations).

The majority of the Arab graduates in the bilingual school expressed their satisfaction primarily when they began to compare between the bilingual school and the regular Arab school, at the time of their transfer from one school to another. In contrast, the graduates who learned only in the bilingual school found it difficult to express their satisfaction, since they did not experience another school but identified the differences and advantages of the bilingual school, and this in their friction with the students who learned in the regular Arab schools, who would compare and clarify from one another how things are in the two schools.

Satisfaction in the Formation and Reinforcement of the Student's Personality

One of the interviewees shifted from the regular school to the bilingual school in the fifth grade and studied there until the eleventh grade. He maintained that he remembers himself in his childhood as "weak" and having poor self-confidence, and today he has the ability to express himself and self-confidence only because of his learning in the bilingual school. "First, my entire personality was, and I will say honestly … I had a weak personality … I was afraid to speak … or to express my opinion … in the previous school it was very rigid and there was great 'stifling' of the students … and if I were to say my opinion there, it would be received with indifference … since the principle there is 'you come to the school to listen and to learn ... and you do not need to speak.' However, in the bilingual school, even in the middle of the lesson, the lesson is stopped if there is a student who wants to say something. The student is given a 'place' to talk, not only the teacher … the student is allowed to express himself now … this thing has importance since the student must have a strong personality, needs it … and needs to be taught how to speak … it is not important how, in speech or in writing or in drawing … their method in the bilingual school, they accept each person how he is and care about his personality … I myself experienced a total change, how I was to how I became … in this school … I became a completely different personality …I speak and express my opinion freely and confidently … in the bilingual school they form and strengthen the student's personality … very greatly … they build a person already from a young age and teach us how to cope in certain situations and how to address others …"

Another graduate expresses satisfaction with the bilingual school, especially following a conversation that lasted the year in actuality. According to the graduate, this developed his personality and thinking at an early age, and only now he realized this, that the conversation and discussions that occurred in the classroom about the national days and about the current events, such as the War in Gaza, caused experience and the development of a personality and the understanding that not everyone has the same opinion. "For instance, the Gaza war … we were in school in class … and the conversation on the Katyusha rockets and the children of Gaza … now when I go back in my thoughts and look … this is truly an unusual experience for a student in sixth grade … but it is good in this matter or these things that the one/the student begins to understand and know … and I always say that the person will not know himself, if he does not meet the other person … know yourself and your identity more when you are in friction and are different from you … in other words, if I were to learn in a school only with Arabs I would not have formed the personal identity …"

Another graduate continued that he felt the differences in personality between him and the regular Arab students, in his transition to the regular school, where it was felt that graduates of the bilingual school are more impressive as graduates and understand more in all that relates to social and political life. Even the Arab students in the regular school told her that she sounds more mature than her age. In the bilingual school the personality and personal opinion formed in all the areas … how did I know this, since when I would say my opinion in any field … especially in the seventh and ninth grades and my peers in the class would tell me 'you are more mature than your age' … in the bilingual school, true, I formed my personality and I learned much that helped me … and also what is nice in the bilingual school is that they have 'freedom of choice' … since in the bilingual school I came out aware of my personal identity, I became possessed of a strong personality … I came out of the bilingual school clever and with considerable awareness about what happens in the country from a political perspective and more … something that does not exist in the Arab schools … and thus I began to express my opinion in different issues and thus I had self-confidence to speak and to express my opinion, without fear or concern … and all this from the bilingual school, in the bilingual school they begin life in the right way …"

Another graduate continued that in the bilingual school because of the exposure to and contact with the other at an early age, your personal identity is strengthened, and the difference between you and the other person is discovered with the support and encouragement of the school to do this in the correct way, with all the self-confidence, for the formation of a proud

personality that is confident in the self for what it is. “They claim that in the Arab schools you will know yourself more, I say the opposite, in other words, because I lived and learned with Jews I knew who I am and the difference between us, what is permitted for me and what is prohibited, and for them what is permitted and what is prohibited … the exposure is already from a young age … and the school provides reinforcement and confidence in the personality on the one hand since already from the first or second grade we would represent the school … in other words, there is self-expression for the student … already from the first and second grades what we would like or did not like, we would go to the teacher and tell her this … you will not find this in any Arab school, in my opinion … perhaps the situation in the schools of the Jews is different … since in no school will they ask you (as a student) what your opinion is … or what did you like or not … or what would you want … and thus, in essence, already from the first grade in the child in the young grades it is instilled to express his opinion and to be heard … in other words, already from the first grade you are encouraged that you must form an opinion and this is the most important thing in itself…”

In addition, most of the graduates maintained that the secret to the formation and reinforcement of their personality is the idea of the unique school but also a positive system of relationships, equal and respecting, between the teacher and the student. The teachers in the bilingual school take the student into consideration, provide support of his personality, encourage his self-expression, and this reinforces the student’s self-confidence. “What is nice in the bilingual school is that all my experiences in it were happy and good … I do not remember one single negative experience … since you have the teachers who come to love you, to give you self-confidence ... to form your personality … and not like in the regular school, to suppress you … or to traumatize you, as I already was in the first grade …”

To conclude, most of the Arab graduates of the bilingual school expressed their satisfaction with the formation of their personality, without fear or concern. The school developed in them self-confidence to express their opinion and to express themselves freely. “I feel that the bilingual school gave me the confidence that I will say that I am “Palestinian” and I will know who I am and know myself … and that I will have confidence … and this is how I am … and if the person in front of me does not like what I define myself as … I no longer care … since this is my life and this is the truth that is in me…”

Satisfaction in terms of the Formation of the National-Cultural, and Religious Identity – Informal Education

The Arab graduates expressed complete satisfaction in terms of informal education in the bilingual school in the national, cultural, and religious fields, to differentiate from the regular Arab schools that do not engage in the topic at all or in the private Arab schools.

Satisfaction in National Terms

It was found, for example, that all the Arab graduates who went to learn in the public Arab schools expressed great disappointment with the public school, as opposed to high satisfaction from national, religious, and cultural perspectives in the bilingual school. This was expressed by many of the students who were satisfied with the bilingual school, where all the truth is exposed to them, without distortions or disruptions, and they will decide, and this fact, according to most of the graduates, makes them 'adult' and they understand more than the children of the same age who learned in the regular school who are 'ignorant' primarily in national topics. A few of the graduates maintained that they felt that the reality in the bilingual school is like a bubble, since the exposure to the Israeli reality shocked them or surprised them.

For instance, one of the interviewees who studied in the elementary school in the bilingual school and then for secondary school shifted to the regular school in the village expressed the satisfaction about the informal education in the bilingual school and the education for national identity, in comparison to the public Arab school, which does not address at all the topic of the national identity or has no informal activity for national days, when despite the criticism on their part towards the school management, the criticism did not find a listening ear. "Now I will start from this point, you are given much information … for instance, in the regular school I do not remember that they ever spoke with us or did activities on the national days … for instance, on the Nakba that is from the days that must in every Arab school be mentioned and an orderly and organized ceremony must be held. No, they are afraid … perhaps not afraid, they are not even interested … what this principal is interested in is only grades … this is like a factory for achievements."

The significant and prominent difference between the bilingual school and the public Arabic schools, according to most of the Arab graduates who moved from the elementary school in the bilingual school to the public Arab secondary school is the establishment and organization of the ceremonies for the national days. On the basis of this move and this traumatic experience of all the Arab graduates who moved to the regular/public school, they

expressed total satisfaction with the national days in the bilingual school and strong disappointment with the Arab schools for the total ignoring of these national days. For example, one of the graduates expressed satisfaction: "For instance, in the bilingual school there was … in every year we would hold a ceremony for the Nakba … we had the right every year to remember the Nakba, as something with a right, organized, arranged every year … this is not found in my village school or in any other school … certainly, it is not possible that the Arab schools will hold this ceremony."

Another graduate added about his satisfaction about the preparation and organization for the national days organized in the bilingual school for both peoples, to the same extent for the same right with the same respect. "We, I remember … every year … there was never a year … that there was no discourse and discussion about the day – the national event … there was always a conversation … we would discuss in all that is related to the Arabs and Jews … every society, every people … this was always … in every year we did trips to the villages that were conquered in the year 1948 or 1967 … the 'abandoned' ones … nothing was missing in this subject … everything was revealed … the entire narrative."

Another graduate added a very important facet on the national days, which was also considered one of the good "factors" that were obtained in the graduates' satisfaction, the giving of reciprocal right and respect that every side/people can talk and present its narrative but with consideration of the other side found in the class. "When we would talk about political issues … we would know that the other side has another opinion … you will learn over time … to refine the conversation, to refine/lower the tones … you will learn how to talk … you will understand that there is another side … you will understand that not everything is 'white' … you can say all that comes to you … but the question is how you will say this … you know … practically … this was not so very good and nice … when speaking about the Gaza war or … the events of the year 2010."

In addition, it was found that a large number of the graduates expressed satisfaction with the bilingual school, following the sharing of difficult experiences that happened to them in the outside Israeli reality, which received support and encouragement and a first level so as to 'compensate' this student from the harm caused. For instance, one of the graduates shares a very difficult experience that he had in the neighborhood, when on the Nakba Day (a sad day of mourning for Palestinians) he decided to wear black clothes with a *keffiyeh* (a traditional Middle Eastern headdress, a Palestinian symbol) for the school as a type of expression of his emotions on this day. However, on the way to school he was arrested by policemen, because

of his clothing, and he was forced to return home to change his clothes, but he waited until they left and went to school as he was. When he came to school, he shared with the teacher what happened, and he received support and encouragement about what the police did, and this caused the graduate's satisfaction with the manner of the response and the attitude that respects the other's opinion and the remembrance of the national days/heritage of the other side. "After they told me that it is forbidden for me to dress like this … and I must remove the *keffiyeh* … although this is a part of my Palestinian identity … and I know that it is forbidden for them to do this to me and/or to forbid me to wear what is comfortable to me … they forced me to go home and change clothing … I told the parents what happened, and nevertheless I continued with the *keffiyeh* to the school … and I shared with them what happened to me … and they the opposite … they supported me … and they made a big deal of it and made my story into an "event" that even reached the news on television at that time…"

To differentiate, it was found that many of the graduates who learned in the private Arab schools believed that the private school completed the "formation of their national identity" and helped them more understand and form correctly the personality. They gave more of an answer to specific questions regarding the national identity that the bilingual school did not emphasize or accentuate for the students what national identity to adopt but in the bilingual school there was exposure to all the events for the two nations and it let the student decide his way/identity although criticism was voiced from one of the graduates that the private schools a little radicalize the political opinions, which makes it harder, in their opinion, for the Arab students to integrate and continue in Israeli society. In addition, the Arab graduates who learned in the private schools (which are for the most part church/Christian schools) expressed less satisfaction with the cultural-religious education, which barely mentions/teaches or does not mention/teach the culture and religion of Islam, and this is different from the bilingual school, which according to a large number of the graduates does develop and educate, relatively more, for the religion and culture of Islam.

To differentiate from the previous findings, it was found that for a small number of the Arab graduates, especially those who moved to a private Arab secondary school, their satisfaction with the formation of the national identity and the organization and planning of the Palestinian national days is greater in the private school and less in the bilingual school. However, they still expressed satisfaction with the bilingual school, but they felt more satisfaction in the private Arab schools, both in the response on the national days and on the formation of a clear and not vague national identity, as in the bilingual school. The argument

was that in the bilingual school they present you with all the information and expose you to two narratives, so that every student can choose his way and belief, so that the Arab graduates are forced to continue and clarify what is correct and not correct in terms of the formation of the national identity at home. However, in the private schools they succeeded more in providing a response and an unequivocal answer that you are Palestinian and your people are Palestinian.

For example, one of the graduates on the one hand expressed satisfaction with the bilingual school and the private school with a 'little' criticism of the private school because of their extreme position. "I feel that the private school too … there is a little radicalization … and thus … since it makes it difficult for the students to fit into Israeli society … in my opinion, the school is like a bubble, as there is in the bilingual school … for instance, in my opinion the bilingual school is not realistic and when they compare it to Israeli reality that stop their ears from hearing about the Nakba but in the bilingual school they do listen and respect (and this is a contradiction) … since according to law it is forbidden to say the word Nakba … therefore in my opinion the change begins from above … the bilingual school was the best choice as a private school since the number of students is low and this is the consideration that my parents took into account."

Satisfaction from the Cultural-Religious Perspective

Most of the Arab graduates expressed satisfaction from a cultural-religious perspective in the bilingual school more than satisfaction with the private schools (the church-operated schools) that nearly ignore the Islamic culture. For instance, one of the Arab graduates who moved to learn in a church-operated school maintained that ironically in the bilingual school and with the Jews you are allowed to hold ceremonies on the Islamic holidays, like the Jewish ones, unlike the church-operated schools, which hold only ceremonies for the Christian holidays. "In the school we would celebrate Christmas, we would celebrate most of the Christian and Muslim religious holidays, but the emphasis is on the Christian holidays."

In addition, the argument was also that the bilingual schools have mutual respect for culture and values of religion. To differentiate, the private church-operated school did not have respect for the values of the culture of Islam, for instance, the wearing of the hijab, which was argued that in the bilingual school they respect this as a part of the student's identity, while in the private Christian school this was prohibited and there was a great scandal about a student who came to the school wearing a hijab. "Ah, I remember that it was also prohibited in the

school for the female students to have a hijab … and somebody in my class once put on a hijab … and there was a mess in the school … following this."

The irony is that some of the graduates expressed satisfaction with the religious cultural education in the bilingual school, even more than in the public Arab schools. They stated that at least in the bilingual school on every religious holiday there would be a celebration, like the holidays of the Jews: "… for instance, from experience, my school in the bilingual school, where we would celebrate the Islamic holidays and the national holidays … and we would also celebrate the Jewish holidays, like Hanukkah … they would light candles and we also in the time of the Haj we act out the Kaaba[46] in the class and we do the Haj ceremony … and the same thing for Passover."

Another graduate continued that in comparison to the regular Arab school, where they barely hold a respectable ceremony for one holiday, since in the opinion of the Arab schools the organization of religious ceremonies is a waste of time. "I barely remember that in the Arab school there was informal education or ceremonies … perhaps perhaps once a year there is one religious ceremony and this is for the most part on the 'Day of the Prophet Mohammed' ... and 'Health/Sport Day' … I do not remember more than these ceremonies … not even the organizing students but the school staff … something that is very different from the bilingual school, in every religious holiday or national day, the teachers with the students together organize ceremonies, with full cooperation between us."

Satisfaction with Humanistic Education and the Enrichment of the Humanistic Values

The graduates expressed satisfaction with humanistic education, education for values, the principle of the student at the center, and the model of respectful mutual attention in all systems of relations in the school: teacher-student, student-student, and principal-student.

For instance, one of the graduates expressed his satisfaction with the humanistic education of the bilingual school, when no other school or Arab school does this, and does not educate/raise the students this way, only the bilingual school, and this makes them unique, since the learning together and the contact with another, lets the graduates from both sides to undergo experiences. "From an early age they teach us how to love one another and not hate one another only because of what you see on the television. Not every Jew wants your land,

[46] The Kaaba is the most sacred site in Islam. During the Haj the pilgrims circle the Kaaba seven times in a counterclockwise direction.

and not every Arab is a terrorist! We learned how to address people as human beings and not to refer to religion, race, or sex."

Another graduate added that one of main values learned in the bilingual school, already from a young age, is education for multiculturalism, which includes reciprocal respect and acceptance of other people's opinions. "… and you learned to respect and to accept the other nation … and you also received all that you need to learn from the school from a pedagogical perspective … in other words, the reason you came to the school you received … and nothing was missing … moreover … you also acquired other things … you knew co-existence and the Hebrew language and … even if you came to the school not to respect the other side … and not to accept … in the end the student acquired humanistic and humane values."

One of the main values transmitted in the bilingual school, with which the Arab graduates are satisfied, because of the Jewish-Arab / Israeli-Palestinian conflict, is the right of every nation to tell its narrative, without harm to the other, and also the chain of the idea of the necessity of a shared life and coexistence between the two peoples. One of the graduates maintained that, "On the Day of the Nakba, which is Independence Day, we would divide into Jews and Arabs and everybody would do what he wants without harming the other … since we learned that it is possible to live together without hurting and fighting. It is just land and everybody can do and believe what he wants and to do what he wants without fighting."

For instance, one of the graduates expressed his satisfaction with the bilingual school and called the graduates of the bilingual school "special", because the experience in the bilingual school is not like the experience in any other school, not Arab and not Jewish and no other school can give it. Only in the bilingual school do students meet and come into contact with the other, and this develops at a very early age for the students value of listening. "This school was a completely different and wonderful experience and only the students of the bilingual school will understand it! This is something that unites us and makes us different from others. Every graduate of the bilingual school has experienced something that nobody has experienced, as learned things it is hard for other people to learn if they did not grow up in such an atmosphere or were not a part in it."

Another graduate further added about the uniqueness of the students/graduates of the bilingual school – that they have greater ability to listen to the opinion of another person who is different from them than regular students. They expressed their satisfaction about the ability to listen that came only from the bilingual school, which over the years taught them to listen

and to respect the other person and his opinion. “For instance, when I compare between me and the Arab student who did not study in the bilingual school, the regular student is not willing to listen to the other side, since perhaps he is afraid that this will erode the opinion he believes in … so I am not like this, I am different from them, I like to hear everything … and I am willing to hear about the pain of the mothers whose children died during their service in the military in the attack on Gaza … in other words, I have the strength and the ability to listen to things that it is hard for you to accept … since I know and am sure that listening to another person will not erode my opinion … from my perspective I listen to the other person and that is all … in other words, I do not agree with him but I understand the pain … since we in the bilingual school already from a young age have begun to express our emotions with the Jews and we saw them, and we understand them … and we have greater understanding of his position … and certainly we can feel with the other person.” The implication is that the contact with the other person facilitates the understanding of the other person to a greater extent and promotes the importance of the shared value of life.

Satisfaction from a Pedagogical Perspective, the Conditions of the Bilingual School, the Teacher-Student Relationships, and the Acquisition of the Hebrew Language

Another graduate who learned in the elementary school only in the bilingual school and in the secondary school shifted to the regular school in the village expressed satisfaction with the bilingual school in terms of the conditions of the school and the class. The graduate maintained that in the bilingual school there is a small group with two teachers, and this enables every student to express himself and to participate in the lesson, to differentiate from the regular school where there is a large group that does not allow every student in the lesson to share his opinion. Moreover, most of the teachers in the Arab schools are rigid and traditional, placing the teacher at the center and the student at the margins in the learning process. To differentiate, the bilingual school places the student at the center. “In the regular school … I was at first in shock, since there are forty students in the classroom … in the bilingual school we were a small group and one or two teachers … in the regular school the student is not allowed to speak … and even if you asked for permission to speak, the chances are that you will not be allowed to speak … there is no self-expression or expression of opinions of the student … the student is not listened to … and it is exaggerated and completely opposite to the bilingual school … in which the student is in the center, and the student is always allowed to express himself and to say his opinion … the student’s personality is always a topic of concern, as is the reinforcement

of his personality … there is no such thing that the student wants to say something and will be received with indifference … in the regular school the student does not have value …"

Another graduate added about the satisfaction with comfortable class conditions. "There were half Arabs and half Jews … the class was not large ... in the class there were 30 students, 15 Arabs and 15 Jews … even the structure of the school was different, two teachers, an Arab and a Jew … it was very surprising but as a first experience I was very impressed by where I am found … thus was my transition to the bilingual school."

One graduate mentioned the satisfaction with the different and unique teaching methods of the bilingual school, in comparison to those of the regular Arab school, which is rigid and coercive in teaching, unlike the bilingual school, where education is meaningful and the student is at the center. The outcome was that the Arab students hate the school and she felt this during her move from the bilingual school to the Arab secondary school. In the bilingual school the students go happily to school and are motivated. "I began from the second grade … I was the first year in my village (first grade) … the level of the school was different … even the teaching methods of the bilingual school were different … this is a school that is of less quality … since the Arab schools are more serious and rigid, forcing things on the student … this causes alienation and the students flee from the school … and this is truly what I felt at the time of the shift … I felt this really when I moved … you go to the bilingual school from desire and not from compulsion."

One graduate added about the graduates' satisfaction with the bilingual school. The main thing is that in the bilingual school, unlike the regular schools, there is not only the transfer of information and knowledge but also the student's understanding and internalization of the learning materials. In the bilingual school they attempt to teach with contemporary teaching methods and not the traditional method. "It is clear that in the regular schools no importance is ascribed to activities and to informal education … there the main thing is primarily the student's achievements … but in the bilingual school the methods of teaching and learning reflect the concern how to convey the knowledge to the students and to ascertain that the students understood the material … and were willing to repeat the material another time if it is necessary to the understanding of the lesson … and even would use the homeroom teacher to help explain … for instance, when I began to study here, in the class … I had no idea in the Hebrew language, and I remember that they assigned to me a teacher to be with me and to work intensively with me on the Hebrew language, so that I could advance along with the rest of the class … therefore, I do not have bad memories of the bilingual school, the reverse

is true, everything is positive and enjoyable … and there are also many challenging subjects of study, such as on the Nakba Day and Land Day … where they prepare materials and activities … not like in the Arab schools that ignore these days totally … since it is forbidden."

In addition, most of the graduates expressed satisfaction with the school curricula of the bilingual school, when these unique educational programs not only enriched them in knowledge and pedagogy but also extended horizons and awareness in life. "We had, for example, a unique lesson in the bilingual school, which was titled 'The Cables of Thought' … it is a lesson of thinking games alone … this is something not found for the Arab students in the Arab school … we also learned, like, Yoga … I for instance studied Yoga in the bilingual school … they give you certain things/tools considered simple perhaps in your eyes … but for us, as students, this was more and this had greater importance."

Another graduate added about his satisfaction in pedagogical terms with the bilingual school, with the variety of the learning contents, which are not routine but are unique only to the bilingual school and do not appear in the regular Arab school. "When I went to look at the bilingual school when I was in the first grade, it was clearly felt that the atmosphere was different and unique in the bilingual school … and I said these are students who live (they have fun) since they are also learning but are learning nicer things … my intention by nicer things is that they do many activities … they learn new things and not only learn from books … and not only according to the format of the Ministry of Education … in other words, they do not only learn knowledge and do a test of the knowledge and that is all."

In addition, the absolute majority of the Arab graduates expressed satisfaction with their level of mastery of the Hebrew language, which always impressed their fellow students in the class and also greatly helped them adjust and succeed more in higher education, which requires a high level of the Hebrew language, which most of the students do not have this advantage of this mastery of the Hebrew language and thus they were unique in the eyes of the Arab students in higher education. "They would be enthusiastic over the simple things, like, for example, how I know to speak Hebrew … they would look at me like I am 'strange' … until today even when I am in the university … the language, as a language I know it far better than students who are in year four or year five of the university … and they still look at me with a glance, 'strange how you speak Hebrew' … (as a first year I speak Hebrew better than the senior students), at my accent … and primarily things … I never felt that they look at me like a 'Jew' … perhaps because I forced them … in other words, the person is the one to direct the type of reference to him."

Another graduate emphasized satisfaction with the bilingual school following the mastery of language that greatly helped him in the studies in the institutions of higher education, where the difference between him and the Arab students in the university was prominent in the mastery of academic language. “It was clear that my mastery of the Hebrew language and my accent that is totally Israeli … caused many times for the Arab students with me in the class to ask me whether I am Arab. Since it was strange for them how I speak with the lecturers and argue with the Jews sometimes … it was prominent that I have a high level of mastery of the Hebrew language relative to them …”

8.4 Recommendations and Suggestions for Improvement – Criticism

This chapter will discuss at length all the criticism towards the bilingual school, when the goal of the criticism was to “decode” the recommendations and suggestions for improvement, whether they were explicit or implicit. The criticism and/or the recommendations for improvement in the bilingual school address all the informants of the bilingual schools – the school in the Galilee, the school in Jerusalem, and the school in Kfar Kara: the teachers (and principals), the parents, and the graduates.

This chapter will attempt to present the criticism and recommendations for improvement chronologically and in terms of the importance according to most of the informants, or in other words, from the assertions that most frequently recurred in the interviews.

1. Achievement – To invest more: weak Arabic language, weak Islamic religion.
2. Dropping out of the Jewish students.
3. Deficient/inadequate marketing
4. Difficult employment conditions: To improve conditions and reduce the load
5. Unsuitable teachers: Academically or ideologically
6. Neutrality and exaggeration in the presentation of the narratives
7. Exposure to the Israeli reality – A bubble
8. Reality shock
9. Confusion in the identity
10. Importance of the monitoring of the preservation of friendships between Arabs and Jews after the end of school.

8.4.1 Achievement – To Invest More: Weak Arabic Language, Weak Islamic Religion

Many of the interviewees recommended improving the level of the school academically, since in their opinion many students drop out, especially in the transition to the secondary school. Some Arab parents and mostly the Jewish parents begin to search for their children for quality education frameworks, when the children begin the academically important stage that is critical to their academic future, especially since the parents who enroll their children in the bilingual school are parents who are more established financially. "Generally the Jews come from upper class families, and therefore they reach the stage where they do not find for the child a quality educational framework and even there are Arabs who also remove their children and send them to the Jewish schools of the elite, and the level of study there is very strong and high, such as Givat Rahm."

Another interviewee added that in terms of achievement the school is not really on a high level. However, what compensates for this situation and instills satisfaction is the informal education, which reflects strong investment. "In academic terms it is not very high, and this is from my personal experience, in terms of achievement it is not very high, but in parallel they have many informal and educational activities … therefore I generally say that I am satisfied with the school."

In terms of the quality of teaching and the achievements, there were clear differences of opinion regarding the quality of teaching. Some of the parents asserted that the quality of the teaching is very good. For example, one interviewee said, "I am very very satisfied with the teaching and with the informal education, the formation of the personality … in terms of the teaching it is correct … there should not be teaching through learning by rote … rather they work more on the understanding, they give tasks to search and investigate … at home … they give the child the space in which he can collect information … there is a border for everything … this is not 'without borders' … but the student is given room to search … and to clarify from the parents … once they had an assignment and they went to ask their grandfather."

Unlike this parent, another parent maintained that the quality of the teaching was slightly worrisome at the start of the path. "… and in pedagogical terms … in terms of achievement … there was no infrastructure in scientific terms … as a father I had … I do not remember why I said to learn material … I remember that in the first year he did not know to read and I waited to the following year … in terms of achievement it was not so prominent or

important … even the report cards, they are not report cards of grades but certificates of assessment… for instance Arabic, the assessment is how he reads words and so on … or how much he can solve in mathematics … this is not a report card to present to the neighborhood or to society … like other parents, Arab society is also … the mother takes the report card to show off … you know what I am talking about … this is not something that I am 'imagining' … the report card is not to show off … but what he is and what his abilities are … and how it is possible to improve…."

An important finding that can explain the criticism voiced about the quality of the teaching is found in the assertion of one of the parents. " … some of the teachers, in my opinion, are not suitable … this is professionally, in terms of personality they are all excellent … some of them professionally are supposed to improve or to take an in-service training course … and the curricula, in my opinion they … the Hand in Hand Association is responsible for the building of the curricula … and I as a father am satisfied with the curricula, it is diverse, it has different topics, the students are really benefiting from it … and they also realize some of their desires and inclinations, especially with the recent extracurricular courses they offered … in general … I ask and clarify with my children about the school … I feel that the children are really happy … they go gladly to school and do not need to be forced … they are very serious, and energetic."

Regarding the studies of the Arabic language, the argument was that the Hebrew language is more dominant among both the Arab students and the Jewish students and the Arabic language is weaker among the Arab students and definitely the Jewish students. "From all the national and social terms there is equality between Arab and Jewish students but in terms of language Hebrew is more dominant … this for instance can be one of the negative things … since they absorb the Hebrew language rather quickly and easily, the Arabs master Hebrew as a native language, but the Arabic language is broken."

However, there were differences of opinion regarding the sense of satisfaction with the studies of the Islamic religion, when most of the interviewees maintained that they conveyed the important ceremonies/holidays in the Islamic religion but not in enough depth. Therefore, one person maintained that he is forced to assume upon himself the responsibility to fill in what is missing in the studies of the Islamic religion at home. "… they would teach him in the school about the Islamic religion … but I continued with him at home … what he was missing I gave him."

Another interviewee added criticism about the studies of the Islamic religion and the recommendation that it is preferable to work on this more, "In terms of religion, at first there are many things that are in common with the Arab schools, but not on the level of the Arab school, I personally would prefer that they would work on this more, since I at home do not get to it and do not do this."

Another interviewee added that the religion lessons teach about the religion and the holidays in general and the continuation of the studies of religion they needed to perform at home. "We learned religion lessons, not much … perhaps one lesson, in other words, about our holidays and the statements of the Prophet I know a little, I know a little in my religion … and what is Islam … certainly if I wanted to go in more depth this was at home and …"

Therefore, some of the interviewees recommended brining back studies of religion according to the 'Barakat'[47] book, which in their opinion was successful and excellent, since now, according to one of the interviewees they miss this and they do not manage to teach the Islamic religion as necessary. The Jewish students learn Torah from the lessons of the Hebrew language, but this is very difficult to do in the Arabic language lessons, since Arabic is a difficult language, with both literary language and spoken language. One interviewee said, "I am missing the religious side … we would do in the beginning … in the first three-four years I was here, there was a book called 'Barakat'[48] … New Testament and Quran and Torah … we taught them together … and the older students had a lesson in religion … and the Jews learned Torah from the Hebrew language lessons. The principal demanded of us to teach Quran from the Arabic language lessons, and we refused since we would not manage to teach all the 'elements' of the Arabic language … I when we finished the Barakat[49] book … I taught religion … I do not know why they stopped working with it … it was good … I do not know why they stopped."

To conclude, most of the Arab interviewees are satisfied with the work and the atmosphere in the bilingual school. All admit that the school has positive influence on the formation of the personality and the national identity of their child, but in parallel there were

[47] The word is an acronym for the Hebrew words representing New Testament, Quran, and Torah, the religious texts of the three religions, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.
[48] The word is an acronym for the Hebrew words representing the New Testament, Quran, and Torah, the religious texts of the three religions, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.
[49] The word is an acronym for the Hebrew words representing New Testament, Quran, and Torah, the religious texts of the three religions, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.

differences of opinion about the degree and quality of the teaching and the teachers and about the realization of the right to the studies of the Islamic religion.

8.4.2 Dropping out of Jewish Students

One of the assertions regarding the dropping out of primarily Jewish students is social. It was found that there is a difference in social and cultural terms between Arab society and Jewish society in terms of the open romantic relationships between boys and girls from both societies, which cause Jewish students, whether by choice or lack of choice, to drop out from the bilingual school, which is limited in terms of the possibilities of getting to know other young men and women. Moreover, from the offered selection one half is "forbidden" to have relationships, thus forcing the Jewish students to drop out so that they can create a broader range of friends, especially during adolescence and the secondary school. "But the Jewish students are not satisfied with the closed classroom … since this is not enough for them in social terms … since in every grade there is only one class … which is half-half … and this is not enough for the Jewish students … since they build relationships and it is permitted among them (open romantic relationships) … and therefore it is not enough … therefore they will prefer to go to a school where there is a greater selection … this is the problem that was … and this is what the Jewish parents said with honesty … and it is not a national issue but a social one … that they will enter the social stream accepted in their society …"

In addition, there was the recommendation to attempt to think about how to reduce the financial cost of the transportation of the Jewish students, since this expense is thought to be one of the causes of the dropping out of the Jewish students. "The disadvantage of our school for the Jewish parents primarily is that they are before the school's move they would arrive with organized transportation with a symbolic cost, now, after the move, many dropped out since the monthly cost of travel is about 800 shekels for the special transportation…"

Another argument, as a recommendation for improvement, is that one of the reasons for the lack of development of the bilingual school into a middle school and/or high school is the lack of buildings and infrastructure, which delays the approvals for the establishment of the bilingual school as a secondary school. "One of the reasons that we do not have a middle school … in Jerusalem there is a continuation and in the Galil there is a continuation … here we do not have … we are trying but there are also other problems such as infrastructure and buildings … other reasons … and I personally do not have a problem sending my girls to continue their studies in the bilingual school … in the middle school."

On the basis of this criticism, both criticism and recommendations were directed to the Ministry of Education and the local authorities, which are supposed to adopt the idea of the bilingual school as such and the importance of realistic life of Israeli society. “I will tell you what I always say in the school meetings … that the idea of the school is very good … but lack of support of the local authorities … or additional associations … to adopt such an idea … shame on the Ministry of Education. In my opinion, they need to put forth effort and adopt the idea of the bilingual school. As an important educational project … the Ministry of Education itself needs to open bilingual schools … so that there will be coexistence and a shared life.”

Another interviewee added that it is mandatory that all the students of Israel know the different religions of the State and not only the Jewish student who learned in the bilingual school is supposed to know about Islam. When one of the Jewish students moved in the secondary school to a Jewish school, and there she knew much about Islam, and it was strange to other students, where she knew all this. “Yes, yes, … she knows everything about Islam … in my opinion, there are main things … the intention is that if we live in the same state … we must know about the other.”

In addition, one of the teachers (who is also a mother of a student) recommends urgently finding a solution for the problem of the non-opening of a bilingual secondary school, since this places the Arab parents and their children in a dilemma and a difficult situation of the choice of the secondary school after the completion of the elementary school. The vast majority maintains that the transition is difficult and it will be difficult to cope with it, especially since the school atmosphere in the bilingual school is completely different from that of the public Arab school. “I as a mother am found now with a great dilemma … where will I bring my daughter in another two years (when she will finish) … I am very worried about this … and deliberating … for the regular Arab school … I cannot since my daughter will suffer … and will not survive … therefore I deliberate … I think perhaps to send her to Nazareth … therefore my opinion: a student who began in the bilingual school should continue in the bilingual school …certainly … I wish there was a continuation for the elementary school … our graduates when they left for the regular schools in the village encountered many difficulties … we as a school and the Hand in Hand Association assume responsibility … and the association accompanies the graduates … and every year there are meetings and there are in-service training courses … intensive days.”

In addition, it was asserted that at the beginning of the opening of the bilingual school there was high dropping out among the Jews following the “instability” and/or the uncertainty

about the school, in terms of the official, pedagogical, and achievement recognition, when at the beginning of the opening of every bilingual school the percentage of dropping out of the Jews was higher than that of the Arabs, since the Arab student does not have a large selection in the choice of a quality school and/or a private school, unlike the selection of private schools offered to the Jewish students. “There are parents who really in the past removed their children and not recently … but because of fears … since this was at the beginning of the start of the school … and the reasons for the dropping out were completely different … there were no such concerns … there was an attempt to open a middle school.”

8.4.3 Deficient/Inadequate Marketing

Criticism, as a recommendation, was directed towards the inadequate degree of marketing to attract Arab and mainly Jewish students to the bilingual school, thus causing a small number of students in every class. “The number of students is small, in every grade level there is only one class … not like in other schools, for instance, only one first grade class or one second grade class… and so on … in the middle school, it was very difficult … since the number of students was very small … and all the graduates think about this … and think about how it is possible to improve and encourage the number of students registered … this hurts … that the school slowly … the demand declines … and we attempt to solve this … we are the very least who register in the school … because the class is small … the student will prefer going and getting to know more friends … such things.”

Another interviewee adds about the importance of working on marketing, since there is planning and supply for the opening of the Jewish school, of this main idea, and this is the “projects”. This even more so constitutes a threat to the continuity of the bilingual school. “There is the danger that there is a new school that will be opened among the Jews in the new communities and the idea of the school is really ‘cut and paste’ of the idea of the school … now the consideration of the Jewish parent who brings his son to here, he will think why bring him here, when the distance of the new school is perhaps four minutes away … the school beside him … true, now let’s go back to the same point, and it is that if the Jewish nation sends its child to here, this is also for the encounter with the Arab or not … therefore, in my opinion if the Jewish people care to know the national culture of the Arabs then we would not be in an existential danger … therefore, we, the school here, always attempt to innovate and change for our school, since what attracts Jews is the new ideas …”

Another interviewee added about the opening of this new school that it will constitute their main competitor in the region, and this is also established by the Ministry of Education, and everybody says that it will be a special school and hence it is even more important to think about how to market the school versus the great competition and the high cost of the travel that the Jewish parents pay so as to bring their children to our school. “When this new school will be opened, it will have budget from the Ministry of Education and this school will be special and there will be in my opinion competition with the school … I expect that there will be a decline in the number of students with us … I hope not … therefore it is necessary to think about how to market the school in the Jewish communities from which not a single student comes although they are relatively close by.”

Another interviewee continued that some of the Jewish students began to register to this school, not for the bilingual school and the encounter with the other person and getting to know him, but for the “projects”. “As if you can say that there began to come and register to the school not for the goal of co-existence but for the idea of learning through projects.”

Another interesting criticism that arose during the interviews is that when there is an Arab principal the Jews look less at the “quality” of the school, while when the school principal is Jewish he attracts more Jews to enroll in the school. “In one of the periods we had an Arab principal, and at this time he felt that the Jewish parents would look at this as ‘so so’ but did not speak about this … but the number of students registering was less on the Jewish side, or in other words, this means that they were not satisfied with him … since today we have a Jewish principal, he has new management and organization, with a new method and a new type … we hope to see results regarding the registration of Jews … since the main problem for our school is the number of Jewish students registering.”

Therefore, the recommendation is that to overcome this problem, it is necessary to always innovate and renew in school management, both in the method and in the educational approaches. “If they want to overcome this problem, which will be at the start of every new age group, to change things, both in the management of the school, in the teaching methods in the school, and in the strategies … since this way we have become from one class in the grade to two classes, for instance … we slowly are overcoming this.”

8.4.4 Difficult Employment Conditions: To Improve Conditions and Reduce the Load

Most of the teachers recommended reducing and easing the work conditions in the bilingual school, since in their opinion the work there is very exhausting and tiring. “Our work here in the school is not regular … it requires of us considerable preparation and work … which is sometimes very exhausting … make mental educational academic preparations.” One of the interviewees added about the difficulty to teach in the bilingual school and to be a mother and to have a system of social relationships. Conversely, this is very difficult, “I as a teacher/parent … tell you … the studies/teaching and the work here are very difficult … I as a mother, as a person … in society … as a society … it is very difficult … since I do not have free time … at all … all the time … even … nevertheless I remain to work here since there is great challenge …”

In addition, one of the teachers recommended that it be compulsory to pay effective attention to the difficulties of the teachers in the bilingual school. She asserts that the principal must pay attention to the teachers’ difficulties and attempt to help with or ease these difficulties. “The single thing in terms of the recommendations that I can give to the principal is to listen to the teachers, to understand what they want, what bothers them, and to do accordingly … and not only that the teachers will complain and complain and there is no change, no action … it is not good this way since it will cause the opposite.”

In addition, one of the difficulties to which the teachers are exposed is the repeated warning by the school management about the danger of the closing of the bilingual school, which greatly pressures the teachers. Therefore, there was the recommendation to reduce the recurring stress and warnings, which perhaps are justly but which greatly disrupt the feeling of stability, certainty, and creativity of the Arab teacher in the bilingual school. “The principal, perhaps not intentionally, but he likes to listen to the teachers’ difficulties, but the conditions of the school obligate him to do 1, 2, 3 … and it is impossible to do since we are under an existential threat … and certainly the teachers for whom this is not the first year or the second who hear this warning … and I told these teachers (the new teachers) that since the establishment of the school 18 years ago and it is under threat of existence / survival … we are rather tired of this conversation and many times this causes a worsening in the teacher’s work and giving … since we invest and put forth effort and this is still at risk …”

8.4.5 Unsuitable Teachers: Academically or Ideologically

Many of the interviewees asserted that there are many teachers, Arabs and primarily Jews, who are not suitable for work in the bilingual school, in terms of the ideology and the objective of the school. Many expressed disappointment with some of the teachers, especially the Jewish teachers, who were not appropriately respectful or who did not accept as expected the goal of the bilingual school, the opinion of the other person, with his culture, heritage, and narrative, and even there was contempt of the emotions of some of the teachers and of some of the students.

For instance, one of the assertions was that there are teachers who are extreme in national terms and since the Arabs are the minority they have difficulty. "No. There are teachers whose head is problematic … in other words, this is the culture, the learning, and the education in this way … there are many difficulties I encountered, such as extremism … and also I am extreme in narratives … but and because I on the other hand am the weak and in actuality we are indeed this way … since we are a minority in the state … and this is not easy at all."

Another interviewee added that he is in shock about how the school management allowed itself to accept and employ such a teacher, asserting that she very clearly and prominently did not respect others and did not accept them. "I wanted to prepare with her about the Eid al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice) and the Haj and she began to interfere with me in the middle of the lesson, for instance to talk to a student, and to tell them 'what a nice bag you have' … or something else … just to interfere so that there will be no listening and there will be noise … I was very angry, and I complained about her to the principal, and about how she was accepted to work here, it is clear that she does not like Arabs…"

Another interviewee adds that she too had a traumatic experience with one of the Jewish teachers. It is clear that she is not supportive of the idea of coexistence and respect of others and is contemptuous of the emotions of the Arab students. She attempts even to weaken them. "We had a teacher I really did not like … she was very unpleasant … one day on Nakba Day we the students decided to strike and not come to the school, we decided ourselves as students … the next day, when we returned to school she began to ask irritating questions such as, well,, what did you do yesterday? Well, did the refugees return? … and I was forced to lie to her that I went in buses to the border of the Gaza Strip for Nakba Day…"

Another interviewee maintained that some of the Jewish teachers chosen to teach in the bilingual school are not suited to the idea and do not respect the Palestinian narrative. One of

the Jewish teachers was supposed to hold a lesson on the Nakba, and the Arab teacher by chance was absent. The Arab teacher received telephone calls from her Arab students that the Jewish teacher was condescending about their emotions. “One of the Arab girls began to cry when she began to tell about the Nakba … then the Jewish teacher told her ‘you don’t cry over water that has been spilled’ … but it is necessary to continue onward with the existing reality … listen, when the parent of this student who cried told me what she said to her … the next day I went directly to the principal and yelled, I and this teacher … the Jewish teacher was required to apologize to this student whose feelings she had condescended to and to apologize to the entire class.”

In addition, further criticism, in professional/pedagogical terms, was directed towards the teachers who are employed in the bilingual school. One of the interviewees maintained that the quality of the teachers who work in the bilingual school is not really on a high level. “The quality of the teachers is alright, some of them, in my opinion, are not suited. … I am not saying to replace them but that they need to work on themselves … this is professionally, but everybody in terms of personality is excellent … some of them in professional terms are supposed to improve … or to take an in-service training course … so that they will be better … or they will be replaced…”

On the background of this disappointment, it was recommended that the choice of the teachers, both Arabs and Jews, to be more “suitable” and appropriate to the idea and the goal of the school. According to one of the interviewees, it is necessary to know and to select young and good Arab teachers, who are open-minded, since the Arab and Jewish students generally like being in a reciprocal relationship with the Jewish teacher. “Especially the Arab teachers who are different in their relations, especially with the older ones … I have noted that my children in their childhood especially with young teachers most of the years liked the Jewish teachers more than the Arab ones … since they have more empathy and this greatly bothered me … and also … the Jewish teacher knows the academic study material better than the Arab teacher … for instance, the Arab teacher conveys the lesson seriously, while the Jewish teacher is more interesting than the Arab teacher, and a last thing, for instance on the Islamic religious days, it is necessary to give equal right to the Islamic holidays as to the Jewish and Christian days, and here I ‘blame’ and am disappointed with the Arab teachers … who do not give full right to our holidays.”

8.4.6 Neutrality and Exaggeration in the Presentation of the Narratives

There was the assertion that following the emphasis on and "excessive" engagement in the national days of both peoples and both narratives sometimes, according to all types of interviewees, some of the graduates became more extreme/racist/nationalist. "The racism … the Arabs in my opinion become more racist … the identity becomes stronger in them … this is because of the street … we are very oppressed … we see what happens on the news … the life conditions teach them … and cause them to be racist."

Another interviewee adds that one of the parents, whose son studied in the bilingual school, said that he was angry at the school since his son turned out even more racist and nationalist, because of all the engagement in the topic of the national days. "My son became more nationalist than I want or expect from the bilingual school … in my opinion this is following the excessive engagement perhaps in the national days during the entire elementary school."

On the basis of the aforementioned statements, the recommendation was in the secondary schools to reduce the level of engagement in the national days and to focus more on achievements and progress, since the students have already 'realized' in an extensive manner these topics and in the secondary school it is necessary to act and cultivate instructional/pedagogical goals and to develop educational pedagogical progress. "To focus on scientific progress and less on national days since those have already been done and they've done enough of that ..."

8.4.7 Exposure to the Israeli Reality – A Bubble

It was recommended by some of the teachers, parents, and graduates to reveal to the graduates the life of Israeli reality and prepare them for it so that it will not be a "shock" for them, in their transition to the secondary school or to the life of society. Some interviewees voiced the assertions that the school relatively explains to the students that the school routine does not reflect the system of relationships in Israeli reality. "We understand that when we will leave the school gate everything will be different, when you enter a mall with your mother and your mother wears a veil you will not be surprised … it is true that you come in here (to the school) and the guard welcomes you … I attempt as much as possible to expose the students to reality … at every opportunity or a recess of ten minutes they tell me what is happening with them, I tell them to pay attention to what is happening … and it is necessary to be careful … and I teach them to understand what happens around them and to be as realistic as possible …"

To differentiate, another student maintained that from her perspective she was and lived in a bubble in the bilingual school, a positive bubble in her opinion, preferable to the difficult reality outside. “What I acquired relatively in the bilingual school, for instance that we in the bilingual school lived in a bubble, alone … and then when I went out and I was exposed to things … I was in shock … just like that.”

It was also recommended to think about providing guidance and help to the students, especially the Arab students, in finding appropriate educational frameworks. It was found that parents have difficulties finding an appropriate scholastic framework after elementary school and/or providing instruction on ways of preparation and coping with difficulties of acclimating at least in their first year in a framework that is not the bilingual school. They shared with many students about the difficulties and drastic changes, in terms of the personal, pedagogical, and even national attitude, to which they were exposed in their transition to the public Arab schools. “This is the question I asked myself before … why is there no continuation to the bilingual school? Why with guidance and assistance … they will do something with the future difficulty … they will do something with the future difficulty that the student will encounter/be exposed to … I thought a lot about that I really wanted there to be a continuation … to the bilingual school.”

8.4.8 Reality Shock

Many of the graduates, teachers, and parents were exposed to considerable criticism and contradictions of school values with the outside reality. Therefore, it was recommended to find a treatment way for those with difficulties, who have a dilemma about certain decisions. For instance, one of the interviewees shares his dilemma about how strongly to hold onto the values he learned in the bilingual school, such as the value of coexistence, when the environment opposes the existence of the Jewish people in the homeland. “And I will say, for instance, that I do not believe in the existence of the Jewish people in the state … it is not easy between you and yourself and between where you live … and the struggle of what exists … I always struggle for co-existence and I always says this … but sometimes I reach a situation of a ‘dilemma’ and I sometimes truly do not know … since I do not want to give up the values I grew up with in the school but on the other hand you encounter many problems … there are things that close before you.”

Another recommendation was that “It was successful … in my opinion … I am for the parents and the people from outside … from a young age they will explain to them about the

reality outside … instead of receiving this 'boom' or being surprised … the intention … the exposure of reality outside of the school framework."

8.4.9 Confusion in the Identity

Confusion in the identity appeared for the most part among the graduates of the Jerusalem school. For instance, one of the Jerusalem graduates said this clearly: he is still having difficulties defining his personal and national identity. "This is the question that it is always hard for me to define who I am, today I do not know what to define myself, sometimes I say I am a Jerusalemite, sometimes I saw that I am an Arab, and sometimes I am an Arab who lives in Jerusalem. It is very hard for me to define myself, I do not know whether this is because of the school or simply because I live here. I cannot say that I am a Palestinian since I know I am not a true Palestinian and I am also not an Israeli and therefore I am a Jerusalemite seems right for me".

A person who learns in the bilingual school finds it difficult to find a suitable educational framework. The choice is constrained. "In the future, my children … I would certainly send my children to the bilingual school … the fears of the bilingual school can be that he will be 'spoiled' … and fragile … but I would prefer that he learn in this school…"

8.4.10 Importance of the Monitoring of the Preservation of Friendships between Arabs and Jews after the End of School

Most of the interviewees responded to the question of the degree of success of the bilingual school and coexistence. There were many differences of opinion. Some maintain that the idea succeeded and proof is that there are many graduates who maintain relationships with one another. "They will remain friends … I know many students continued to be friends …"

One interviewee said that the bilingual school is very successful and on this basis she recommends continuing to reinforce relationships between Arabs and Jews, coexistence, and the life of the community and to undertake informal activities. The informal activities are what strengthen the relationships. "In the framework of the informal activities, such as the spring party, which is in my opinion one of the wonderful parties, in which you will see interaction between them … there is no such thing in Israel in general … they do theater, foods … the children greatly enjoy this … and they go on trips in nature with the parents … and in my opinion, these things in the bilingual school make many relationships between the Arab parents and the Jewish parents and among the students themselves … and the relationships become clearer and more transparent between Arabs and Jews … and even they begin to feel

comfortable and free since they are growing up together with their children in the school … since it is hard for the Arab and Jewish parents without this framework to know one another and to have a shared life."

One interviewee maintained that there needs to be more meetings between the Arab parents and the Jewish parents so as to promote the idea of the bilingual school and coexistence. "In my opinion, there needs to be more meetings between the parents, since the students greatly understand one another … it is necessary to build sessions to promote familiarity between Arabs and Jews and clarifications of viewpoints. … if there are … to develop the relationships between the Arab and Jewish parents …"

Another interviewee added that in essence the idea of the bilingual school succeeded, and the fact is that in demonstrations and protests against the wars, especially the recent war in Gaza, Jewish students came with them to the demonstrations. One student even took a picture of a Jewish student from his community and shared the picture in an attempt to humiliate her. "Once in one of the demonstrations against the war in Gaza … the Jewish students participated with us in the demonstrations … and one of the students was photographed by a person who knows her and he put the picture on Facebook and told her 'How are you not ashamed? Shame on you!'"

Another interviewee said that the idea of the school succeeded and it is not "imagination and illusion". Proof is that when our school was burned, everybody, Arabs and Jews, embarked on a protest and many Jews came to provide support. "This is not an illusion and not a dream. We do things in the field and in reality, for instance, we go on protests … when the school was burned we went with other schools around us, Arabs and Jews, came to support us … in my opinion, from this perspective we are working and undergoing a process…"

Another interviewee continues that the idea of the bilingual school is successful and does not let them live in an illusion, for the bilingual school presents to them the two narratives and the two cultures that lie in the Israeli reality and not the opposite, as occurs in the Arab schools or in the Jewish schools, which present only the Israeli narrative. "In my opinion, the school does not let us live in a 'bubble' and far from reality … and the co-existence … we in general do not think that they … they let you come, they give you the reality, and at the same time they give you a feeling that you yourself … that you will want the co-existence … they do not force upon us co-existence … but present everything to us and it is as if they tell you that the single solution is co-existence … do you understand … I never, never had a mask on

the face that there is no co-existence … I know there are difficulties … and I know that I am focused on something that's hard to come true … but … I will not despair and I will continue my struggle for co-existence … I will not give up on anything."

However, a small number of the interviewees maintain that the idea of the school has failed, and therefore it was recommended that it is necessary to search for a way to preserve relationships between Arabs and Jews after the end of the studies, so as to preserve the continuity of the idea and the goal of the school – coexistence and multicultural education. For instance, in one of the interviews the interviewee said, in response to the question of whether the bilingual school and coexistence succeeded, that, "No, not really … in my opinion the idea of coexistence did not succeed since you do not see that there are strong relationships between Jews and Arabs … proof of this is that when I was in the seventh grade the count down in the number of Jewish students in the class began … and in the twelfth grade there was only one Jewish student."

There was a recurring assertion about the importance of the continuity of the preservation of the relationships between the Jewish and the Arab students and their families, so that there will be meaning to the struggle and joint effort of the bilingual school and co-existence and shared life. "If you want the truth … we spoke in the school that it is mandatory from the start, already from the kindergarten and to the twelfth grade, that there will always be activities for the parents even after the end of the twelfth grade … that there will be something like a campus that will include all the parents and the students, that will make activities and projects…"

9. Discussion

After the 1948 War, the State of Israel was established, as a Jewish state, and the Palestinian population that had constituted the majority until the year 1948 became a minority in a Jewish majority (Al-Haj, 1988). This minority was considered a minority in terms of nationality and language (Smooha, 2004). The Declaration of Independence of Israel speaks about the "establishment of a Jewish State in the Land of Israel, the State of Israel". The words "democratic state" are absent from the declaration, but the principles of the declaration indicate the intention to establish a democratic state. In this sense, most of the citizens are Jews (people), and Israel serves as the nation state of the Jews (nationality) and has a religious Jewish affiliation, which is expressed in the assimilation of parts from Jewish religious law into the state law (Zilbersheid, 2009).

The present research study sought to contribute to the body of knowledge about the processes that expose the definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish democratic state, which has signed conventions for human and minority rights and equality of opportunities for all the citizens of the State of Israel, regardless of religion, race, nationality, and ethnicity, through focus on the attitude that discriminates in all areas of life of the Palestinian minority in Israel and especially the policy of education. This policy of education is characterized by centralization, the control from top down of all that is related to the making of decisions about the scholastic contents and textbooks of the Arab schools without the participation and cooperation of the Arab citizens in Israel, by the close supervision and control over the appointment of teacher and principals that requires the confirmation of the *Shabak*[50], and by the intentional blurring of the national identity of the Arab students from the time of the establishment of the State until today. The policy of the "blurring of the national identity" and the cultivation of weakness and feelings of inferiority among the Arab students towards themselves, their culture, their heritage, etc. follow the belonging of the Arab minority in Israel to the Palestinian nation in terms of nationality and to the Arab nation in terms of culture. The Palestinian national affiliation and the Arab affiliation, when both Palestinians and Arabs are the main "enemy" of the State of Israel, constituted and still constitute today a threat and danger to the Jewish state, from the establishment of the State until today.

The research studies that have addressed the Arab education system in Israel analyzed education with a focus on the inequality in the situation of the public Arab education system in

[50] Israel Security Agency or General Security Service, in charge of domestic state security.

terms of resources, outputs, and achievements, and their recommendations to solve the problem, which rely on multiculturalism, consideration of the needs and values of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel, and legislation. This dominant perspective in the research of the Arab education system did not adopt the insights of the postcolonial approach, which develops on the issue of inequality and control from above in the Arab education system in Israel. Thus, the objective of the research study was to examine, in light of the bilingual schools, the nature and implementation of the public policy regarding the Arab education system in Israel: the approach of the establishment to the phenomenon of inequality and the failure of the public Arab education system in Israel, the degree of commitment of the establishment, the reference to multiculturalism and its effectiveness for the cultivation of educational "autonomy" and alternative education – bilingual education. In light of these goals, the following five research questions were posited:

1. What is the influence of the definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish democratic state on the civilian identity and feelings of belonging of the Arabs of Israel to the state?
2. What are the ideological and social processes that shape the attitude of the Ministry of Education to the topic?
3. How is the declared policy of education of the decision makers shaped regarding the right to education according to the Convention of the Rights of Minorities in educational autonomy and the right to form and maintain the national identity?
4. What are the ways of coping that the Arabs of Israel are forced to adopt so as to adjust and/or search for a compensatory alternative for the situation of the public Arab education system?
5. To what extent has alternative/bilingual education succeeded to meet the expectations and needs of the Arab minority in Israel in personal, social, cultural, and national terms?

The present research study examined the situation of the public Arab education system and the attitude of the establishment to it, so as to address these questions. From this examination the meanings of citizenship in the world of the teachers and the parents who are graduates of the public Arab education system arose, as did the difference between them and the graduates of alternative education, which becomes clear as partially excluded citizenship. It would appear that the Arabs enjoy formal equality, for the state includes them in it and the official public policy accepts upon itself the responsibility to protect them, such as for example the continuation of providing Arab schools separate from Jewish schools, where they learn the Arabic language, but simultaneously the state excludes them, for it does not provide them with

opportunities and does not provide them with appropriate resources so that they can extract themselves from the educational situation that is poor in terms of the learning contents and textbooks and cope with the crisis and confusion regarding the development of a proud, clear, and appropriate national identity. The examination of the situation of the public Arab education system in terms of the cultivation of the national identity is directed towards it from the perspective of a partially excluded citizenship and reveals the inner protest of the Arab intellectuals in Israel, who recently are attempting to make their voice heard about their needs and their rights as a national minority, through the development of the trend of alternative education, which has begun to develop in Arab society recently. This protest is considered a way to dispute the social-political structure and reshape it. The researcher herself, as a mother of three children of school age and as a graduate of the Arab schools in Israel, sought for an alternative framework of education for her children. She was one of the founders of kindergarten in the Beit Berl College in the Central District of Israel, so that her children would have a better quality of education.

The disappointment and inner intellectual protest of these Arab citizens of Israel (including the researcher herself) were revealed through the story of the informants' personal experiences, both in the school in their childhood and in higher education in the Israeli institutions. These experiences (with which the researcher found herself identifying and which are known to her, both in the experience in the school and in the experience in higher education in Israel) enable the connection to the interviewees' disappointment with the public Arab education system that is controlled by the Jewish majority, regarding the state education law, the curricula, the textbooks, the decision and determination of the goals of Arab education, and the hiring and firing of Arab teachers and principals. The emphasis on the texts of the experiences in the collection of the data is important in the research of the relations of control, as is the collection of data also through the analysis of critical discourse of relevant texts such as the State Education Law and its goals, the Arab school curricula and textbooks, and the committees of the Ministry of Education.

The collection of the data from the teachers and principals, the parents, and the graduates of the bilingual school was undertaken through in-depth interviews, through which I met teachers, principals, parents, and graduates of the bilingual school, who shared with and revealed their experiences, both enjoyable and difficult. The teachers and parents had learned in their childhood in the public Arab schools and some continued their higher education in the institutions of higher education in Israel. The graduates learned in the elementary school in the

bilingual school, when some of them in the secondary school shifted to the public Arab school in their village, some of them went to study in a private Arab school, and some (a small part) studied both in the elementary school and the upper school in the bilingual school. The decisive majority of the graduates integrated into and learned in the institutions of higher education in Israel. All the interviewees exhibited determination to relate both the difficult experiences and the good experiences, which they experienced in the different "stations" of their lives – school, academia, and employment, when these experiences were accompanied by many lovely / difficult emotions, despite their complex situation as Arab teachers who are excluded and who work with Jewish peers in the school where the idea is co-existence and shared life, which many times is accompanied by confusion, puzzlement, and wondering. The interviews enabled the interviewees to bring up contents/experiences that do not appear in the literature or contents that did not come to mind as a research and to reveal their world of concepts. For certain interviewees the interview was a liberating space that enabled the expression of hidden wishes and the departure from the normative framework and the development of new, different thinking. Some of the interviewees were very happy about the opportunity to speak about this, and everyone recognized the importance of the research study and noted the need to break the silence and fear of the establishment regarding national education of the public Arab schools.

The interviewees in this research are all citizens of Israel, born in the State of Israel, aside from three interviewees who are residents of Jerusalem, who face other difficulties in terms of the spheres of full citizenship, such as residency determinations, national insurance, medical insurance, Palestinian education, and so on. However, the rest of the interviewees are full Israeli citizens, who expect rights equal to those of the Jewish citizens.

The civilian identity is a meaningful part of the individual's identity and constitutes a central part in the way in which society defines the individual relative to the state (Avnon, 2006). Therefore, the identity of the state and its structures constitute an important element in the development of the feeling of belonging of its citizens, but they did not necessarily constitute their sole object of legitimate identification. The argument is that as the entire state adopts for itself a national, ethnic, or cultural identity of one group, it will weaken the feeling of belonging of other minorities to it. Instead of the minority groups developing identification with the state where they live, they will attempt to develop alternative and more particular feelings of belonging. In other words, identification or lack of identification with the state it depends on the context – political, economic, and cultural (Tamir, 1997). The research findings indicate following the disappointment with the Arab education system the indications of inner

protest among the Arab intellectuals in Israel who deploy educational strategies to cope with their distress and traumatic experience both in the schools and in the institutions of higher education in Israel. Arab society, especially the rich Arab intellectuals, use and develop alternative education, so as to improve and accept what they desire for the education of their children.

Indeed, the researcher herself sought for her children an alternative educational framework, different from the frameworks offered in her residential community, because of her personal knowledge and direct contact with "parents", friends, and/or relatives who live in the same community, about their disappointment with the quality of the instruction, the teachers, the resources, and the achievements in their school, in comparison to the Jewish schools. However, the researcher unfortunately only found one alternative framework in her region of residence, which was only for early childhood, a bilingual preschool/kindergarten, which was not recognized and not official (a private framework). It is clear that in Arab society there is a lack of alternative education, despite the demand, since the Israeli establishment refuses to allow private Arab students to be founded.

9.1 The Civil State of Israel – Between Democracy and Judaism

In the context of this basic educational argument, the first research question is: *What is the influence of the definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state on the civil identity and feelings of belonging of the Arabs of Israel to the state?*

One of the common explanations of the inequality against the Arab citizens of Israel is, according to Yaar and Shavit (2001), that with the establishment of the Jewish state the Zionist movement set for itself national goals. The movement wanted to establish a 'nation society' and to establish a new Jewish nationalism (Yaar & Shavit, 2001). The goals of the Zionist movement encountered many problems, such as, for example, the identification between nationality and religion and the contradiction between them, but the focus of the dispute was the attitude towards the Palestinian people and its national aspirations. In essence, in this period the Zionist movement completely ignored the fact that Israel is populated by Arabs, who are native to the land (Yaar & Shavit, 2001). Therefore, the Israeli identity is found with a duality of identities: civil identity and national-ethnic identity. This dual identity includes the lack of clarity and leads to contradictions. Those with an Israeli identity certificate are found among different national groups: for the most part they are Jews who were born in Israel, Jews who

immigrated to Israel from other countries, and Arabs. Israeli citizenship is not identical to nationality (Oron, 2013).

This research study also found duality in the Arab identity, a duality of identity that has contradictions that the Arabs develop for themselves. On the one hand, most of the Arab interviewees feel discrimination, alienation, and lack of belonging to the state. Consequently, on the one hand among them the "collective" national identity developed and on the other hand they feel that they are "Israelis" in cultural terms (they are different from Palestinian Arabs and/or Arabs in the Arab countries). In other words, they develop an Israeli cultural identity and thus they require that the State of Israel change its definition from the state of the Jewish people to the state of all its citizens, which provides equality in the rights of the individual and the minorities. Regarding the double identity and confusion that arose from the interviews, the researcher herself has experienced these in her social-cultural identity and in her national identity. On the one hand, like the interviewees, she feels belonging and similarity in her Israeli identity in social terms, while on the other hand, she feels empathy with and belonging to the Palestinian people in national terms and in Palestinian cultural terms.

As a result of this duplication of identities, most of the interviewees send their children to the bilingual schools, which try to meet the needs of these two identities that conflict and perhaps complement one another in the reality in which the Arabs of Israel live. On the one hand, there are Jewish students, who are members of the hegemonic group in the State of Israel, and on the other hand, the school promised that its goals are to cultivate and develop the student's personality and identity, through the school curricula that are unique to the bilingual school and through the celebration of the national days that no public Arab school has the courage and the awareness to celebrate.

A modern democratic state that is the "state of all its citizens" applies its citizenship on all its sectors without exception. In such a country there may be cultural autonomy for citizens with a different cultural character, according to the model of multiculturalism (Barnea, 2011). In every large state or society there are ethnic minorities who do not belong to the group of the dominant majority. The minority has physical, national, religious, or social characteristics different from those of the majority group, and it has a different shared historical or cultural identity, which is therefore given to discrimination (Ministry of Education of Israel, Book of Citizenship, 2012; Noyberger, 1995). Hence, minorities need protection on the level of the group, so that they can realize their heritage and culture.

The person's group cultural belonging is frequently the source of his identity, and it nurtures his life with contents and meaning that profoundly influence a tremendous part of his choices (Gabizon & Balfour, 2005; Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Therefore, this research study attempted to examine and focus on the degree of realization/respect of the different identities of the Israeli Arab citizen in the state of a Jewish majority and Arab minority, when this minority has unique characteristics, different from those of the hegemonic Jewish majority, such as national, cultural, religious, and social uniqueness. This research study attempted to examine the extent to which the State of Israel is a democratic and multicultural state of all of its citizens and the degree to which it respects the rights of minorities.

The partnership in citizenship is the right to participate in the political process, both as voters and as elected representatives, who have opinions about the issues on the public agenda. The political framework, with its rules and regulations and the non-official rules of behavior created around them, creates a public-social agenda that dictates largely the order of life for citizens of the state, despite the differences between them in cultural, national, or religious terms (Kaufman, 2014). This research study attempted to examine the question of how the identity of an ethnic-national-cultural minority is shaped versus the effort of the state to implement the dominant Jewish culture. It was found that the Arabs of Israel developed for themselves two identities: first, they developed the Israeli identity in cultural terms and are interested in receiving identical rights and integrating into the institutions of the country and second, they developed a collective identity that is divided into two types. The first identity is a 'religious' collective identity cultivated and encouraged by the policy of the military government imposed on the Arabs of Israel in the period 1949-1966 with the goal of implementing the goal of "divide and conquer" in Palestinian Arab society. Hence, it was found in this research study that some of the interviewees defined their identity as Muslim Arabs in Israel. Some of the interviewees cultivated and developed for themselves a second identity, a Palestinian national collective identity that defined their identity as Palestinian Arabs. This research study found that almost no interviewee defined himself as an Israeli or an Israeli Arab.

One of the explanations of the different research studies of the phenomenon of the religious and/or national identity is the feelings of alienation and lack of belonging of the Arab citizens in the State of Israel, when in their history they lived under a military government and in their opinion this military government still exists. Their proof is the definition of the State of Israel as the state of the Jews, when the Law of Return is in effect only for Jews and there is inequality and discrimination in all areas of life – social, economic, and educational and in

terms of resources and outputs. Therefore, this claim is commensurate with the assertion of Barnea (2011) that many Arab intellectuals support the approach according to which Israel must become a "state of all its citizens", which applies citizenship on all its sectors without exception. This approach is divided into two outlooks, when the first viewpoint states that Israel must grant cultural autonomy to all its citizens, according to their different cultural nature, as per the multicultural model and the second perspective seeks to create a binational state, Jewish and Arab, when the two groups have a shared civilian identity (Barnea, 2011).

As expected, this research study found many conflicts, objections, and contradictions, between the promises of the Declaration of Independence and the rights of minorities and the discriminating, racist, unequal reality of all the different identities of the Arabs of Israel, when the State of Israel has a uniform hegemonic culture without reciprocal respect of the different cultures who live in the democratic state. Hence, minorities need protection on the level of the group, so that they can realize their heritage and culture. The person's cultural group belonging is frequently a source of his identity, and it nurtures his life with contents and meaning that profoundly influence a tremendous part of his choices (Gabizon & Balfour, 2005; Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). The Convention for Civil and Political Rights also discusses the rights of ethnic, religious, and language minorities and defends the right of religious minorities to fulfill the commandments of their religion, the right of linguistic minorities to use their language, and the right of national minorities to preserve their culture. It determines that the state has the active obligation to enable the ethno-national minority to cultivate freely its national-cultural identity (Thornberry, 1993). However, it appears that in Israeli law there is no essential recognition of the collective identity and national uniqueness of the Palestinian Arab minority (Jabareen, 2010). This contradicts the international standards for the rights of minorities that ensure protection of the uniqueness of the minority group and an equal opportunity to that of the majority group (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

It was found in this research study, as in the broader review of the literature, that the State of Israel seemingly gives its Arab citizens civic and political rights, such as the right to vote and to be elected and represented and rights of national insurance and health, they are integrated in the Israeli job market and study in separate schools in their language, but the studies prove that there is discrimination as well as inequality in these rights, which are granted partially and not fully. For example, Jamal (2004) maintains that in Israel there is differentiation as well as separation in many areas between citizens according to their national and cultural origin, including the field of occupation. This research asserts, as did Yaar and

Shavit (2001), that the State of Israel ignored its Arab population from the year 1948, has in the continuation imposed military government from 1949 to 1967, and has perpetuated the inequality of opportunities in all areas until today and thus has increased the vulnerability in the civic identity of the Arabs of Israel towards the state in which they live, thus leading to and developing inner Arab "protest" against the policy of ignoring and marginalizing the Arabs of Israel from the focus of decisions of the country and they search for themselves for the original national identity and local identity, which compensates for and alleviates the feelings of inferiority and shortcoming in their Israeli civilian identity. Thus, the tension that exists in Israel is created in the components promised in the Declaration of Independence: Israel is an ethnic nation state, the state of the Jews, and is committed to democracy to give equal and full citizenship to the Arabs of Israel (Zand, 2000).

Jabareen (2014) maintains that the citizenship of the Palestinians in Israel is fundamentally colonial, like that based on an institutionalized ethnic hierarchy. According to many researchers (Ghanem, 1997; Hojirat, 2006; Suan, 2012) the Palestinians are still excluded from the focuses of power in the state, which adopts towards them a policy of rejection and suspicion. Indeed, this research study found that most of the interviewees are disappointed and angry at their state, which discriminates against them in all areas, both in term of resources and in term of the nature of the recognition of them as a national minority with the rights of minorities. Yiftachel (2003) holds that Israel is unique in that on the one hand the elite attempted to build a culture that is as if open and absorbing but on the other hand this same elite adopted a policy of Judaization, appropriation, and de-Arabization of the land and its culture, while marginalizing the non-Jewish populations and excluding the Arabs from focuses of the shaping of the identity in Israel (Suan, 2012).

Palestinian Arab existence in Israel has experienced many processes in its development. On the one hand, the trend of cultural division and distance from the "melting pot" that characterized Jewish society in the past has strengthened, while on the other hand it is a continuum of changes of conflict and speech between Israelis and Palestinians about boundaries and sovereignty. These two processes according to Kaufman (2014) have significant implications on the lives of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel. Indeed, the present research found considerable deliberation about which identity to adopt, an Israeli identity or an Arab identity, or a religious identity or a Palestinian identity. However, as a result of the discriminatory and unequal processes of the policies that the establishment deployed towards

Arab society, the national and religious identity was strengthened among them, in addition to the Israeli civic identity expressed in their demands to receive full and not partial rights.

Furthermore, the social-economic status of the Palestinian minority citizens of the State of Israel from this perspective from the data of the Arab population indicates the peripheral place of many of them, in comparison to the Jewish population and the difference in the patterns of life and level between the two groups (Kaufman, 2014). The place of the state, the national interests, were at the foundation of the economic activity in the Jewish community that was dictated by considerations in favor of the nation, called the "Jewish economy", or in other words an economy that serves the interests of the Jewish community alone. The Arabs filled in this economy only a supplementary role, according to the circumstances of the Israeli-Arab conflict. The "Jewish economy" was obvious in light of the complete political separation between the two national communities. This approach continues to exist in the State of Israel although the Arabs are equal citizens in it (Yaar & Shavit, 2001).

The interviewees in this research study frequently mentioned the social and economic gaps between the Arabs and the Jews, and proof is the fact that most Arab girls study teaching, since the Arab job market is very restricted and the Jewish job market does not allow the Arabs to integrate into it. In essence, it can be said that in Israel two different and separate societies have developed, when one of them – the Jewish majority group – has the ability to call upon the power of the state to promote its collective interests (Bashara, 1995). Therefore, the Arab minority remains outside of the arrangements for the division of power and resources. It fell victim to the approach of "Jews first", according to which there was prominent Jewish control of the resources of Israeli society (Yiftachel, 1993). At the end of the process, there is broad agreement that this control reinforced the social-economic gaps, as well as the differences of power between the two sectors. These differences resulted in the clear exclusion of the Arab minority in Israel (Yiftachel, 1993).

The socioeconomic level of the Arab citizens of Israel is significantly lower than that of the Jewish citizens. The level of unemployment among the Arab population is higher than the average (14% in the Arab sector versus 9% countrywide), the level of income is also lower than that of the Jews, and the number of children who live in poverty is double the situation of the entire Israeli society (National Insurance Institute, 2001, in Abu Saad, 2007). This research study identified the distress of the Arab citizens, and especially the Arab women who live in a traditional society that limits and forces them to work in the framework of Arab society. This is the phenomenon of "unemployment", since the Arab job market is limited and for the most

part offers them only teaching work in the schools. Therefore, most Arab girls studied and study today only “teaching”, hence causing the phenomenon of the “unemployment of Arab teachers” (both male and female), since there is no other job supply.

The formal state institutions, which are responsible legally to provide an adequate response to the needs of the Arab population in Israel, are characterized by the existence of conditions of eligibility, the scope of services, and the quality of the differential assistance, to the detriment of Arab population. The social resources that the government conveys to Arab society are very limited. The conditions of eligibility for state services are strict, and for the most part they extend beyond conditions of need, insurance, or compensation. The distribution and place of the social institutions make the access of the Arab population to services difficult, and discriminatory political and cultural criteria are used in the allocation of sources to Arab society (Mahajana, 2009a, in Mahajana, 2013).

At the basis of the transformative approach to equality there is the basic principle of the true and equal participation of the Palestinian Arab minority in the public resources in the state and primarily in the allocation of budgets. These resources belong to all the citizens in the State, and therefore it is necessary to be sure of their distribution in an equal and fair manner (Jabareen, 2010).

This research study found that following the duality of identities of the State of Israel the civil identity of the Arabs of Israel cannot be complete and will always be deficient. According to the findings, the Palestinian Arab minority is forced to choose and make decisions regarding the personal, social, cultural, economic, and educational identity, and this follows the ignoring of the existence of the Arabs of Israel as equal citizens and a native born minority with rights.

This research study follows the great disappointment that caused a large number of the interviewees to feel feelings of alienation and lack of belonging to the State of Israel, as a result of the continuous ignoring of the needs of the Palestinian Arab minority in the State of Israel in all the areas. Therefore, the interviewees maintain that this ignoring in the social, economic, political, and educational aspects harms them and makes things difficult for them until today and causes them to feel they are unequal citizens or to find it difficult to feel belonging to the State of Israel, which is defined as a Jewish and democratic state.

9.2 The Israeli Education System

The education system in general will reflect the values of the State and will instill them in the children explicitly or implicitly through the conveyed contents, the symbols of the rituals and the language and the emphasis of certain vales over others (Ghanem and & Levin-Rosales, 2015). In the context of this basic educational argument, I posited the second research question. *What are the ideological and social processes that shape the attitude of the Ministry of Education to the topic?*

The importance of the examination of the degree of fit of the topics of "core studies" in the Israeli state education system which are shared by all the students of the State of Israel for the needs of the Jewish and the Arab student arises from one of the common explanations that in a situation of profound national, social, and cultural division and a situation of conflict between the two societies it is possible to build a complex identity, which enables in the end to effect belonging from the choice to at least certain parts of the origin culture, alongside parts of the "counter" culture and from a critical outlook on the two cultures (Ghanem & Levin-Rosales, 2015). Therefore, this research study attempted to examine the extent to which the Israeli education system reflects the values of the state according to all its citizens, despite the divisions and many cultures in it, both in social-cultural-religious terms and in national terms. Hence, this research study found that the Israeli education policy, despite the different committees during the years, with the goal of improving and changing the situation of the discriminatory education system, did not see a single "serious" or quality change or effort to change the situation of the Arab education system in Israel. Most of the interviewees assert that the State of Israel still emphasizes the definition of the state as the state of the Jewish people (especially the recent attempt to legislate the Nationality Law in the Knesset), with discriminatory laws such as the Law of Return, in addition to the continuous discrimination in the social, economic, and educational sectors. Most research studies have indicated that the Arab minority is found at the bottom of the social-economic pyramid of the State of Israel and gaps and inequality were shown in all areas between Arabs and Jews. As expected, most of the Arab citizens have difficulty identifying with the Jewish State of Israel and/or it is difficult for them to define their identity only as "Israelis" and that the "Israeli" identity must be accompanied with another identity that reduces the tension following the discrimination and the reinforcement of feelings of Palestinian national belonging.

The idea at the center of the core studies of the public-state Israeli education system is the establishment of a shared basis for a multicultural society and the creation of social

solidarity. According to Markman and Yonah (2010), two main needs should be met: the study of the basic character of the State and the determination of the contents that should be instilled in the children. In other words, what is the educational product that we are seeking to establish towards the 21st century, which are described in a number of different approaches in relation to the core programs (Piron, 2011)?

1. The core studies are important to the single student, so as to convey to him the knowledge, the tools, and the opportunities required for personal growth and self-fulfillment.
2. The core studies are necessary to society, as an anchor for all its cultural assets, objectives, and goals.
3. The core studies are necessary to create a basic common denominator in all the education frameworks that will enable the creation of a national educational infrastructure. Such an infrastructure can help in the reduction of scholastic and social gaps and ensure the quality of the education system.

This research study found that the core studies do not respect and/or realize their essential idea for the building of the shared basis for a multicultural society and the creation of social solidarity, that the core studies focused only on the learning about the Ashkenazi-hegemonic culture as the good, the supreme culture that should be aspired to and adopted while the Mizrachi-Jewish culture and Arab culture were completely ignored and/or presented as inferior, not creative, with hints to "be distant from" and "to ignore" this primitive culture. In addition, this research study also found that the Israeli state education system does not answer the three approaches proposed for the core studies, especially towards the Arab student. For instance, the argument of most of the interviewees about the first approach that the student will be at the center for the development of his personality and his self-realization stated that as long as the Israeli education system continues to be frontal, with large classes and setting loaded curricula from top down about what and how the teacher needs to teach, there was not and there will not be the appropriate personal growth of the student, not the Jewish student and not the Arab student. This considerably arose when the interviewees began to compare the situation of the students in the state schools to that of the students in the public schools. It was even argued by many of the interviewees that the product of the state education system accomplished the opposite: it caused total destruction especially towards the students with difficulties for whom there is no solution and/or attitude towards their existence in the school since the Jewish schools and especially the Arab schools are in a competition for "achievements" and the competition

for the acquisition and transmission of knowledge to the students, as much as possible and only this.

The researcher herself, as a student of the Arab schools in Israel, does not remember the reference of any teacher to the development of the personality and the self-fulfillment within the school walls towards the students, not towards her and not towards the other students. From her memories, the students who are liked, who receive all the support and encouragement, are the students who have the highest achievements, whose parents are "educated-rich", while the rest of the students did not receive attention, not personal attention, not social attention, and not cultural attention. The researcher herself sees the schools addressing the students as "grade machines", and the good ones are only the ones with the high grades. The researcher was fortunate that although she was one of the highest achievers in her class, she was not a recipient of this attitude and/or empowerment, like students whose parents were rich/educated, since her parents did not have higher education and her family roots were "modest".

Regarding the second approach the core studies also do not fulfill their goal, which was found that the core studies address only the values of Western-Ashkenazi culture in a positive and superior manner and there is near complete ignoring of Jewish-Mizrachi and Arab culture, and if the values of Mizrachi-Arab culture are mentioned it is negatively and as inferior. For instance, all the Arab interviewees asserted that there is no reference or treatment of Arab culture as a type of asset for the Arab student. Rather it is barely presented or is presented negatively, as inferior and primitive. In addition, the core studies do not have reference or attitude to the Arab student as an equal citizen in the State of Israel since all the time the state is defined as the state of the Jewish people. One of the main reasons for the lack of correspondence of the core studies to this main goal and objective is the policy of the state towards the Arabs from the establishment of the state and in the continuation during the melting pot of the Jews, the military government, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict until our time between the two nations.

The researcher did not understand the seriousness of the issue of the quality and contents of the learning in the Arab school in Israel, which completely ignores Arab culture. The researcher began to understand the role of "expected/correct" education only when she reached higher education in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Then she began to discover that in essence she had been brainwashed and her national-cultural identity had been blurred. This realization came during her four degrees through her contact with and exposure to the

learning materials in "education" in academia and in her interaction with the Arab and Jewish student movements on the topic of the cultural-natural failure she and other Arab students experienced in Israel. The researcher's experience with disappointment, with the blurring of her social-cultural and national identity, which is directed from the start by the establishment against Arab society, is one of the main reasons for her decision to research this topic for her thesis and dissertation. Her hope is to attempt to help, to recommend, to effect a change in the learning contents, the learning goals, and the education policy of the establishment towards the Arab schools, so as to shed light on the importance of change in the teaching methods and the importance of the value of the "student at the center" in personal, social, national, and achievement-based terms, for the Ministry of Education and for the colleges for the training of Arab teachers. The aim is to improve the quality of the instruction, in the shadow of the decline in the quality of teaching in the Arab schools.

Moreover, the core studies do not implement the third approach, which promises to create a basic common denominator in all the education frameworks that will enable the creation of a national educational infrastructure. Such an infrastructure can facilitate the reduction of scholastic and social gaps and ensure the quality of the education system. This research found that on the one hand a basic common denominator was created for national educational infrastructure for Jewish students but this did not include the Arab students, while on the other hand this infrastructure did not facilitate the reduction of learning and social gaps and did not realize an appropriate quality of teaching for all the students of Israel, since at the bottom of the ladder in terms of the learning achievements there are the Arab schools.

In the continuation of what was said previously, the researcher learned in her school with the Civics textbook *To Be Citizens in the State of Israel*. In this book there are whole chapters about Judaism, the State of Israel, Jews outside of Israel, and so on – but she remembers only one small "paragraph" of five lines about the Arab minority living in the State of Israel. The researcher herself levels criticism against the Ministry of Education and the textbooks in the subjects of the Civics and history, which are aimed primarily at the needs of the Jewish student. (Moreover, the focus is the Ashkenazi Jewish student, since the history textbooks for the mandatory high school matriculation examination unit in history discuss at-length World War I and World War II and the Jewish of Europe in this period, while the history of the Middle East and people there is not mentioned at all in these books.) It is clear that the goal of the policy of the Ministry of Education towards Arab society is to "blur" and ignore the needs of the national, cultural, and social identity of the Arab student and to develop feelings

of inferiority in him. In the researcher's opinion, it is hard to expect how this type of education will create a common denominator and a shared national educational infrastructure for all citizens of the State of Israel.

Hence, in the continuation of the previous finding, Markman and Yonah (2001) maintained that at the basis of the "core idea" there is recognition of the multiculturalism that characterizes society and the need for these cultures to preserve their identity and heritage in Israel. It is possible to form a core program shared by the different Jewish sectors (secular, religious, and Ultra-Orthodox), since they form around shared values. However, such a program does not include the Arab citizens. Therefore, as long as the educational discourse discusses the State of Israel as a Jewish state and the contents and objectives of the education system are thus derived, the Arab public will find it difficult to fit into the general core program (Bargouti, 2011). This research study showed that the Israeli education system does not respect the idea and values of multiculturalism in its core studies. This research study found that most Arab intellectuals, from the establishment of the state until today, objected to the situation and attempted to change and to demand their right as a national minority for "educational autonomy" and despite all the committees for the examination of the situation of the Arab education system it was all in vain, and there was no development, change, improvement, or response to the needs of the Arab minority in Israel. The main argument of the Arab intellectual about the core studies is that they ignore the Palestinian Arab heritage, the history and narrative of the Palestinian Arab nation. In addition, the studies of the Arabic language are "technical", without the development of love for the Arabic language as the national language and their proud identity, and proof is that most of the interviewees were happy primarily that the graduates of the bilingual school have mastered Hebrew as a native language and they barely mentioned the importance of the mastery and love of their native language of Arabic, thus proving that the dominant hegemonic language is the Hebrew language, without the cultivation in the heart of every student the importance of his language as a part of his identity.

The Education System for the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel

With the establishment of the State of Israel in the year 1948 the Palestinian Arab minority lost the educational autonomy that had existed in the period of the British Mandate (Al-Haj, 1996). In the year 1949 the Compulsory Education Law was legislated, intended to ensure elementary school education for all Israeli citizens, including the Arab citizens (Dror, 2007). The State Education Law (1953) defines the public education system in Israel and the objectives of the system, but it does this only in Jewish terms and for Jewish students. The

collective educational interests of the Palestinian Arab citizens in Israel are nearly completely ignored in the language of the law (Jabareen, 2006). In other words, the legislation of education in Israel ignored and continues to ignore the unique interests of the Arab students (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010).

Indeed, this research study found during the interviews, especially of the teachers and some of the educated parents, that they strongly criticized the textbooks, which completely ignore the needs of the Arab student. It was found that the decision of the learning contents is from top down, without the involvement and active participation of the Arabs in deciding about the education that is for acceptable and suitable for their children.

Ironically, the researcher also works as an evaluator of educational projects in the Arab schools in Israel. In this framework and from observation of one of the in-service training courses of the Arab teachers on the topic of "shared life", the researched noticed that the Arab teachers are "worried about" and "suspicious of" her, as an observer. They were hesitant to speak about "sensitive" topics and had difficulties speaking with the Jewish teachers on security topics. They told me, with laughter: Don't write this. This symbolizes for the researcher the existence of fear and concern remaining from the period of the military government and its influence.

Following the tense political reality between the State of Israel and the Arab states and the Palestinians, at the start of the statehood a military government was imposed on the Arab minority in Israel, impacting all areas, including education, where there was a blurring of authorities between the Ministry of Education and the system of military government under which the Arabs of Israel were subordinate until 1966. The military government intervened in many areas, and sometimes even intervened in the field of the Ministry of Education (Al-Haj, 1995). It should be remembered that Arab education in Israel operates in the context of a state with a Jewish majority. This fact leaves the control in the hands of the majority group, while the minority group has limited involvement in its contents (Abu Asba, 2007). This research study proves that until today there are still the remnants of the influence of the military government that still exist and are present in the Arab schools or there is a clandestine policy of the continuation of the "camouflaged" military government over Arab society and over the Arab education system in Israel, because of the importance of the role of the school as a focus and an agent of change in social, economic, and political terms.

This tense political situation caused the education system in Israel to be divided into two – the Jewish education system and the Arab education system. On the one hand, it gives the state education system the appearance of suitability to the cultural change and pluralism in education. However, on the other hand, the Israeli education system is still mono-cultural and not multi-cultural (Al-Haj, 1995; Mari, 1978). In essence the division of the Israeli education system into two is not out of respect for multiculturalism and/or rights of minorities in education but because the political and educational government is not interested in integrating the Arabs with the Jews and denies them educational autonomy, or in other words, controls and supervises the learning contents and the educational processes (Al-Haj, 2002). This research study showed that most of the Arab interviewees were not in contact during their lives with Jews, and they in essence were in direct and continuous contact only when they began to study in institutions of higher education, when this contact was accompanied by positive experiences and by negative experiences with the Jews. Following this diverse traumatic experience, many interviewees maintained that they sent their children to the bilingual school so that they could get to know the other, not to be afraid of the other, not to remain with stigmas about the other, and to feel equal to the Jewish majority group and not less than them.

Indeed, it was found that the educational hierarchy, teaching workers, and curriculum in the Jewish education system display a clear preference for the European-Western culture while the curriculum of the Jewish schools tends to ignore or to reduce the importance of the Mizrachi and Arab culture – or to be satisfied with the most minimal exposure – from the Arabic language, the Arab history and culture, and these too are addressed, although not overtly, in a negative manner (Abu Saad, 2007). This research study showed that the policy of the weakening of the Arab identity and culture succeeded, since most of the interviewees noted in their experiences in the contact with Jews, especially in higher education, that the Jews are better than they are, the Jews are more creative, the Jews are smarter. This feeling of inferiority and weakness was indeed engraved in the hearts of the Arab intellectuals, when this difficult experience is one of the reasons for their refusal to send their children to the state public schools, which weakens the personality and identity of the Arab student, and they preferred to send them to alternative schools – the bilingual schools – so that their children would not undergo the same trauma and/or weak and negative self-perception, as they had. It is possible to conclude that the education of their children in the bilingual school constituted for them compensation and/or balance and correction of the traumatic experience that they experienced in their childhood and when they were students.

In other words, instead of the core program reflecting the social willingness to recognize different culture groups to preserve their identity and to create a common denominator between them it constitutes an instrument through which attempts were made to duplicate the existing status quo and to ensure the privileged status of hegemonic groups in society in Israel. Namely, there was the misuse of the idea of the core (Markman & Yonah, 2010). This research study found that the implicit goal of the Israeli education system towards the Arab student is to develop the dependence of the Arab minority on the Jewish majority in social, economic, and even political terms. This research study also found that the "implicit" education policy not to develop critical thinking among Arab students so as to create a generation that is "obedient", submissive, with feelings of inferiority towards the hegemonic group.

Unfortunately, this research study found and showed that there was misuse of the core idea, in which the Arab minority is excluded from all the goals of state education and the core program, which preserved the superiority of the Ashkenazi hegemonic culture and emphasized the inferiority of the Mizrachi Arab culture. This is expressed in all areas of life of the Arab minority in Israel, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

However, in the political reality in Israel the core program is used to exclude the Arabs and the Ultra-Orthodox Jews, groups that threaten the hegemony of the dominant class (Markman & Yonah, 2010). Therefore, in the present situation of the education system in Israel, it is impossible to achieve and form a shared core program for Arabs and Jews. This is because the educational discourse in Israel, both official and public, is based on the principle that we want to cultivate educational values based on the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (Bargouti, 2011). It is possible to conclude that the policy of the establishment as well as the determination of the educational goals that exclude the Arabs and all that is related to their involvement and participation in the learning contents and textbooks and even in the setting of the decisions of the State from the beginning and intentionally are excluding Arabs from the focuses of power, as a type of control and power. This is expressed in the policy of the establishment towards the Arab education system, which can be clearly seen as intentional from the start. Thus, the Arab education system in Israel has never been granted self-management and is managed by Jewish decision makers and policy makers (Golan-Agnon, 2004; Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010). Therefore, all schools in Arab society in Israel act under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and are financed by it, and they are affiliated to some degree or another with the state education sector (Abu Asba, 2007). Arab

education therefore has fallen victim to Israeli pluralism not only in that it is managed and controlled by the majority but in that it serves as a means for the implementation of manipulations of the entire minority. The Department of Arab Education in the Ministry of Education is managed by members of the Jewish majority and the authorities determine the core curricula without the involvement of many Arabs, if any at all. The involvement of Arabs does not deviate from the boundaries of the writing or translation of books and learning materials according to the guidelines painstakingly defined and does not deviate from the policy of the majority (Mari, 1978). The authorities of the Arab local governments and the school principals are purely technical, while essential decisions are made in the Ministry of Education (Golan-Agnon, 2004).

To conclude, the Ministry of Education has the nearly absolute freedom of action to control the Arab education system in a significantly centralized manner, both regarding the school level and on the level of the colleges of teacher training and because of the legal legislation (Agbaria & Jabareen, 2015). The Arab minority in Israel has the full right to demand its collective right for education, as a national, cultural, religious, linguistic, and native minority, which has suffered and still suffers from discrimination and deprivation on a collective background (Abas, 2004, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010). Therefore, the policy of control of Arab education by the Jewish majority proves that Israel is a colonial state in all respects, and especially in education. Hence, it is possible to summarize this policy of control in the following points.

First, the education system – and in it the institutions of teacher education – was a main channel in the co-optation of the academically educated Arabs, while transforming them into public workers who perceive their educational role in a clerical manner, in the sense that the Arab teacher's role was devoid of initiative and creativity and critical thinking, with no social and civilian efficacy or involvement (Agbaria, 203). The research study found sharp criticism leveled against the Arab teachers by all the interviewees, claiming that they are indifferent to the student's personal and social needs and are only interested in the transmission of knowledge and achievements and that there is no reference to the student who has difficulties or is weak, who is put in the margins in all respects. The irony is that despite all the investment and efforts of the Arab schools and the perception of the teacher's role only from a pedagogical perspective, the Arab education system in terms of achievement is backwards and is not improving at all, as a result of the deficient training in the colleges, which harmed the competence of the future teachers to cope with the curricula in the schools and harmed the

ability of the teachers to improve the low achievements in Arabic in the Arab education system (Amara, 2013). The institutions for the training and education of Arab teachers fell victim to the control from top down and the cultivation of feelings of inferiority and the duplication of the social-political situation of the Arabs of Israel. Although the teacher has a main role both as a teacher and as an educator in the cultivation of the student's personality and concern for his wellbeing (Gilat, 2007), this research study found that most of the Arab teachers in Israel who underwent training for teaching in the institutions for Arab teachers perceive their role only as a teacher for pedagogical teaching and the transmission of knowledge, without the perception of their role as a leader or messenger or educator who is responsible also for the cultivation of the student's personality and wellbeing. The sharp criticism of all the interviewees of the perception of the Arab teacher's role in the public schools is that the teachers are only concerned about transmitting knowledge as fast as possible to the students and about the students' achievements in the tests, since there is competition between the Arab schools over which schools conveys the material fastest and has the best scores.

Arab teachers are in essence the product of the institutions for training Arab teachers, which are found under the control of the state in the structure, financing, contents, and work of the teachers. Therefore, the conclusion of the present research study is that this control is not incidental but is intentional. As Zadja et al. (2009) noted, this control is to achieve governing stability, a shared political identity, which is determined by the hegemonic majority. This research study found that one of the reasons why the Arab education system is weaker in achievements in the State of Israel is because the teachers themselves are a product of the Arab education system that was controlled at that time by the military government (1949-1966) that had the goal and policy of weakening, supervising, financing teachers and principals according to security and not professional considerations, intimidating and firing teachers who did not "obey" its policy. As expected, a failing education system developed, when some of the students became the future teachers, when this generation of teachers is a product of "ignorance" in self, identity, social, cultural, and religious terms, following the "disconnection from the Arab world and the Palestinians in the West Bank, which constituted in its time (until today) the enemy that threatens the establishment of the State of Israel." Therefore, this research study found that in addition to the fact that the Arab teacher is a product of the failing Arab education system the Arab institutions of teacher training is failing/weak and continues to educate teachers, when:

- These teachers are “ignorant” and weak in their identity awareness in all respects – national, social, religious.
- There is the continuation of the perception of the teacher’s role solely as the “transfer” of knowledge, without intervention in political issues.
- The training of the Arab teachers is limited to their area/field of teaching.
- The training of the Arab teacher is not to be critical of themselves.
- The process of the training and enrichment of teachers only focuses on frontal teaching methods and instruments, without innovation in the teaching methods and/or methods of significant learning and/or the value of the “teacher at the center”.

The conclusions of the research study derive from the sharp criticism that was directed towards the Arab teachers by all the interviewees. In addition, the researcher herself was ignorant of her national-cultural identity. Namely, the researcher herself knew she was Israeli and Palestinian but did not understand the meaning of the Palestinian identity and culture and all that is associated in terms of national days and/or her history. Her self-discovery, her national identity, developed like some of the interviewees, during her experience as a student in the Hebrew University, where she heard for the first time in her life (she was twenty years old) the word “Nakba”.

Second, this research study found that the hiring and firing of the Arab teachers in the Palestinian Arab education system in Israel is also determined according to political considerations. The employment of teachers, principals, and supervisors is given to the Ministry of Education (Al-Haj, 2001). In other words, the governing control in the Arab education system was seriously expressed in the appointment of teachers, principals, and role-holders in the Arab schools. The appointment of the teachers and the principals is subject to the approval of the *Shabak* (Gabizon & Balfour, 2005).

Hence, to be an Arab teacher in the Arab education system professional training and a teaching certificate are not enough; rather, it is necessary to have a security clearance – without the teachers’ knowledge – and to obtain the clandestine seal of approval of the *Shabak* (Al-Haj, 2001). As a result of the policy of hiring and firing, this research study found that from the period of the military government until today this policy is considered one of the main factors for the harm to loyalty and suspicion in the nature of the teacher’s role – as a leader, a messenger, an educator, an agent of change, and a cultivator of the student’s personality and

identity – on the part of Arab society towards the Arab teacher and principal, following the perception of Arab society of the "teacher" and especially the "principal" as obedient, weak, and even collaborators with the Israeli establishment. Mazoy et al. (2002) in their research study described how the Palestinian teacher in Israel was transformed from a politically involved person into an apolitical technocrat. This research study found that this change in the teacher's role, from politically involved to apolitical, frequently harmed the role of the teacher and the principal, and this through the sharp criticism that the great majority of the interviewees noted, by the fear of the principals and teachers to discuss and engage in the national days of the Palestinian Arab minority in the walls of the school. Many interviewees shared their difficult experiences of a tense conversation that they had with the principals about the management of the political discourse in the class or others had difficult experiences when they attempted to organize a ceremony for national days and the principals' response was formal and total refusal. Some of the interviewees exhibited empathy and understanding of the principal's response to silence them, following one of the experiences when the Ministry of Education summoned one of the principals who held a national ceremony in the school to a disciplinary committee. On the basis of these experiences it can be asserted that the policy of the military government continues and exists in other forms.

The patterns of the role of the Arab teacher in Israel have changed according to the historical circumstances and the ability of the training institutions to shape the learners (Agbaria, 2013). As expected, the detrimental perception of nature of the role of the Arab teacher on the part of Arab society caused early burnout and a poor self-image of the Arab teacher, in addition to the deficient training. Elian (2013) also holds that the policy of hiring and firing, controlled by the establishment, caused the dropping out of male Arab teachers, who felt that they had to deal with a professional and value-oriented dilemma. On the one hand, they are expected to teach and to strengthen the Palestinian Arab identity and on the other hand, they are supposed to teach according to the Israeli curriculum that does include in it the Palestinian issue (Elian, 2013).

Third, this research study found that the determination of the educational goals of the Arab education system was found in the hands of the establishment (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). It was also found that the goals of Arab education, from 1953 to 2000, did not undergo any essential change and the goals continued to completely ignore the Arab students (Abu-Nimer, 2001). While the focus of the Jewish education system is national-Zionist, the Arab education system lacks any Palestinian Arab content. The Arab education system attempts to

strengthen the religious-cultural component instead of the Arab national component, from the perception that the Arabs of Israel constitute a security risk and a potential for instability (Abu Asba, 2005; Al-Haj, 1996). Indeed, this research study found considerable criticism on the part of the Arab teachers of the curricula and textbooks which are completely devoid of contents relevant and appropriate to the needs of the Arab student, as in the textbooks of the Arabic language, history, religion, and citizenship. In parallel, these books, in addition to the textbooks of the Hebrew language, are filled with contents relevant to the Jewish student, thus weakening the Arab student, causing an inferior and reduced self-perception in comparison to the Jewish student. This anger was especially found among the Arab teachers of the bilingual school, who "declared" that they are forced to change/add learning contents in these textbooks so as to adjust and provide an equal response for the Arab students and for their Jewish peers who are found in the same class or school.

To differentiate between the bilingual school and the public Arab schools, it was found that the general control by the Jewish education system of the Arab education system denies the Arab population any possibility of determining its educational objectives, deprives its right to shape and guide the education system according to its collective interests, and sabotages every meaningful involvement of Palestinian Arab educators in the process of decision making, both regarding budgets and regarding contents of education intended for Arab students (Saban, 2002). This research study found that all Arab teachers who discussed the difficulties of working in the bilingual school continued and continue to work in the bilingual school, despite the difficulties of work reviewed extensively in the findings, since they have the possibility of deciding/adjusting themselves the learning contents and the textbooks, as they see fit, so that they will be commensurate with the Arab student's needs and strengthen him. According to Mari (1978) and Al-Haj (1995), the comprehensive objectives of the education system require the Arab students to learn about Jewish culture and values. The result is clearly apparent in the state curriculum for elementary and secondary schools: the Arab students are required to spend many hours on the study of Jewish culture and history and the Hebrew language, even more hours than they do learning about Arab literature and history. In addition, they are required to develop identification with Jewish values and to promote the Zionist aspirations at the expense of the development of their own national awareness and sense of belonging to their people. The Arab national identity is far less emphasized, and the Palestinian identity is not accorded any type of recognition, while the Arabs are forced to understand and sympathize with the Zionist/Jewish goals and to blur their national identity in Israel. Hence, it can be concluded that

the general and specific goals of the curriculum developed for Arab education tend to blur and not to strengthen the creation of an Arab identity (Al-Haj, 1995; Mari, 1978).

This research study found, in the continuation of the previous finding, that the very possibility for the Arab teacher in the bilingual school to "intervene in" or "decide about" the learning contents provided a very great sense of satisfaction and boosted the teacher's sense of self-confidence with herself and her role. This research study found that the Arab teachers who work in the bilingual school, despite the difficulties and their great efforts, benefited from the feeling that they are "educators", leaders of a new Arab generation, which is fundamentally different from their perception of themselves as inferior, as ignorant relative to their Jewish peers, which is something we discussed at length in the findings of the experience of "trauma" that they themselves experienced as children and/or in higher education in Israel. An important finding of the present research study is that these Arab teachers and parents who had feelings of inferiority towards themselves in comparison to Jewish society, feelings that were developed and cultivated among them by the Arab education system in Israel, which intentionally ignored the needs of the Arab student for the reinforcement of his identity and personality and intended to weaken him and present in the textbooks that the values of Arab society are inferior to those of hegemonic Jewish society – these teachers felt that they were "new" both in their self-awareness towards themselves, their society, and their culture and national identity, in their self-perception as teachers. They felt that they had value, that they were important – and this was caused by giving the teacher the opportunity to decide and determine the learning contents. This feature caused the Arab teacher in the bilingual school, unlike the teachers in the Arab public schools, to feel satisfaction, to feel that they are a part of a change for the better, to feel constant renewal following the in-service training courses in which they continually participate in the bilingual school, to feel that they are creative, that they take the initiative, and are not just a teacher who transmits the knowledge of the textbook. The teacher has become active, effective, and possessed of initiative.

Many committees were established following the failure of the Israeli public education system in general and the Arab education system in particular in terms of achievements, a situation of which the Ministry of Education in Israel is acutely aware. On the basis of this failure, especially in the international tests, many committees were established to examine the Israeli education system in different years. The Dovrat Committee was established in the period 2003-2005, and the committee of Gidon Saar in the year 2009. Their reports on this education declared the inculcation of universal and national values that society aspires to instill and that

success in this endeavor would create citizens with a shared language and social solidary, with values of consideration of others, contribution to society, equality and justice, while concurrently preserving and developing the different sources of culture at the basis of society. According to the report of the committee, the success of the State in the field of education will largely determine its future (National Task Force for the Advancement of Education in Israel, 2005, p. 50). The report of the Dovrat Committee in the year 2005 expresses conflicting voices, especially in the context of Arab education. On the one hand, the report recognizes legally the existence of separate channels of education, in terms of the existence of separate nationality, language, and lifestyle, and recognizes that it is necessary, despite the conflict, to provide expression of the separate Arab heritage and full loyalty to the State of Israel. However, because of the profound fear of the split of the Arab education system from the public education system, which may lead to the loss of the feeling of participation in Israeli society, the report negated the right of Arab and Druse education for autonomy and independent educational management with self and collective control over the schools. Therefore, instead of an autonomous educational management for the Arabs the Israeli educational establishment only hired a few Arabs at centers of decision making. Thus, the Arab education system remains enslaved to the purpose of integration in the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009).

The declaration of policy of the Minister of Education Gidon Saar in the year 2009 focuses primarily on the promotion of excellence, the improvement of the achievements, and the improvement of the quality of education, alongside the reinforcement of the education for Zionist, Jewish, democratic, and social values. Here is the place to note that the declaration included marginal reference to Arab education, while touching upon the need to improve the academic achievements among the "Arabic speakers", as the declaration put it, in the national and international tests (Agbaria, 2013). However, despite all the attempts to improve the Arab education system, the project failed, since this research study found that the role perception of the Arab school towards its students is fundamentally erroneous. It was found that the problem is not in the providing of knowledge but in the old-traditional teaching methods, which place the student not at the center. There is no education for critical thinking, and there is no adjustment of the study materials to the Arab student's needs in personal, cultural, and national terms. Indeed, according to Rom (2009), education is one of the foundation stones of every society and is closely and inseparably connected to the cultural, political, and social environment in which it is implemented. According to many researchers, the right to education

goes hand in hand with social justice and constitutes a significant component in the way to close gaps and promote society (Abu Shindi, 2010; Dahan, 2010; Lautman, 2009). The right to equal education is essential to the promotion of the principle of equality of opportunities (Dahan, 2010). Dahan (2010) maintains that for the most part social and economic gaps are translated to the class and therefore a just educational reality depends on a just social and economic reality. The education system is supposed to reduce and even eliminate the social inequality that exists in the state and to reduce the gaps between the different groups that comprise it (Abu Asba, 2004). Hence, it is possible to conclude from what has been said until now in the review of the literature that the social-economic gaps and lack of social justice were translated into inequality of opportunities in the Arab education system which is discriminated against in all areas, which was translated into the classroom and the scholastic achievements.

Moreover, the obligations of the state to education do not end with making education accessible to all the population and not with the commitment to the encouragement of the individual's participation in the education system and in the formation of the right to learn in the spirit of the right to freedom (Kalai, 2014). This is exactly what the State does: it makes education accessible without the active participation of Arabs in the contents.

To conclude, the education system in Israel was never perceived as a whole structure in which the Palestinian Arab factor constitutes a legitimate component; although Israeli society is a pluralistic society, Israel intentionally did not create a shared basis for true multicultural education and in the meantime missed the opportunity to expose Jewish students to Arab culture (Abu Saad, 2007). The collective Palestinian Arab educational interests in Israel suffer from the near absolute ignoring of the language of the State Education Law (Jabareen, 2006), lack of the resources and lack of ability of real influence (Saban, 2002). This policy of the Israeli education system regarding Arab education led to the development of alternative national education in the Arab public.

Rabin (2002) notes that Israel is a signatory of three international conventions. In these three conventions there is explicit reference to the right of education in its three components: the right to obtain education, the right to equality in education, and the right to influence the contents and objectives of education (Rabin, 2002).

This research study showed that the State of Israel indeed gives the right to obtain education and in the Arabic language to the Arab students. However, regarding the right to equality and to influence the education contents and objectives, this research showed that Israel

is still colonial, controlling and supervising from top down, when the Jewish majority is the sole factor deciding about the learning aims, the textbooks, and the curricula available for the Arab student, without the involvement or active participation of the intellectuals who belong to this minority. Moreover, this research study showed that the State of Israel not only ignores the student's needs but also uses the policy of "intimidation" and supervision and complete control over all that is related to the Arab education system, in the appointment of teachers, principals, and supervisions, in addition to the sweeping decision on the learning contents in the Arab schools.

Because of its limited political power, the Arab public did not succeed in achieving educational autonomy as the Ultra-Orthodox did. A situation was created in which the public Arab education system, which is significantly different from all the sectors of the Jewish education, remained under the secular-state roof but acted as a separate unit (Al-Haj, 1995).

Despite all the attempts of the Arab intellectuals to achieve educational autonomy and/or control over the learning contents and textbooks, they failed, and proof is that the intellectual Arab parents fled from public education to private education, if available. This political "weakness", according to this research study, when most of the interviewees are aware of the political weakness versus the establishment, forced them to search for an alternative, and this alternative is the private schools and/or bilingual schools, when both these types of schools are very few in number, since alternative education must have the approval of the establishment, and without this the school will be closed by law.

9.3 The Deficient Functioning of the Arab Education System in Israel

This section discusses the findings in light of the following question. *How is the declared policy of education of the decision makers shaped regarding the right to education according to the Convention of the Rights of Minorities in educational autonomy and the right to form and maintain the national identity?*

Israel is a signatory of three international conventions: the Convention on Economic-Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Civic and Political Rights. In these three conventions there is explicit reference to the right to education in its three components: the right to obtain an education, the right to equality in education, and the right to influence the contents and objectives of education (Rabin, 2002).

This research study seeks to prove that the State of Israel indeed grants the right to obtain education in the Arabic language to the Arab students, but regarding the right to equality

and influence on the contents of education Israel implements a colonial policy and controls and supervises the Arab education system. Thus, a situation is created in which the Jewish majority in the Ministry of Education is the exclusive deciding factor over the contents and objectives of the textbooks and curricula submitted to the Arab student, without involving the educated people belonging to this minority population. In addition, this research study maintains that the policy of the Israeli Ministry of Education not only ignores the needs of the Arab student but also uses a policy of intimidation – or in other words, total supervision and control regarding all that is related to the Arab education system – both in the appointment of the teachers, principals, and supervisors and in the sweeping control over the learning contents in the Arab schools.

The research study indicates that the Arab education system in Israel does not receive educational equality and does not enjoy educational autonomy according to the approaches for the rights of minorities. In addition, it suffers from discrimination, inequality in education, and lack of autonomy; all these contribute to the deficient functioning of the Arab education system and its failure in terms of achievements. This failure is expressed in the response in the formation of the personal-national identity of the Arab student, when, according to the review of the literature, it is one of the important roles of the school. This argument is addressed at-length later in the discussion.

This chapter examines two main roles of the school – the increase of the accessibility of knowledge and the appropriate quality of teaching for the students – and their contribution to the formation of the student's personal identity, which includes the civil, social-religious, and national identity.

1. Increase of the Accessibility to Knowledge and Quality of Instruction in the Arab Education System

According to traditional Arab society, the main role of the school is the acquisition of knowledge and the attainment of high achievements, in contrast to the values of the school in modern society, which call to place the student at the center and form the student's personal, social, and national identity.

Therefore, this research study found the great disappointment among most of the interviewees of Arab society (and the researcher herself) and especially the Arab intellectuals with the quality of the teaching, the level of the pedagogy, and the professional achievements in the Arab schools. The decisive majority of the interviewees noted in the interviews that the

teaching methods of the Arab schools are traditional, uniform, and standard. The main goal is the repetition of the material, without in-depth understanding and/or significant learning.

From the researcher's personal experience in the Arab schools in her childhood and from her short experience with her eldest child who learned in a school in an Arab community, the researcher agrees with the argument of most of the researchers that until today the teaching methods in the Arab schools are traditional and frontal. The teacher and the teacher's dissemination of knowledge and the achievements are at the center – and not the student's personal, cultural, social, and national needs.

The researchers of education (Cuban, 1990; Yosifon, 2006) maintain that two educational ideologies are prevalent today in the education systems around the world: the traditional approach and the progressive approach.

The traditional approach is based on the culture of traditional teaching, which acts according to perceptions on the nature of learning: uniform learning contents, frontal teaching, an allotted learning time equal for everyone, and the teacher generally as the main source of knowledge. Traditional teaching is held since the cultural and social contexts that influence everyday life in the school do not encourage criticism or questions.

Traditional teaching preserves not only the arrangements existing in the school but also the outside social arrangements to which it is related. The teachers are not generally critical towards educational processes and interpret them as the reflection of the reality they know. This arrangement is the outcome of the traditional-conservative approach, according to which the teachers perceive the tradition and culture of the school as obvious. This research study found that in most of the Arab schools the traditional educational ideology prevails, and the teaching method causes alienation and boredom, thus leading to the alienation of the students from the frontal instruction.

The researcher finds herself in a very embarrassing, angering, and upsetting situation. Her eldest son, in the second grade, already in his experience in the first grade was bored and refused to go to school. Her son claimed that there is too much homework, all the time they learn in the class without moving from the chair, with only one short recess, in which he does not have enough time to eat and to play.

Another aspect of this approach is the rigid attitude of the Arab teacher to his students, which derives from the need to provide the learning materials. This rigid attitude angers the young Arab intellectual parents. They feel that in addition to all the problems there is no

personal attitude and there is no respectful reference both to the students as people and to the difference between the students in terms of learning. Hence, the Arab parents began to search for their children for new, alternative education, and one of the few alternatives is bilingual education.

Most members of the new generation of intellectual Arab parents support the progressive approach, which reflects a different solution to the fundamental questions of education and learning. This approach focuses on learning with a humanist emphasis and on the change of the traditional methods of teaching and assessment. The different approaches in this school of thought formed in light of social ideas, such as the right to difference, individuality, and the importance of the individual's self-fulfillment.

In this approach, there is internalization of the results of contemporary research studies from the field of the psychology of learning and new pedagogical practices: personal learning, cooperative activity in small groups, and acquisition of learning strategies, cultivation of criticism, social sensitivity, awareness of the environment, and so on. The assumption is that the response to the individual's needs and the appropriate educational response to all the students, including those whose cognitive ability is lower, will allow them to fulfill in the best way their learning potential (Cuban, 1990; Yosifon, 2006).

This research study shows that in Israel alternative education in general and bilingual education in particular meet most of the values of progressive education. All the interviewees in the research are satisfied with the quality of the instruction and the development and formation of the children's personality. The interviewees all noted and emphasized one of the prominent advantages – the Arab student from the bilingual school has a strong personality, is proud and confident, has a high self-image, and is secure in himself, responsible, and independent.

It is impossible to examine exclusively the topic of the formation of the national identity without addressing the functioning of the Arab education system in Israel. One of the main instruments for the formation of the national identity among students is the anchoring of the history and heritage that are relevant to the student and that help him fashion his national personal identity. In addition to the suitable learning contents, relevant texts are lacking.

Research studies indicate that the conservative political, economic, social outlook will act to have traditional education and will emphasize processes such as standardization of the curricula and the ways of the assessment of achievements. In contrast, the liberal social-

political outlook will hold progressive education and will allow flexible curricula, innovative teaching methods, and greater autonomy to the schools, teachers, and students.

This research study indicates that the policy of the Ministry of Education towards the Arab education system in Israel is suited to traditional education, while the policy of education towards Jewish education, which includes the bilingual schools, is suited to progressive education. In the bilingual schools the values of progressive education are expressed, such as unique school-based curricula, innovative teaching methods, humanist education, and they enjoy relative "autonomy" for informal activities, such as the organization and implementation of national days.

This research study found that Arab society in Israel is still conservative and still has a low political-economic-social status, in comparison to Jewish society in Israel. This fact is expressed in the significant differences between the Arab schools and the Jewish schools and the bilingual school.

The Arab education system is supposed to prepare its students and make accessible for its graduates the possibility of the acquisition of a higher education. However, it still finds it difficult to meet this challenge (Abu Asba & Abu Nasra, 2011). Many interviewees noted that one of the reasons they send their children to learn in the bilingual school is to enjoy good conditions and quality of instruction that ensure better achievements.

This research study indicates the emphasis on and importance of the Hebrew language. Most of the interviewees maintained that the Arab students benefit from the bilingual education since their mastery of the Hebrew language will promote and lead them to succeed in higher education in Israel. This is to differentiate from the state Arab schools, which fail in the study of the Hebrew language.

In addition, it is important to them that their children acquire the Hebrew language as a tool for mobility and advancement in the Israeli academia and in the Israeli job market. The generation of parents experienced many difficulties when it entered and integrated into the Israeli academia, experiences that for them constituted a turning point. Because of these difficulties, their self-image was harmed, and they found it difficult to succeed and suffered from learning difficulties in the Israeli academia. They wanted to save their children from this and to provide them with an academic experience, equal, secure, and successful, like that of their Jewish colleagues. In their opinion, a successful experience like this one will be made possible because of the direct contact with the hegemonic Jewish group in bilingual education.

Since the establishment of the State, the Minister of Education has appointed an infinite number of state and professional committees that addressed the examination of the situation of the Arab education system. These committees recommended changes and improvements (Abu Asba, 2007), but they did not address, for the most part, the practical and immediate needs of Arab education, such as the construction of classrooms and the direction of designated resources (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009).

It is not surprising that this research study found there is great disappointment in Arab society with the quality of the teaching and the Arab educational pedagogy and it is not surprising that this is reflected in their children's achievements. Indeed, this research indicates that despite all the attempts of the Ministry of Education to improve the quality and methods of the instruction in Israeli Arab education, in the Arab education system the traditional teaching methods are still apparent.

These traditional teaching methods lead to the boredom of the Arab students and cause a decline in the students' motivation and achievements, as expected. Mustafa (2007) maintains that the percentage of the Arab students who are eligible for a high quality high school matriculation examination is lower in comparison to the rest of the population and is 41% (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010, table 8.23). Consistently and clearly there are gaps in the achievements of the students in Israel, which indicate that the achievements of the Hebrew speaking students are far higher than those of the Arabic speaking students in all areas of knowledge, including science and technology, English, mathematics, and language acquisition (Agbaria, 2013).

The Israeli Ministry of Education frequently compares between the Arab education system and the Jewish education system and notes the gap between the two education systems in most fields, including in the division of the resources. This gap causes a poor quality of instruction and poor achievements (Ministry of Education Website, Arab Education Looking at the Future, June 2005). Abu Asba (2008) further notes that since 2001 these gaps are measured in the meyzav tests and their outcomes every year indicate significant gaps between the students' achievements in Arab education and the students' achievements in Jewish education.

The main factor of the low achievements in the Arab schools lies in the attempt of the Arab schools to improve their achievements while foregoing education for Arab values, language, history, and heritage. Abu Asba (2001, 2005, 2007) holds that the Arab schools in

Israel chose excellence at the expense of value-oriented education (Agbaria, 2013) and strengthens this argument, adding that the policy of the education system has led the Arab school in Israel to define its roles as responsible for the achievements of its students more than for their values and thus lessens its role in the political socialization of its students (Agbaria, 2013).

This research argument is that education for values and for the formation of the student's personal-national identity is an essential condition of the success of the Arab student in terms of achievement but this does not happen as long as the Arab school sees its role to be the transmission of knowledge and the attainment of achievements and sees everything in the success as an individual. The school begins to reduce at its own initiative its responsibility for the shaping of its students' collective identity. This way not only leads to the diminishment of the schools' social-political role but also serves as justification and even as a means for the avoidance of the coping with the complex political questions in the issue of the civic and national identity of the Palestinians in Israel.

In essence, the policy of the education system towards the Palestinian minority in Israel is connected to the school achievements and thus the Ministry of Education establishes committees to improve the situation of the Arab schools (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009), but the outcome in terms of achievements remains unchanged, since it is necessary to have multicultural education that meets the Arab student's needs. In addition, because of the alienation and lack of adjustment of the learning contents to the needs of the Arab student, it was found that the percentage of the dropping out among the Arab youths is higher than that among the Jewish youths (Mei Ami, 2003).

To conclude, the policy of education and the curricula for Arab education prove the failure and lack of suitability for the needs of the population. This failure is reflected in the low level of achievements of the Arab students and the high percentage of dropping out. Consequently, the percentage of the students who have a (quality) high school matriculation certificate is lower than that of the students in Jewish education, which influences the percentage of the Arab students in the institutions of higher education. This reality contributes to the continuation of the social-economic gaps between the two sectors, the Arab sector and the Jewish sector.

2. The Role of the School in the Formation of the Student's Personal Identity – Civic, Social, Religious, and National Identity

According to social psychology, nationality is identity. Nationality as a discourse creates a process of the building of the identities and creates a conceptual framework that leads to certain uses in mental perceptions and inspires ideas regarding ourselves as nationalists (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). The social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal (in Fruchter-Ronen, 2012) emphasizes the national uniqueness that enables the differentiation between internal groups and external groups and the definition of who belongs to us and who does not belong. He maintains that the sense of national uniqueness is a psychological-social need for the creation of a global social order and for the enabling of the individual to understand his place in the world. However, this feeling is not stable and fixed but dynamic and changing and is built anew in the context of relations with other identities that exist in the national space (in Fruchter-Ronen, 2012).

National identity connects the individual to his past and to his community, empowers him, and gives him a feeling of meaning and belonging. National narratives inculcate in the members of the nationality one version, partial, biased, and controversial, of the historical past (Ben Shemesh, 2010). The national identity is a dynamic concept related to the reciprocal relations between the different structures of the state, the agents of socialization, the economic structure, and the political structure. The conclusion is that "national identity" is largely a result of processes of social construction. The main components of the national identity therefore are customs, homeland, territory, and religion (Kelman, 1997; Huber, 2004).

Smith (2002) maintains that the belonging to the nation gives meaning to the social and political order that the individuals are born into or live in, since the institutions, laws, norms, and roles ae perceived as tools that derive from the social and political definitions of the nation state. The desire to belong to a nation derives from the human need to belong to a framework that gives the individual security and protection and it enables the state as an institution to achieve objectives and protect its interests (Kelman, 1997). Therefore, the national identity is a product of the feeling of identification and belonging to the group. This process symbolizes shared awareness and recognition of the members of the collective that everyone has the same social identity (Bar-Tal, 2000). The nation needs, therefore, repeated "reminders", through symbols, ceremonies, and myths that are repeated through the agents of the country and disseminate the popular culture, regarding the nature that defines it. These reminders are both "positive" and "negative". They address not only the positive identification and presentation of the values that identify the national collective but also the negative and exclusionary facets.

Thus they define and confirm our boundaries, the “us”, and simultaneously indicate and create the “them”.

Hence, the identification of this part of the culture (Geertz, 1990) in the creation of the national identity and in its updating and confirmation is central to the understanding of the national phenomena. The national culture is the culture through which the descriptive themes of society are engraved into the bodies of its citizens.

The process of the building of the national identity is closely related to the education system in which the person is found. The education system serves as the strongest and most significant mechanism in the transformation of young people into citizens with a clear national connection (Levy-Dafna, 2011). Patriotism and civil religion are the two aspects that are expressed in education as cultivating the connection between the citizen and the state and homeland (Shlonsky, 2010). The importance of the processes of structuring in the shaping of the national identity makes the education system into a central instrument of the state for the promotion of the young citizens’ collective identity. The effectiveness of the education system in this context derives from the fact that most of the population enters the gates of the education system and the young age of the children who sit on the benches enables a convenient platform for the shaping of their perceptions.

Generally the education system reflects the values of the state and will inculcate them in the children, explicitly or implicitly, through the contents conveyed, through the symbols, rituals, and language, and the emphasis of certain values over others. In a situation of profound national, social, and cultural divisions and in a situation of conflict between two societies, it is possible to build a complex identity, which in the end enables to cause belonging from choice at least in certain parts of the origin culture, alongside the acceptance of parts of the “counter” culture and from a critical outlook on both cultures (Ghanem & Levin-Rosales, 2015).

The school has an important role in the building of the identity (Aspachs-Bracons, Clots-Figueras, Costa-Font, & Masella, 2008). According to the perceptions of the identity that guide interaction between internal and external processes, the school has the potential of great influence on the perception of reality and the definition of the identity. The research of Al-Haj (2002) found that the learning contents influence the identity. For example, Arab children in Israel study in schools where the language of instruction is Arabic and not Hebrew and the curriculum includes chapters in the culture, heritage, history, and religion of the Arab population. The studies of the Arabic language and literature come before that of the Hebrew

language and literature. The vacation days of the schools in the Arab education system do not always overlap with those of the schools in the Jewish sector (Tzartzur, 1989). The separation in the education system is also maintained in the mixed cities, both in the language and in some of the educational programs. There are few mixed schools in Israel (Landau, 1993).

The textbooks have an important role in the creation of the historical memory and the collective awareness of the nation, and they change over the years according to the social changes and changes in the awareness that occur in the elite. The textbooks written under the supervision of the state and learned in its institutions are therefore agents of memory important in this process and they are perceived as devices for the inculcation of abilities, values, and attitudes (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012). The education system that includes the schools and the textbooks serve as a tool of the State with the role of disseminating the image and the heritage of the "nation" and thus strengthening the citizen's connection to the State (Podeh, 1997).

The steadily increasing exposure of the young generation to electronic media and to the use of the Internet reduced without a doubt the centrality and importance of the textbook as an educational device, but nevertheless the textbooks continue to shape the student's outlook since they are a part of the process of socialization and acculturation, through which the young generation internalizes the values and norms of society (Nasser, 2002, in Zalkovitz, 2008; Podeh, 2002).

The knowledge presented in the textbooks is not objective or neutral but reflects the power relations in society and especially the discourse of the dominant group – status, ethnic group, or a number of governing groups (Giroux, 1988). The textbooks in history are largely a part of the official historiography of the State and they are one example of the attempt of the elite to create collective focuses of memory. History books are especially important, since for the student they are the main source of the recognition of the past. The student's image regarding other nations or regarding himself will express in the end the history he learned as a child (Fruchter-Ronen, 2012).

In addition, this research study found that until today there are still indications and influences of the military government, in the Arab education system in Israel, in the learning contents that act to blur the national, cultural, and religious identity and in the appointment of teachers and principals, and they prevent them from holding learning days / cohesion days on the national days.

The researcher finds herself forced to deal with and to explain to her eldest child about Nakba Day and Independence Day, although it is the school's role to explain these topics/days, since on Independence Day there is school vacation and the Arab children do not understand why there is vacation and do not understand the meaning of this day in Palestinian culture and nationality. Unfortunately, in the researcher's opinion, from her time as a school student until today, the students do not receive an explanation about these important and sensitive days. The students from then until today continue to be ignorant on national days and topics pertaining to their identity. Hence, in the researcher's opinion according to the present situation of schools the parents have a very important part in the development of the awareness and identity of their children, in personal, cultural, and national terms, in the shadow of the digital era that enables their children to be exposed to information that is not from school sources and is not trustworthy or is even prohibited in the Arab education system in Israel.

For example, one of the teachers who participated in the research maintains that perhaps the principals want to hold national days and to develop the formation of the national identity of the students but they do not have the courage to do so, following the intimidation that lasts until today (not in the name of the military government) but in the name of the laws of the "establishment" that prohibits the existence of "education activity" without the approval of the establishment, the Nakba Day, Land Day, or the Intifada. Another teacher maintained that one of the principals who held in his school unique educational activity on Nakba Day was summoned to a disciplinary committee by the Ministry of Education, to deter and frighten a person who will act against the rules and directives of the Ministry of Education.

The Arab education system is still controlled from top down. This control is aimed at weakening and blurring the Arab student's national identity and weakening the personality of the Arab student in the school. This is one of the reasons why the Arab teacher sees his main role in providing knowledge to the students. The Arab students who underwent training in the colleges stopped perceiving themselves as leaders and agents of change and see themselves only as teachers, thus harming severely their role as educators and leaders above all. This fact is one of the causes of the decline in the quality of the teaching and the achievements, despite the concentration of efforts of the Arab schools on this topic. Teaching without education, learning knowledge without learning about the student's history and personal and national identity – these do not meet the student's needs, thus leading in turn to the decline of the Arab education system in Israel and the perception of the Arab teachers and principals as weak and as collaborators with the establishment. This perception causes the lack of confidence and lack

of trust between the students and their parents and the teachers and principals in the Arab schools.

While the focus of the Jewish education system is national and Zionist, the Arab education system lacks any Palestinian Arab content. The Arab education system attempts to strengthen the religious-cultural component instead of the Arab national component, from the perception that the Arabs of Israel constitute a security risk and potential for instability (Abu Asba, 2005; Al-Haj, 1996).

This research study found, on the basis of the large part of the interviews, that there is an argument that there is a significant difference between the Jewish awareness and the Arab awareness regarding the national-personal identity and the history of the people. This fact influences the teacher's personality and self-confidence and her attitude towards the students. The present research study further found that the Arab teachers are more burned-out and have low self-image following the perception of the role of the Arab teacher as conveyor of knowledge to the students and for achievements – and that is all. In contrast, the Jewish teacher trains the student for love of the homeland, for emotional development, for belonging to the state and the Jewish people, for the encouragement of the student to bear responsibility for the protection of the State, and for the development of national religious and cultural belonging to Israeli society. The difference in these goals of education between the Arab student and the Jewish students is visible.

Israeli education ignores the needs of the Arab student. It is mentioned in the last sections of the goals, as a recommendation to the State to recognize the non-Jewish culture in Israel, without development and/or precise explanation. How to recognize the other? What should be recognized in it? Since the military government, Arab culture is presented as primitive, inferior, and not creative.

The present research study indicates that there is an intentional goal of the establishment to harm and to weaken Arab education and to create a submissive generation, obedient, and with a low self-image. One of the ways is to create a teacher who does not know well enough his identity and heritage and to blur his role as a leader and an emissary and to reduce his role to only that of a conveyor of knowledge. This research study showed that the previous generations both of teachers and of parents, especially those who grew up in the period of the military government or whose parents lived in this period, are "ignorant" regarding their national identity and recognize only their religious identity.

Makkawi (2002) describes the expectations of the State from the Arab teacher, in that he will contribute to the preservation of the hegemonic relations that exist between the society of the majority and the minority while accepting them as natural and beneficial. In addition, he will empty education from the identification with the Palestinian national story/narrative through the denial of it and alienation from it and through the dissemination of the competing Zionist Jewish narrative. He describes the expectations of Arab society from the Arab teacher who belongs to it and acts in it – to contribute to the shaping of the awareness and collective identity of the Palestinian students and to help them achieve social mobility in Israel. His description proves the reason of the disappointment with and decline in the status of the teacher in Arab society in Israel.

3. The Quality of Learning of the Arabic Language versus the Learning of the Hebrew Language

In Israel, there is a system of elementary and high schools in the in the Arabic language for the Arabs of Israel (Noyberger, 1995). This research study indicates that in the State of Israel, the Arab students enjoy school education in the Arabic language, their native tongue, through the separation between the Arab schools and the Jewish schools. Thus, every "society" learns separately. This situation leads to the situation that the Israeli education system separates between the Arab schools and the Jewish schools. In addition, this research study found that the quality of the learning of the Arabic language, relative to the studies of the Hebrew language, is low, marginal, technical, and lacking in interest and challenge. It lacks a facet for the development of identity and love of the native language, which is an important and significant part of the personal identity of each and every student.

This situation is fundamentally different from the learning of the Hebrew language in the Jewish schools, which is undertaken through the encouragement of the love of the Hebrew language (both for the Arab student and especially for the Jewish student) as a mother tongue. In the study of the Hebrew language, the student learns to be proud of it, through the studies of interesting texts and songs that present a Jewish national aspect, which is lacking in the studies of the Arabic language, which is presented as a difficult and cold language, lacking in texts, songs, and Arabic literature interesting for the student.

In the decisive majority of the learning contents in the Arabic language, there is no national cultural connection to the Arab student that will help the student feel love for his language and heritage. Rather the reverse is true: this research study found that most of the

Arab interviewees (teachers, parents, and students) emphasized the importance of the study and mastery of the Hebrew language and noted their satisfaction with the studies in the bilingual school and were proud that they have mastered the Hebrew language as a native language. In contrast, not a single interviewee (aside from the teachers of the Arabic language) noted or emphasized the importance of the acquisition of the Arabic language, were interested or attributed importance to the contents and topics of the learning in the Arabic language, and were proud of the Arabic language as a native language and as a part of their identity.

The researcher herself cannot deny this finding, this fact, about the importance of the Hebrew language. One of the main reasons she sent her children to the bilingual kindergartens and in the continuation to extra-curricular courses in Jewish communities was to ensure her children's mastery of the Hebrew language. This importance, according to the researcher, derives from her awareness and her own difficult experience in her first year of university with the problems of language. She, like the interviewees in the present research, does not want her children to undergo this difficulty when they enter higher education in Israel.

This research study proves also that in the alternative bilingual schools the Hebrew language is dominant and hegemonic. Despite all the attempts to improve and encourage the importance of the Arabic language, most of the Jewish students still have not mastered the Arabic language, as the Arab students have mastered the Hebrew language.

Amara (2013) discussed the relationship between language, identity, and education in the programs for the teaching of the Arabic language in the Arab colleges for teacher training and maintained that the Arabic language is learned in them in a limited and instrumental manner. The fact that it is a language of cultural national identity is clearly ignored in these institutions.

The deficient training in the colleges harms the future teachers' ability to cope with the curricula in the schools and the teachers' ability to improve the low achievements in Arabic in the Arab education system. Therefore, according to Amara (2013), a reform is necessary that will emphasize the richness of Arabic and the relationship between it and the national and cultural identity.

Another basic right of a native minority is the right to influence the contents of education (Agbaria & Jabareen, 2015). However, the right of the Palestinian minority in Israel to maintain educational autonomy does not in essence exist, although it is an important right of principle, which determines largely the degree of cultural freedom that the minority group

enjoys in the choice of its identities and in the determination of the values according to which it wants to live and to educate the coming generations (Agbaria & Jabareen, 2015).

This research study found that it would appear that in the Arab schools the study is performed in the Arabic language, their native language, but the determination of the goals of the learning and the contents of education is undertaken by the Jewish majority in the Ministry of Education, or in other words, from top down, when there is intervention and minimal participation of people of the Arab minority. Most of the interviewees, parents and teachers, primarily the teachers who are exposed to and engage more in the learning contents and textbooks, maintain that they are disappointed that there are many contents that do not suit the needs of the Arab students. This fact forces them to change and/or to add themselves – learning texts and topics that suit the needs of the Arab student. For instance, one of the teachers who teaches the Arabic language was forced to insert texts of the famous Arab poet Ahmad Shuki, a poet who frequently wrote for children. She also asserts that she is disappointed that most of the learning materials in the Arab schools do not address Arab heritage and/or Arab-Muslim scientists although there are many Arab scientists, poets, and authors.

To conclude, the amendment to the State Education Law in the year 2000 did not sufficiently address the need for objectives of education of the Arab students. According to the amendment, the goals of state education are to teach the Torah (Bible) of Israel, the history of the Jewish people, the heritage of Israel, and Jewish tradition and to inculcate the awareness of the memory of the Holocaust and acts of courage. This is in addition to universal objectives. The sole reference to the Arab population in the amendment to the law is the recognition of the language, culture, history, heritage, and unique tradition of the Arab population and other groups of population in the State of Israel and the recognition of the equal rights of all the citizens of Israel. It is possible to see that these goals are intended for the Jewish student, who must know the uniqueness of the Arab population. In other words, the amendment to the law in essence creates clear asymmetry: there is no explicit reference to the goals of education for the Arab child and the place of the recognition of the minority as a national and native minority and as a part of the Palestinian nation and the Arab nation (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

4. The Reasons for the Lack of Functioning of the Arab Education System in the Topics of the Formation of the Cultural and National Identity

This research study showed that there are a number of main reasons for the lack of functioning of the Arab education system and the lack of success in the fulfillment of its roles.

First, the teachers are an essential part of the quality of education and teaching and their role is to provide the student with tools for the formation of the personal, social-cultural, and national identity. This research study found that one of the main factors for the failure of the state Arab education system and the gap between the Arab education system and the Jewish education system, according to the reports of most of the interviewees, is the quality of the teaching of the Arab teachers in the institutions for the training of the Arab teachers. They maintain that there is a difference between the quality of the Arab teachers and the quality of the Jewish teachers in terms of the personal attitude towards the student, the cultivation of the student's personal and national identity, the teaching methods, the principle of the student in the middle, pedagogical methods, and meaningful/cooperative learning. It was found that the Arab teachers perceive their role only as "transmitters" of knowledge and see the student's achievements to be everything.

Second, it can be asserted that the teachers of Arabic are a product of the institutions for the training of Arab teachers, which are found under the control of the state. The control is expressed in the structure, financing, contents, and work of the teachers (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2015) and as noted by Zadja et al. (2009) the purpose of this control is to achieve governing stability and joint political identity. The conclusion of this research study is that the control of the hegemonic Jewish majority of the institutions for the training of Arab teachers in Israel is not incidental but is intentional and deliberate, so as to prevent the development of "critical" thinking among the Arab teachers and students and to create a generation that is "obedient, quiet, and silent".

Third, the present research study found that there is great disappointment in Arab society, especially among the intellectuals, the Arab teachers, and the graduates, with the perception of the teacher's role, with the degree of the teacher's lack of awareness, with the ignorance in the teachers' national-cultural identity, and with her teaching methods. The reason is that the teachers are the product of the schools that completely ignored the Arab culture and the Palestinian heritage. Moreover, they are a product of the education system that was under the military government, when its primary goal was the blurring of the national identity and the weakening of the Arab sense of belonging and unity in Israel. In addition to the "poor" training of the teachers in the institutions for teacher training, it was found that the Arab students who learn in the colleges for teacher training are a product of a failing education system and they come from a very low starting point, both in terms of academics and in terms of the personal side, in comparison to the Jewish students (Harish & Dabul, 2013). This starting

point makes it easier for the educational establishment to manage the Arab students as it sees fit.

This research study found that most of the Arab teachers are ignorant about their identity. Some of the interviewees maintained that they themselves were exposed to and learned about their national identity in the bilingual school, while others held that the exposure to the nature of their national identity occurred when they were students in the institutions of higher education in Israel.

5. Strengthening of the Demand for Educational-Cultural Autonomy in Legislation

Because of the repression of the Arab education system in Israel and as a result of the poor achievements, in pedagogical, social, economic, political, and national terms of the Arab education system, the constant demand for Arab educational autonomy is raised (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2010).

The different professional committees that the Ministry of Education appointed and that attempted to provide solutions for the improvement of the quality of the teaching and the achievements in the Arab education system failed in their efforts. They did not address sufficiently the strategic interests of Arab education, which include full equality and recognition of the historical-cultural narrative of the Arab minority in Israel. This recognition means the recognition of the duty of the education system to treat the unique social problems of Arab society, which are a product of the same narrative: chronic poverty, violence, environmental dangers, and so on. This is not only the recognition of the cultural uniqueness of Arab education but also the uniqueness of the problems with which it copes. They failed at the attempt to conduct a full and meaningful partnership with the professionals and representatives of the Arab public in the formation of the pedagogical policy and the management of the issues of Arab education (Agbaria & Mahajana, 2009).

To conclude, the colonial reality that the Arab minority in Israel lives results in the education being a real right only when it is available, accessible, acceptable, and adjusted. Acceptable education is education that satisfies the students' parents in terms of its quality and the relevance of the learning contents and values conveyed to their children through them. For education to be acceptable, the state must forego the political religious indoctrination and cultivate open and tolerant education towards the different voices and competing narratives.

Adjusted education means there is adjustment to the needs that change from one group to another in society and to the students' local context, language, and culture. Simultaneously

the state must ensure that the education contents and messages are available and accessible to the students in an equal manner, without any discrimination (Tomasevski, 2004, p. 60).

Unfortunately, this research study found that Arab education is not acceptable and is not adjusted to the Arab student's needs and does not provide a solution for the linguistic and local needs and the cultural values of Arab society. Many parents maintained that the education they received in their childhood and the education that the Arab students receive in the state Arab schools are not acceptable for them and are not adjusted to the Arab student's needs in personal, social, cultural, and national terms.

Therefore, as a result of this situation, the Arab parents chose alternative bilingual education, when one of their aims was to provide a personal solution for the needs of every student in personal, social, cultural, and national terms. This research study found that most of the interviewees – teachers, parents, and graduates – are satisfied with the quality of the education they received in the bilingual schools. For them this was appropriate, acceptable, available, and accessible education, except for the lessons on the Islamic religion. On this topic, there was a difference of opinion between the interviewees, when some asserted that the religious education was sufficient and others asserted that there was a lack of the learning of the religious studies.

This research study showed through all the interviewees that the State of Israel and the policy of the Ministry of Education have failed in their goal of providing accessible, available, acceptable, and adjusted education. As a result of this failure, educated and well-off families referred to forego the failing state education and chose alternative education in a framework that permits, is recommended, and is preferred and even is challenging (as will be explained in the following section).

9.4 The Emptying of Contents that Act to "Form the Palestinian National Identity" in Arab Education in Israel and the Development of Alternative Education

This section discusses the findings of the research study in light of the research questions:

- What are the ways of coping that the Arabs of Israel are forced to adopt so as to adjust and/or search for a compensatory alternative for the situation of the public Arab education system?

- To what extent has alternative/bilingual education succeeded to meet the expectations and needs of the Arab minority in Israel in personal, social, cultural, and national terms?

The child's right to develop and to cultivate an identity in the school walls is anchored in international convention. The right to the identity is further validated in a divided multiethnic society, since the principle of equality obligates equal fulfillment, through the equal recognition of the diverse group identities in societies, of their history, and of their unique narratives (Eide, 2000, in Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

The importance of the school for the student in the Arab sector is especially high because of the lack of frameworks and informal institutions in Arab society. Thus, in relative terms, the Arab student spends considerable time in the school, thus influencing in turn his perception of identity, attitudes, and outlooks (Hatav, 1988).

The curriculum in the Arab schools denies the Palestinian Arab identity and culture and emphasizes the Zionist Jewish values. Thus it reinforces the sense of deprivation of the Arab students and teachers and causes steadily increasing alienation (Abu-Asba, 2004; Golan-Agnon, 2004).

According to Al-Haj (1996), the contents of the Arab education system were intended to create a submissive Arab who is prepared to accept his inferiority versus Jewish superiority and to weaken the Palestinian Arab identity. Mari (1978) maintains that the Arab education system aspires to shape a unique Israeli Arab, who is disconnected from his original national and cultural roots, inextricably linked to the Arab world and the Palestinians.

According to the assertion of the absolute majority of the interviewees in this research study, the learning contents and the textbooks for the Arab students ignore the characteristics of the Palestinian Arab identity and culture and empty it of content. The emptying of the contents necessary and important for the identity of the Arab student in Israel is one of the reasons for the development of alternative education and for the Arab parents' search for alternative education. This education does not always exist, and if it exists it is not always permissible and legal.

The researcher, as an Arab who studied her entire life in the state public schools, does not remember that she learned at any time learning contents related to Arab culture and/or Palestinian heritage. The absence of this reference to the needs of the Palestinian Arab student in Israel is in the learning contents themselves and represents the total ignoring in terms of informal education in the school. The researcher until today remembers by heart the values of

Jewish culture and religion that she learned to obtain her full high school matriculation certificate. For example, she studied the complete history of the Holocaust in Germany and World War I and II in Europe, and the poems of Haim Nahman Bialik, when she even remembers “In the Beginning” and “Dove”. However, the researcher did not take a single unit of matriculation in the Islamic religion. She has three units in the Arabic language, with an average score, unlike the five units in the Hebrew language with a high average. This proves the argument of the review of the literature and the interviewees of the present research study that the policy of the establishment towards the Arab education system in Israel is to empty the learning contents of the Palestinian Arab heritage and culture.

In essence, it was found that the curriculum and the organizational structure of the Arab education system in Israel place barriers against the formation of the student’s national identity (Abu Asba, 2003). In contrast to its Jewish parallel, Arab education does not have educational objectives that engage in the development of belonging or national, cultural, or religious identity (Pinson & Anon, 2006).

In the continuation of the discussion, I will address at-length the constraints and difficulties that the parents in Arab society experience in their search for an educational alternative that is good, legal, and of quality and that meets the Arab student’s needs and the Arab parents’ expectations.

The behavior of the Israeli establishment towards Arab education contradicts and counters the rights of the indigenous minorities in a democratic state that are determined in the conventions on minority rights Israel has signed. Different researchers, such as Agbaria and Jabareen, maintained that Israel does not ensure equality of opportunities and rights for its citizens but rather there is intentional ignoring of the Arab student’s identity needs. They assert that this has continued from the period of the military government, that the Arab minority constitutes a threat and a danger to the existence of the State of Israel.

In the continuation of the discriminatory education policy that ignores the needs of the formation of the Arab student’s national-cultural identity, this research study found that some of the Arab citizens feel confusion about their identity. As Kimerling and Migdal (1999) stated, the development of the Arab education in dominant Jewish culture is prone to have conflicting messages. Formal education serves for the Arab students as a confusing experience since the cultural and linguistic contents transmitted in the schools contradict the values of Arab national

culture and identity, which they receive in frameworks outside of the school and with which they are expected to identify (Kimerling & Migdal, 1999).

The interviews performed for the present research study, especially the interviews with the Jerusalem residents, indicate that the school experience, instead of crystallizing and building the students' personal and national identity, becomes a factor that confuses the students with regard to their identity and belonging. Are they Israelis or Palestinians?

These two identities, which are an essential and central part in the identity of the Arab student in Israel, are presented for him as lacking. On the one hand, the State of Israel is defined as the nation state of the Jewish people, and therefore he finds it difficult to fully belong to the Israeli identity. On the other hand, he feels that he belongs to the Palestinian people, but he is distant from Palestinian culture and society. He is near to and far from both identities, to the same extent. Most of the Arab citizens of the State of Israel have, on the one hand, a Palestinian Arab collective identity and on the other hand, a civil Israeli identity.

One of the reasons for the continuous failure of the education system and the inability of the Arab minority in Israel to improve, change, and influence their students' learning contents is the poor political power of the Arab public. This public until today did not succeed in achieving educational autonomy, as the Ultra-Orthodox community did, and remains under the state-secular roof but acts in it as a separate unit (Al-Haj, 1995).

The Arab citizens, according to what the interviewees noted, internalized and continue to internalize this political "weakness". They began to believe it and they despaired of the chance to change. Many interviewees displayed this weakness, with pain and from lack of choice, in their response to the question – why is there no education for personal and national identity in the Arab schools? Almost all the interviewees answered with the same sentence "this is the state of the Jews, and they are the majority, they are racist and hate Arabs".

The researcher's argument that as long as the Arab leadership and school principals are from the older generation, the generation that lived under the military government, the feelings of fear and inferiority and political weakness will persist. It becomes clear from the present research study that until today the principals are afraid to discuss issues and national days, such as Nakba Day or Land Day. The researcher's argument is that this fear derived from the policy of intimidation and deterrence and the top-down control.

The image of the state education was greatly influenced by the perception according to which it is necessary to adhere to the culture of the West, which instilled the values of

enlightenment and education that characterize the modern era (education for aesthetics, art, music, and physical education).

State education focuses on the Zionist and Jewish doctrine, but Western general education is accorded greater weight than what was received by education that engages in Zionism and Judaism. The emphasis that was placed on the values of the West is so prominent that it is possible to call this perception "Eurocentric", aimed at the culture of the West (Shenhar Committee Report, 2012, in Koresh, 2012). Hence, it is possible to see openly the ignoring of the values of the Arab-Eastern culture of the Arab student and the presentation of this culture as an inferior, primitive culture – and not creative. It is presented both towards the Jews who originate in the Mizrachi communities and towards the Arab students.

How Does the Identity Develop?

Memorial ceremonies, for instance, are considered an instrument for the construction of a national identity. Therefore, the nation state is helped by strategies of the building of the collective memory to strengthen the individual's national identity and to confirm the existing social order (Connerton, 1989). National memorial ceremonies are the most powerful and stable instruments in the nation state for the formation of the community of the state and society (Anderson, 1999; Connerton, 1989). They embody and emphasize the basic principles of the nation, and they constitute an emotional experience that awakens the national identity and the commitment to the nation (Smith, 1991).

One of the characteristics of the collective national identity is the feeling of a shared fate, which reflects the belief that the members of the nation belong to the same collective despite the differences between them. According to this perception, the common denominator of the members of the collect supersedes the differences between them. This is the feeling of "togetherness", the "glue" that units individuals and social groups into a national unity and thus the fate of each and every one in society is perceived as dependent on the fate of all. In the research of nationalism the shared fate is perceived as one of the cornerstones of the national identity, and it includes the myth of the roots and the shared origin (Johnson, 1997).

The tension between the overall Arab nationalism, called in Arabic *kumiya*, and the territorial particular nationalism, called in Arabic *votanya*, is also added to the complex state of consciousness of the Arab citizens of Israel and the Palestinians. From 1948, they move on an axis between uniqueness and unity: on the one hand, heritage, culture, and memory and on the other hand political development in different frameworks (Koren, 2009).

From this perspective, the Arab citizens of Israel do not belong to the field of the accepted model of majority-minority relationships but rather to a model of a minority in a minority in a majority, as can be delineated in the "model of circles" (Koren, 2009). The meaning of this model is that the Arab citizens of Israel are a minority in Israel, but this Jewish majority is itself a minority in the Arab population that surrounds Israel like a ring, both in terms of the territory and in the conscious field of self-definition (Koren, 2009).

The Israeli education system addresses only the Arab identity, the *kumiya*, of the Arabs and emphasizes the differences in religious terms between the Arabs. So as to "divide and conquer" in the Arab schools, there are only ceremonies related to the religious holidays. Recently, people have begun to engage in cultural contents, but in terms of the engagement in contents of the national identity, *votanya*, apparently there is no change.

The discourse on the divisions in Israeli society indicates mechanisms that establish social inequality (Yonah & Goodman, 2004). Therefore, in the State of Israel, as a multinational state, there is a situation in which the national affiliation is not uniform for all the national groups who live in it, and these groups develop different patriotic connections. Judaism in Israel is perceived as denoting nation, nationality, and religion. The State of Israel is a Jewish state, and as a political-organizational framework central aspects of Jewish civilization in our time are preserved and cultivated in it – nation, nationality, and religion (Zilbersheid, 2009).

The division between Arabs and Israelis is great, and it is steadily increasing as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not resolved (Oron, 2013). With the recent legislation of the Nationality Law, the Jewish majority maintains the situation of the Arabs as a national, religious, and ideological minority in the State, a significant minority in terms of its size and electoral strength and possessed of low social-economic status. This national minority is connected to the enemies of the State and identifies with the Palestinian nation and the Arab nation and expresses its objection to the regime. Members of this minority furthermore express their demand to obtain national rights (Abu Asba, 2007; Smooha, 2004).

This desire derives from a continuous policy, in force since the establishment of the State, and from the sequence of events of the situation of the Arabs of Israel (military regime, massacre at Kfar Kasem, First and Second Intifadas, Gaza Wars, Land Day, and so on). All these led to a feeling of alienation and denial of the State following a policy that ignores the needs of the Arab minority in all areas and that adopts against them discrimination and racism,

which are steadily strengthening. This policy caused internal protest in Arab society, especially among the Arab intellectuals, who demanded and still demand national rights.

It is possible to conclude from the state of the Arab education system in Israel that the collective Palestinian-Arab educational interests in Israel are nearly completely ignored in the language of the state education law (Jabareen, 2006) and suffer from a lack of resources and a real lack of ability to influence (Saban, 2002). This policy of the education system of Israel regarding Arab education led to the development of alternative national education in the Arab public.

Parts in Arab society, including groups of parents, initiated the establishment of private schools (the researcher herself was one of the founders of the bilingual kindergarten in Beit Berl so she would have a place for her children), despite all the difficulties set in their path by the Ministry of Education, which objects to the development of a proud national cultural identity. In parallel, Arab society is searching to create through its personal means what it deserves in terms of the rights of minorities – to learn about its heritage, culture, and national identity. This is expressed in sending their children to bilingual schools and to private Arab schools, which meet the Arab student's needs in achievement, personal, and national terms. The irony of the bilingual schools is expressed in that they are binational and yet succeed in fulfilling the Arab student's needs more than do the single-national schools.

This fulfillment of the Arab student's needs is expressed in the development and formation of the national identity of the Arab student through activities and organization of ceremonies and contents on national days, such as Nakba Day, Land Day, and so on. Moreover, what is unique to the bilingual school is the curricula and educational programs of the bilingual schools. The school staff, with the support of the teachers and the pedagogical instructors, compose special units of study for the students, such as, for example, the Barakat[51] book, in which there appears the three religions of Israel – Judaism, Islam, and Christianity.

Construction of the Social Identity

Social identity is an elusive and multidimensional concept. It is composed of many sub-identities, frequently segmented, contradictory, and changing according to the context and the time (Gergen, 1991). According to the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the main

[51] The word is an acronym for the Hebrew words representing the New Testament, Quran, and Torah, the religious texts of the three religions, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.

factor motivating people is the desire to strengthen their sense of self-worth. The personal identity is one piece that shapes the self-esteem, while the social identity is another.

The social identity is composed of all the social groups in which the individual is a member. As the identification with the group is stronger and the social esteem that the group receives from other groups is more positive, the self-esteem of the members of the group is strengthened.

Turner (1984), one of the fathers of the social identity theory, maintains that part of the most important social belongings address social frameworks of a large scale, such as gender, race, religion, class, occupation, and political party. The social identity theory according to Tajfel and Turner (1986) differentiates between the personal identity and the social identity. Tajfel (1981, in Prego, 2011) defined social identity as "the part of the individual's self-concept that derives from his membership in a social group, along with the esteem and the emotional meaning associated with this membership". Therefore, the community belonging is important to the formation of the personal identity. However, there are different ways to forge a collective identity, and there are diverse ways to promote the personal identity through a collective relationship (Sagi, 2003, in Ben Shemesh, 2010).

People put forth efforts to build and define their social identity (Brown, 2000; Erikson, 1968) and attribute considerable importance to the differentiation and separation between the identity of their group and the identity of other groups (Turner, 1982). Hence, it was found that individuals and groups attempt to shape or reshape their collective identity in the overall social context (Nagel, 1994).

The identity of any group is the examination of the way in which this group builds or 'produces' its 'others'. Collective figures serve the group as a screen upon which the main components of its identity are broadcast, in a process of reversal: the other represents and embodies what does not belong to us, what we have reservations about, and what is not a part of the values that define us, through which, through the negative image, we, the main group of reference, learn who we are, what our positive values are, what the nature of the components that establish our identity is, what the boundaries of the collective to which we belong are, and what the main outlines of our conduct appropriate in the political and historical arena are (Yadgar, 2009).

Despite the tendency prevalent in our time to think that the collective identity of the national community is the only collective affiliation or is the most powerful one, in essence it

is only one of many possibilities. In addition, the concept of the national identity itself can be interpreted in different ways (Sagi, 2003, in Ben Shemesh, 2010).

The borders of the collective have a main role in the definition of the identity, and the fact the borders of ethnic and national collectives are largely liquid and update frequently and continue makes the identity of somebody who 'is from us' and somebody who is 'outside of us' more complicated. Moreover, the others are the main factors that shape the borders of the collective. The local culture, 'ours', engages in a continuous manner in the production of the image of the other, in his lasting and developing presentation, in the continuous shaping and endless updating. The role of the other in the building of the group identity is accorded greater importance in the research of nationalism and the national identity (Yadgar, 2009).

There are national groups whose shared identity is based on ethnic-cultural partnership while there are national groups whose shared identity is based on political partnership as citizens of the same state. Thus, two manners of interpretation of nationalism are possible: ethnic-cultural nationalism, based on origin, language, culture, customs, traditions, lifestyles, and history and sometimes also a shared religion, and state nationalism, based on the citizenship in one country (Ministry of Education of Israel, 2012).

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is a component in the individual's self-identity that is derived from his ethnic group and that has a connection based on the shared heritage of race, religion, language, blood ties, or shared origin – or on shared heritage of a number of them (Phinney, 2000).

The discussion of the ethnic identity primarily engages in the presentation of the process as a personal process. The assertion is that the development of the ethnic identity is a process influenced by the social, ideological, and cultural contexts, through a look from up close at the processes of the formation of the identity (Malka & Krumer-Nevo, 2011).

Some see a relation between the national identity and the ethnic identity. They maintain that ethnicity is simultaneously one type of nationalism and a vital resource of nationalism (Bashara, 1991).

Ethnic identity has been researched primarily from the perspective of minority groups. As long as the hegemony of the majority culture is not threatened, this group does not often engage in its identity and sees it to be understood, while members of the minority group are forced to cope with their identity consciously and more often (Helms, 1989).

Narrative Identity

In the theory of narrative identity, the idea of the story that expresses the identity is still present, even if not directly and explicitly, in theoretical discussions, and sometimes it even guides interpretations of story findings (Spector-Mersel, 2012). In the perception of the story as reflecting a real identity that exists ahead of time, the current understanding relies on post-modern ideas and emphasizes that stories build identity or more precisely build a feeling of identity (Spector-Mersel, 2012). The discussion on identity and narrative emphasizes pluralism, and the idea of the story that reflects the identity is still present in it (Spector-Mersel, 2012).

One of the main mechanisms through which the national discourse organizes a uniform and homogenous narrative is the structuring of the collective memory in the framework of the writing of the history of the nation. This process entails, alongside the processes of the building of the memory, the processes of the forgetting, erasing, and repressing of 'historical' memories. The biography of the nation, like the biography of the individual, was written as a part of the creation of the national culture, in which certain memories are emphasized while other memories are erased (Anderson, 1991).

Religious Identity

There is no personal identity that is not historical and is embedded in a field of social values, behavioral norms, and collective symbols. Thus, in the framework of the shaping of the identity, the religion is the most available resource. The reason is that the religion constitutes a natural store of symbols and beliefs inherent in the collective memory of the nation. Religion also has political importance, such as, for example, the Islamic identity in which there is the Utopian ideal that symbolizes historically a wonderful past that lives in the imagination of the masses (Baliver, 2006).

Many research studies have recently addressed the dialectic relations between nationalism and religion, and a critical attitude has emerged towards the presentation of modern nationalism as a secular project that was intended to take the place of the religious mechanisms of collective organization. This criticism indicates mechanisms of binary separation between religion and secularism as mechanisms that establish the national story through hybridization and a mixture between nationalism and religion (Avrai, 2009).

Shenhav (2005) analyzed the relation between modern nationalism and religion. He showed that the argument on nationalism enables the social structuring of the past to be

indicated, as the modernist approach maintains, but modernism itself is perceived by both sides in the dispute as a given and natural matter and not as a product of invention. Thus asymmetry can be found in the relation between religion and secularism: the argument that religion is a product of social structuring while secularism is a given and natural entity is often heard (Shenhav, 2005). Religion is perceived as a main and significant component of national projects outside of the West – a significant example is the Islamic Republic of Iran (Avrai, 2009).

According to the research study of Oron (2010), the Israeli Arab (Palestinian) identity is not a single piece. The policy of the State of Israel towards the Palestinian minority of Israel has caused confusion and distortion in their identity, especially in the shadow of the internal struggle between integrating politically in the Zionist framework and the desire to be closed and isolate themselves through the dynamic Arab parties (Smooha, 1997). Tzartzur (1999) maintains that the Arabs of Israel have a problem in their Israeli-Arab identity, since they are perceived by the Jews as a hostile minority that does not accept the existence of the State.

Indeed, a small number of the interviewees, especially those from Jerusalem, are confused and deliberate on the matters of identity. Most of them asserted that they are Israelis but to the same extent they are Palestinians.

This research study shows that among a small number of the interviewed graduates, especially those who are residents of Jerusalem, there is confusion in their national-personal identity and their deliberation on the definition of their personal-national identity, following the social reality in which they live in the State of Israel, as Palestinians only in name. This dilemma arises and strengthens especially following the lack of engagement of the schools in their role to form and build their students' identity. In addition, they live in the shadow of the deterring and frightening social reality in which their parents lived, since the military government. In this reality, they are forbidden to speak about and address the Palestinian national identity. This background created and continues to create among the Arab students in Israel ignorance regarding their identity and especially among the Jerusalem Arabs.

The researcher herself knew that she is a Palestinian in terms of national identity as well as an Israeli. However, she did not understand the meaning and the difference between these two identities. The researcher herself began to clarify and to discover her personal, social, and national identity only when she entered higher education, when she was exposed to the role of education and came into contact with nationalist Arab students. The researcher was shocked –

where did these students have this knowledge and identity from. The researcher was embarrassed – why do they know to define their national identity confidently and without fear while she is still deliberating. Moreover, the researcher was forced to think on the issue when she was directly told by one of the Jerusalem students that the Arabs of Israel, in the opinion of the Jerusalem students and the Palestinians of the West Bank, are traitors to the Palestinian people. This difficult charge leveled against the researcher led to this research study, in a work of self-discovery and the discovery of how, why, where, and when the Arab student forms his national identity.

In the past, at the time of the establishment of a new country, which was found under continuous threat, the emergency laws and military government had justification. There was a feeling that the state has an outside threat – the Arab countries, as well as an internal threat – the Palestinians. The question is, however, as follows. After the end of the military government, with the peace treaties with Egypt and other Arab states, the Oslo Accords with the Palestinians, is there not a need for a change of the policy adopted towards the Arab native minority in the state?

In the spirit of the Nation-State Law recently legislated in Israel, the following questions are asked. Do the Arabs in Israel have full citizenship and are they equal to the Jewish citizens in the State of Israel? What about today? Does Israel respect multiculturalism?

The amendment to the State Education Law in the year 2000 did not sufficiently address the education objectives of the Arab students. According to this amendment, the goals of state education are to teach the Torah (Bible) of Israel, the history of the Jewish people, the heritage of Israel and Jewish tradition, and to inculcate the awareness of the memory of the Holocaust and acts of courage, in addition to universal objectives.

The sole reference to the Arab population in the amendment to the law is the recognition of the language, culture, history, heritage, and unique tradition of the Arab population and other groups of population in the State of Israel and the recognition of the equal rights of all the citizens of Israel. It is possible to see that these goals are intended for the Jewish student, who must know the uniqueness of the Arab population. In other words, the amendment to the law in essence creates clear asymmetry: there is no explicit reference to the goals of education for the Arab child, and the recognition of the minority as a national and native minority and as a part of the Palestinian nation and the Arab nation is still missing (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014).

Therefore, bilingual education is a golden opportunity for Arabs and Jews. For the Jews, it enables them to meet and be in contact with Arabs, since the Israeli reality separates between them. For the Arabs, both parents and teachers, it enables them to save their children the traumatic experiences they underwent during the higher studies. Many interviewees described this as a shock. They felt feelings of inferiority and ignorance of their identity and lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language and Jewish culture and values. They wanted their children not to experience these feelings of inferiority and confusion and wanted them to be confident in and proud of their culture and their identity.

Similarly, the researcher herself does not want her children to be exposed to this difficulty and to experience the shock she experienced as a student in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She does not want the "barrier" of the Hebrew language and the "ignorance" in the national identity and in the formation of and pride in the national-cultural identity. She does not want her children to have feelings of inferiority relative to the Jewish majority.

Factors in the Development of Alternative Education for the Arab Minority in Israel

Recently in Israel there has been an increase in the demand for private/alternative education, both in Jewish society and in Arab society. The phenomenon of the unique schools in general and the democratic schools in particular is connected to the ideological-cultural change that is expressed in the idea of the parents' choice.

This change is expressed in what Dahan and Yonah (1999) characterized as the "transition from political collectivism to civic individualism". The parents work to establish schools in which they will have greater control over the setting of the manners of learning, the curricula, and the reciprocal relationships in the school. They are guided by liberal, marked-oriented perceptions.

Massalha and Levy (2013) maintain that the parents search in the private schools for the following values: personal advancement, achievement, and placement of the child at the center, alongside the conscious perception of the democratic ideological values.

Arab state education does not fulfill even one value that the intellectual Arab parents are looking for in the schools in their residential communities. This argument is commensurate with the conclusions of Massalha and Levy (2013) that the public education system has a negative image, which derives from a low level of education, high rate of dropping out, and low level of achievements, which do not fulfill the parents' aspirations regarding their children and their future. For many of the parents, the instilment of a Palestinian Arab identity is a main

motive in their considerations of participation in the alternative schools. They see the school to be the effective field for the processes of national Arab socialization (Massalha & Levy, 2013).

The attempt to continue the operations of the Arab education system, despite the differences of opinion, and without the determination of a clear policy, caused the outcome to be the opposite of what was anticipated. Instead of the continuity of operations of the Arab education system, distrust on the part of Arab society in Arab education developed, and consequently the dropping out of Arab students from the state schools increased, to the benefit of the private-alternative schools, and caused a decline in the status of the teacher and the Arab principal, as obedient and frightened.

Formal state education led to a negative impact on the Arab student who learned in the Arab education system in Israel. The system ignores the Arab student's needs in personal, cultural, and national terms.

Furthermore, it was found that informal education in Arab society suffers from underdevelopment in comparison to in Jewish society. A gap is apparent between the level of development of informal education in Arab society and the level of development in Jewish society. The gap is expressed in the number of activities, the quality of activities, and the accessibility to physical infrastructures. Sports fields, community centers, designated structures for youth activities, libraries, and other such public buildings are very lacking in the Arab communities and thus make it difficult to hold activities of informal education.

The low place that informal education holds in the agenda of the local governments in Arab society is expressed in that until recent years in many of the Arab local governments there was nobody in charge of the youth unit. In addition, most of the local governments in Arab society are ranked in the low clusters of the social economic index, a fact that makes it hard for them to fund informal educational activities in cooperation with other organizations that require of the local governments full or corresponding financing (Agbaria, 2007). Unfortunately, the researcher herself was forced to send her children to extra-curricular courses in the Jewish community near her residential community, so that her children could enjoy the selection and quality of informal education.

Informal education in Arab society has two additional characteristics that make its development difficult. The first characteristic is the absence of tradition and history of informal education, and the second characteristic, which derives to a certain extent from the first, is the

lack of development of designated activities for Arab society and excessive reliance on "copying" and translation of activities from Jewish society (Mandel Levy, 2016).

As a result of the failure of the Israeli education system, both the formal system and the informal system, in all its roles, Arab society, and its head the Arab intellectuals, lost their trust in this system. From this point, they began to search for alternate sources both for education and for the formation of the national identity for the Arab students, from the legal and permissible framework for the Arab minority in Israel. These legal frameworks are few, since they have the obligation to have the approvals of the Ministry of Education for the establishment of alternative/private education. Generally the establishment makes it difficult to open a private Arab education institution.

In light of these statements, it is not surprising that alternative education in Israel is found in a trend of expansion, both because of the interesting educational approaches it offers and because of the increasing lack of satisfaction of many of the parents with the state education system. A survey performed by the Dachaf Institute in the year 2006 presented the parents' extreme lack of satisfaction with the official education system: 67% of the residents of Israel declared that they prefer private education over state education (Alternative Education Website, n.d.). Objectors maintain that alternative education is intended only for those with means and thus furthers the social gaps in the country.

The private schools that are open before the Arab public in Israel are the schools of the Church, for instance, Al-Nahda in Kfar Kara, Kehilatit in Umm Al-Fahm, and Masser in Nazareth. Among them there is only one independent school, Hiwar, which was established after an appeal was filed with the Supreme Court of Justice, and the bilingual schools in the Galilee, Jerusalem, and Kfar Kara, which belong to the Hand in Hand Association.

Alternative Arab education began at the start of the 21st century, so as to establish patriotic education and express the Palestinian Arab identity. This as a part of the trend of social change that established a new Arab educational space in which the Arab citizens enjoy greater control of the educational process and as the attempt of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel to "fully" express in the pedagogical process their culture, their historical story, and their human outlook (Massalha, 2009).

One of the factors in the development of alternative education in the Arab sector comes from the complexity and limitations of Arab education in Israel, in which the administrative dimension does not meet the educational needs of the society of Arab students. Despite the

changes that were attempted by the State, the Department for Arab Education remained under Jewish control and never broke free of the hierarchy of the Ministry of Education, and educational autonomy was not granted to the Arab community in Israel (Abu-Saad, 2006; Al-Haj, 1995; Levy, 2005; Massalha & Levy, 2012). According to Abu Saad (2017), it is natural that the Arab students will search for other sources, outside of the school, so as to provide their cultural and national needs, since these contents and these experiences are absent in the Arab curricula in Israel.

The researcher's argument is that recently in Arab society a new generation/"class" has developed, the white collar working class. This new class, this new generation of Arab intellectuals in Israel, is reflected in the parents and new teachers, and consists of the young and relatively well-off educated population. This new group aspires to be similar to the Jewish intellectual class in Israel. The aspiration of the new Arab class arises from the interviews in this research study and is shown in their search for good and quality education for their children. In addition to good education, the educated Arab parents are looking for an educational framework that enables the children to acquire the Hebrew language on the level of a mother tongue. The importance of the acquisition of the Hebrew language exceeds the importance of the acquisition of their Arabic language. This finding frequently arises in the statements of most of the interviewees, both as parents and as graduates who are "proud" of their mastery of the Hebrew language as their native language (and there is a direction of the importance of the English language). The argument of most of the interviewees about the importance of the Hebrew language is so that they can more successfully and better integrate in the institutions of higher education in Israel and in the job market in Israeli society.

The Alternative Education Frameworks in Israel

As of the year 2010 in Israel there are 24 schools that belong to alternative education, some that are in democratic tracks and some that are completely independent (Sharon, 2010). The absolute majority of the schools that belong to alternative and independent education belong to Jewish and Ultra-Orthodox society. The attempts of the Arab intellectual to demand this "autonomous" right were rejected by the Ministry of Education. An example is the YAFFA School in Yaffo. The single independent school that obtain approval, and then only after they filed an appeal with the Supreme Court of Justice, is the Hiwar School in Haifa. This situation proves that Arab education is not equivalent to Jewish education and that Israel does not uphold the conventions on minority rights it has signed.

The researchers Jabareen and Agbaria (2014) proposed in their research study two approaches for the realization of the collective right of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel to preserve its identity and to inculcate this identity for the coming generations. The first approach is to provide broad cultural autonomy to this minority group, while the second approach is satisfied with the establishment of an independent Arab education administration in the Ministry of Education. These two approaches are not necessarily competing, but it is possible to see in them complementary approaches that are found on one continuum of the realization of the right of Arab society for cultural self-management and the influence on the learning contents in the education system.

The granting of administrative autonomy may be the first step, which is gradual, to build trust towards the establishment of more meaningful cultural autonomy (Jabareen & Agbaria, 2014). Nevertheless, the Arab education system in Israel does not enjoy educational autonomy. Despite all the research evidence regarding the weakness and failure of the Arab education system in Israel, and despite the recommendations and the committees for the improvement of the Arab education system, things have not reached realization.

The miserable state of the Arab education system in Israel led to the development of alternative education or informal education. According to Agbaria and Mahajana (2009), alternative educational programs and the organizations of civil society can meet the need for the reference to the students' cultural and national identity.

The ignoring in the core studies of the Arab student's needs does not intend to answer in a unique or separate manner about the Arab student's needs for national identity as a Palestinian. In essence there is no curriculum that has the objective of developing and cultivating his unique national identity.

In the alternative schools there is education for the development and cultivation of the national identity through the revival of the heritage and historical memory, the preservation of the Arabic language, the emotional and material identification with the Palestinian people, and civil and political demands from the state and from the society of the majority for educational autonomy. Following the conflict between the interests of the state Arab education system dictated by the Jewish majority in the Ministry of Education, which transmits messages and education for obedience, inferiority, and blurring of the national identity of the Arab student, and the interest of the Arab minority in Israel, which seeks the formation and construction of

culture, heritage, history, language, and national identity of their children, alternative education has developed.

According to most of the interviewees, education in the bilingual schools (and in the private Arab schools) has succeeded in meeting their expectations in preparation and organization, in goals and objectives, in the relations between principals, teachers, and students, in the quality of the teaching and the pedagogy, in the methods of teaching and learning, in the unique curricula and educational programs, in the placement of the student at the center, in the development and formation of the personal identity for every student, and in the development and formation of the national identity – in an adequate and proud manner.

Boundaries of Alternative Education for the Arab Minority in Israel

The establishment of the Arab alternative school is not received "joyfully" by the Ministry of Education and the school does not easily obtain approvals to be established, as in the case of the founding of a Jewish school. Alternative Arab education encounters many difficulties and delays on the part of the state establishment. It is possible to find this in the case of the Arabs of the city of Yaffo and the establishment of the YAFFA democratic Arab school, which was closed on the orders of the Ministry of Education with the argument that it is illegal.

One of the main issues that the Arabs of Yaffo deal with, from the start of the Zionist endeavor, is the preservation of their physical existence, place, and uniqueness in the Zionist urban space of Tel Aviv (Hamisi, 2008; Loz, 2005; Montrasko, 2009). According to Massalha and Levy (2013), the fear and anxiety about the loss of the Arab identity of the Arab children of Yaffo is one of the main reasons that motivated the people of Yaffo to act to establish the YAFFA School.

The motivation to strengthen the Arab identity and heritage in Yaffo received central expression in the struggle to preserve the status of the Arabic language as the senior language in the school, as a part of the desire to ensure its Arab national character. Thus, the educational field became the vital and primary field in the struggle of the Arabs of Yaffo against trends of the loss of the Arab identity and uniqueness (Levy & Massalha, 2013). It is possible to infer from this case to all "educated" Arab parents who are concerned about and fear the loss of their personal and national identity and the forgetting of the Palestinian Arab cultural heritage. Therefore, it was important to many of the parents, teachers, and graduates to preserve the national, cultural, and historical identity of the Palestinian minority in Israel.

Because of the distress and national-cultural identity crisis in state education, alternative education in Arab society in Israel is steadily growing. The educational initiatives in the schools (and in the museums, as a new factor in alternative national education) shape alternative education, which is expressed in the establishment of private schools under self-management (for instance, like the Hiwar School in Haifa) or in the change in the existing state schools (Massalha, 2009).

The New Model

Following the aforementioned statements regarding the difficulties and prohibitions imposed by the Ministry of Education regarding Arab alternative education, the present research study proposes a "model" that will make it easier for the Arab parents to search for alternative frameworks of education. This model is called in English the $(PR)^2$ Model[52].

1. Permitted. In the first stage, the Arab parents search for frameworks of legal schools according to the Ministry of Education. These are single national and bi-national schools. For instance, the bilingual school includes Arabs and Jews and is found under the auspices of a Jewish Israeli association and promotes humanist and multicultural values and a sense of co-existence.
2. Recommended. In the second stage, the "exploration", the Arab parents begin to explore the few proposed and legal frameworks that are recommended in terms of the quality of the teaching, the methods of teaching, the placement of the student at the center, the acquisition of the Hebrew language at a good level, and integration in Israel society.
3. Preferred. In the third stage, the Arab parents begin to choose from the legal and recommended options the framework they prefer in terms of the values and goal of the school.
4. Risky-Challenging: This is the critical stage, since the parent must choose from the permitted, recommended, and preferred possibilities. For the most part, they will choose the bilingual school, since it fulfills for them all the aspirations and expectations. However, this choice is a type of challenge and risk, since with the bilingual schools it is impossible to know what the outcome will be in national-cultural terms, unlike the case of state single national education.

[52] In Hebrew this is the 4M model, since all the words in the four items begin with the letter M (in Hebrew mem).

As the Arab parents advance in the different stages, their possibilities of choice are steadily reduced. The reason is that the schools permitted legally are many in number, including the schools in state education. In the recommended schools the number is lessened, and the choice depends on the quality of the teaching and on the parents' expectations. When the parents reach the third stage, the choice is diminished. The parents do not always find a preferred school that exactly meets their expectations and requests. This stage sometimes forces some of the intellectual Arab parents to choose an educational framework in which there is risk or challenge, but it would seem to meet their expectations, despite all the "difficulties" and concerns that accompany the parents in the choice of this alternative.

For example, the choice of the bilingual schools for the most part meets the first three criteria. For a small number of the parents, the choice of the bilingual school meets all four criteria.

The choice of the bilingual schools as an educational alternative is influenced primarily by the geographic region where the families live. The parents' choice of the bilingual school in Jerusalem is different from the parents' choice of the Galil School and the choice of the parents in Kfar Kara. It was found that the geographic region has impact on the reasons for the parents' choice to send their children to the bilingual school.

In Jerusalem, most of the parents send their children to the bilingual school for the first three criteria. Most of the parents are Israeli Arabs who live, work, and learn in Jerusalem. The education system and schools offered in Jerusalem are different and problematic for them. These are theological public schools found under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority, Church schools also found under the auspices of the Palestinian Authority, and Jewish schools. Thus these schools impose a barrier to integration in Israeli society, and while in the Jewish schools the language of instruction is Hebrew, the Jewish schools lack respectful reference to Arab culture and the dominant values are Zionist values. Hence, for the Jerusalem Arabs the bilingual school meets three of the criteria.

The Galil School meets only two of the criteria – preferred and recommended. In the Northern region it is possible to choose between Church state education and the Jewish schools (Misgav), and the Galilee is a heterogeneous and multicultural region, in which all the different cultures that comprise Israeli society live side by side – Jews, Muslims, Christians, and Druse.

The parents' choice of the bilingual school in Kfar Kara meets all four criteria. The quality of the teaching and the level of achievements in Kfar Kara are considered especially

high in Arab society. Most of the parents in the present research study claim that this is one of the reasons they fled from the public schools to the bilingual school. On the one hand, there is great pressure and feelings of competition and achievement, while on the other hand, there is a lack of reference to the formation and reinforcement of the student's personality and there is no reference to the national identity. Therefore, parents choose the bilingual school from the reference to the criteria of permitted and recommended.

The parents search for an educational framework in which the student is in the center, the Hebrew language is learned at a high level, and there is exposure to and contact with the Jewish culture, as well as education for the national identity, emphasis of the importance of a shared life, and exposure to co-existence and multiculturalism. The parents' choice of the single national private Arab schools, such as Al-Nahda in Kfar Kara, Hiwar in Haifa, Masser in Nazareth and others meets all four criteria in the model.

The phenomenon of alternative education serves as an internal criticism of the Arab intellectuals leveled against the Arab schools. The social, economic, and political reality of the Arab minority in Israel, which depends on the Jewish majority, "compels" the Arab intellectuals to think about a better alternative than public education, but one that is in the framework of the "permitted". The Hand in Hand Association, which operates the bilingual schools, is considered a recognized and official association and both Arabs and Jews learn in its framework, and therefore it is not threatening to the establishment.

In the bilingual and binational school, there is national education that is suitable and unique and that meets the needs of the Arab student in Israel. This is unlike the national education in the single national Arab schools and the national education in the Jewish schools.

The uniqueness of the bilingual schools is the "illusion" that there is full equality between Jewish students and Arab students in all areas: in the equal number of the two sides in the class, in the equal attitude, in the equal cultural education, in the religious holidays, and in the national holidays of the two nations. Most of the interviewees maintained that the bilingual school indeed succeeded in implementing its goals without discrimination or preference, but from humanist, humane principles, respect of the other, acceptance of the other, and even shared life as a community. There were differences of opinion among the interviewees; some felt that in religious terms there was greater response to the Jewish side and less to the Islamic side. The excuse for this, according to some of the interviewees, was that the learning of the Arabic language cannot include the studies of religion, as is done in the lessons of the Hebrew

language, since the Arabic language is divided into spoken language and literary language and the Quran, thus making it difficult for the teachers to teach both.

The Arab public schools do not fill their educational role in achievement-oriented (acquisition of knowledge), educational, national, and social terms. The Arab schools do not permit the formation of the student's personality and not the formation of the personal and national identity. It was found that the public Arab education system, which is controlled by the "establishment" and the Ministry of Education and Culture, almost completely ignores, intentionally or unintentionally, all of the Arab student's needs. They do not receive and realize the principles of modern education of the 21st century: the student at the center, the reinforcement of the student's self-image and self-confidence so they are positive, meaningful education, and education for critical and pluralistic thinking. This system ignores the Arab student's needs, especially on the topics of the formation of the national and cultural identity and the preservation of his heritage, history, and native language.

The Arabic education system is still for the most part traditional in its teaching methods, what does not promote the students in cognitive, personal, and social terms. There is a feeling that quantity is more important than quality, there is a lack of discussion and in-depth understanding of the learned topics, and there is no engagement in the development of thinking strategies and in the development of critical thinking and discussion.

The Arab education system provides the students with contents dictated from above, thus harming the Arab teacher's creativity. Moreover, the policy of the establishment, through the supervisor who controls the teachers and the principals in the Arab schools and who is sometimes also a factor of fear, prevents them from adjusting and inserting formal and informal learning contents into the Arab schools.

As a result of this policy, and of the limited Arab job market in Israel, there is a phenomenon of the "dropping out" of Arab teachers from the Arab schools, especially intellectual and creative teachers who have an open approach and who work against the old methods of teaching. Therefore, many teachers who drop out from the Arab education system turn to the private/alternative schools, such as the bilingual school.

Despite all the difficulties the teachers who work in the bilingual school indicated, such as investment and efforts, and this is in comparison to the nearly zero investment and efforts of the teachers in the public schools, these teachers preferred nevertheless to continue to work

in the bilingual school and not to leave, although they received other job offers, for a number of reasons:

1. Reinforcement of the positive self-image, the feeling of being a leading teaching, the feeling of a mission.
2. Reinforcement of the self-confidence, they can choose and change the learning contents and the books according to the Arab student's needs and according to their credo.
3. For the first time, they discover themselves, they learn about themselves, and they develop their national identity. They themselves were graduates of Arab schools that were under the control of the establishment, that ignored then (and still continue to ignore today) the needs of the Arab student and the formation of the national identity. Moreover, already in the period of the military government the attempt was apparent to induce the blurring and forgetting of the heritage, the national identity, and the history of the Palestinian people, which is the culture and heritage of the Arab student in Israel.
4. For the first time, the Arab teacher is given the possibility of expressing herself and of doing so fully, freely, and without supervision and/or deterrence, with sanctions or criticism leveled against her.
5. Exposure to new, contemporary, and quality teaching methods.
6. Exposure of the Arab teacher to the values of humanist education, when the components of this education include shared life, respect for the other person, and acceptance of the other person as an equal. Under the influence of this exposure, the Arab teachers underwent a process and change in their perception – to peace, shared life, and nationalism and culture of the other.

The Arab education system "abandoned" its role in the formation of the national identity. This was caused by a number of reasons:

1. Lack of possibility for the levelling of criticism.
2. Arab society is still traditional and conservative.
3. The policy of the establishment encourages and emphasizes the "ethnic mosaic", so as to reinforce the principle of "divide and conquer". It tends to emphasize the differences, the gaps, and the difference between the Arabs, not as a common nation, with a common historical heritage and national identity, which represents a threat and danger to the establishment. All this to avoid the "cohesion" of the Arab collective.

4. Denial of the Palestinian heritage, which is perceived as threatening[53].

Therefore, the question is as follows. Did the Arab teacher in the bilingual school succeed in doing what the public Arab education system failed to do?

The answer is yes. The bilingual schools succeeded in meeting in a unique way the suitable, appropriate needs expected of a modern education system, which works to provide an answer to the differences among the students in social, cultural, and national terms.

The positive points and successes of the bilingual schools, as indicated by the interviews, are as follows:

1. From a personal perspective, 100%: it places the student at the center, fills the student's needs in personal and social terms, reinforces the student's self-image and self-confidence, and encourages participation in the discourse.
2. From a national perspective, 100%, to differentiate from the Arab schools, in the bilingual schools arranged and organized ceremonies were held on all the Arab and Jewish national days, such as the Nakba, Land Day, Kfar Kasem massacre, and Gaza Wars. However, this research study indicates that home education for nationalism completes the school education. Many interviewees, primarily parents, maintained that it is important to complete the national education at home. The school reveals the narratives of two peoples, in an objective manner, without the adoption of a position, and the student needs to choose his position and his identity. The parents maintain that it is important to complete the picture so that confusion in the identity or loss of identity is not created. The Arab parents are forced to cope in the school walls with the charged national topics learned in the school, which the Arab parents whose children learn in the Arab education system are not forced to do, whether from ignorance or from fear or from the habit in force since the military government not to discuss political issues. The parents are required to defend and protect their children, out of the fear that their children will forget their heritage or identity and will become Jews.
3. In pedagogical terms, the quality of the teaching, the teaching methods, the student at the center, the diversification in the school-based curricula – the curricula of the school and informal education.
4. In religious terms, 50%. There are differences between the interviewees. Some think that the studies of religion are provided in a basic and adequate manner and the home

[53] Further description on this topic can be found in chapter 3.

is supposed to fill in what is missing, while other interviewees maintained that it is impossible to demand to obtain everything in high quality in all the areas, such as pedagogy, student personality, student at the center, national identity, and religious identity fully. They asserted that the home always needs to complete what is missing. Another claim voiced by the interviewees is that most of the Jews who send their children to the bilingual school are secular and therefore in any event meaningful value is not accorded to the studies of religion.

5. As a result of this, all the Arab teachers (aside from one who removed her son for personal reasons) moved their children to the bilingual schools, despite the social, political, and achievement-oriented stigma of these schools, which indicate that Arab society is in many respects still traditional and conservative.

Parents' Insights

An absolute majority of the parents who sent their children to study in the bilingual school are parents with exceptional thinking, "intellectual", educated, and bourgeois. A difference was found between the parents regarding the factors and reasons for the move.

1. In pedagogical terms: Many of the parents who searched for a higher quality of teaching maintain that their choice to send their children to the bilingual school derives primarily from the failure of the Arab school, especially in terms of achievement and quality of teaching and the outdated teaching methods. In addition, many of them held that the idea of learning Arabic and Hebrew together, thus ensuring mastery of the Hebrew language, the hegemonic language, is one of the factors that encouraged them to send their children to the bilingual school. They themselves experienced difficult experiences following the difficulties with the Hebrew language, especially in higher education.
2. From a personal perspective: Many of the Arab parents opined that they chose to leave, following the negative attitude towards the students. The schools addressed them as grade machines, and the personal formation and reinforcement was lacking in terms of the positive and social self-image.
3. From a social and multicultural perspective: The idea of shared learning, Arabs and Jews, which enables exposure and contact with the culture of the other person, the culture that was foreign for them, and is considered higher, caused some of the parents to desire a close relationship already from early age between the students. They wanted their children to feel comfortable in Jewish society and not to be exposed to the

difficulties they experienced. The exposure and contact will avoid stigma, prejudice, and fear of one another.

4. Social-bourgeois mobility: Some of the parents searched for their children for exposure to and friction with the hegemonic Jewish culture, which would allow their children, possibly, in the future social-economic and political mobility.
5. In national terms: A small number of the Arab parents in essence sent their children to the bilingual school for the formation of the national identity. This apparently is because of the national "ignorance", both of their rights as minorities and because of their perception of the school's role not only for the acquisition of knowledge, as was with them. They saw the role of the school also to be the development of a national identity, through a productive dialogue of high quality with Jewish society.

Did the Parents Obtain for Their Children What They Were Looking for?

According to the findings of the research study, the answer is affirmative. In the first place, there was satisfaction (also among the teachers) with the development of the student's personality. In the second place, there was satisfaction with the development and reinforcement of the national identity. Some of the parents maintained that they needed to complete the national identity at home, since what the children obtained in the school was not enough or was not "cohesive" and "clear". Some held that the information "confused" the child and there was not adequate direction. In the third place in the satisfaction was the formation of the religious identity and religious studies.

Regarding the phenomenon of the dropping out of the Jewish students in the secondary school, there were differences of opinions between the parents, the teachers, and the graduates. Some maintained that this derives from economic difficulties. Some opined that the reason is the search for social frameworks for their children. Others held that the reason is differences of culture, primarily on the topic of the system of relations between boys and girls, which is not permissible in Arab society that is still conservative and traditional on this point. Another reason is the search for an educational framework of higher quality than that of the level of the bilingual school in terms of achievements (Jerusalem), while others maintained that there is satisfaction with the inculcation of humanist and multicultural values in the elementary school and afterwards there is the search for an educational framework that provides the legitimacy to express the self in national and political terms regarding the service in the military.

Insights of the Graduates

Last, this research study attempted to examine whether the graduates of the bilingual school have a positive personality and a clear national identity. Did they feel equality and satisfaction in personal and national terms?

The graduates expressed satisfaction in terms of the formation of the personality and the national identity and with the mastery of the Hebrew language. This is especially true for those graduates who went in the secondary school to an Arab public school, where there is no reference to these topics.

Some of the graduates, especially those who went in the secondary school to a private Arab school, expressed greater satisfaction in terms of the formation of their national identity, which became stronger and clearer. Some of the graduates, however, asserted that perhaps this was a bit "exaggerated/extreme".

Some of the graduates who continued to the secondary school, as in Jerusalem, expressed general satisfaction and emphasized especially their satisfaction in terms of their mastery of the Hebrew language. On the topic of the national identity they expressed less satisfaction. All the graduates expressed their satisfaction with the mastery of the Hebrew language but the Jerusalem graduates especially emphasized this. Perhaps this is a result of the reality in Jerusalem, in which the Arab Jerusalem residents do not learn the Hebrew language and/or have not mastered the Hebrew language. This fact gives the students of the bilingual school a clear and apparent advantage in the mastery of the Hebrew language, which is one of the factors of social-economic mobility in Jerusalem.

Most of the graduates expressed satisfaction with the formation of the national identity, the ceremonies of the national days, and the organization and the preparations for these days. This is especially true of those who went to learn in the public secondary schools, since in these schools there are no such ceremonies at all – Nakba, Land Day, Kfar Kasem massacre, and so on.

The graduates who went to learn in a private Arab school were divided in their opinion about the sense of satisfaction with the formation of the national identity. Some maintained that in the bilingual school there is only general exposure, without depth, thus forcing every student to finish the picture at home. Others maintained that they are satisfied with the level of the formation of the identity, while a minority held that this is done to an exaggerated degree.

In contrast to the parents and the teachers, the graduates addressed less the topic of the achievements in the studies. Perhaps they lack the awareness that accompanies students in their school experience and perhaps they remember more the social experiences and less the learning ones. In the end, the student remembers memories in which there is personal emotion, and apparently learning and teaching do not inspire in them emotion, since this is more of a technical matter for them. The national and religious ceremonies were far more meaningful for them.

But nevertheless they expressed their satisfaction with the teaching methods of the bilingual school. After they moved to other schools, they understood just how much in the bilingual school they learned according to innovative methods, with teaching methods that emphasized comprehension, thinking, and meaningful learning. In these methods, the emphasis was placed on them – and not on the teacher, as in the public school.

In religious terms, there were differences of opinion. Some maintained that there was equality regarding the holidays and the religious ceremonies, while others held that the school cannot go and satisfy everybody and have achievements in the studies as well as reinforcement and formation of the personal, national, and religious identity.

The result, of all the aforementioned statements, is that an absolute majority of the graduates were satisfied with the bilingual school. They had differences of opinion whether they would send their children in the future to the bilingual school. They maintained that they would send their children to the elementary school in the bilingual school, but deliberated about the high school following the gap between the reality of the school and the reality in Israel.

To conclude, alternative education, in contrast to what is expected of state education, succeeded in fulfilling most of the expectations of the parents who chose alternative education, both in terms of the role of the school in providing the social, value-oriented, and pedagogical needs. Despite all the difficulties and limitations imposed by the Ministry of Education to delay the opening of alternative schools, this trend is on the rise.

The next chapter, the conclusion, will present recommendations to deal with the problems and difficulties of bilingual education. Furthermore, the next chapter will offer recommendations for the change of the policy of the Ministry of Education.

10. Conclusion and Recommendations

Research Framework

Israeli society is a multicultural society marked by many divisions. Recently the situation is worsening (Kimerling, 1998; Peres & Ben-Raphael, 2006). Consequently, the social cohesion between the different parts of society is steadily weakening, as is mutual tolerance. The weakening of the feelings of cohesion between the citizens and the groups comprising Israeli society is expressed in the weakening of the commitment of the state towards its citizens and towards weaker and more marginal groups (Doron, 2006; Gutwein, 2016; Levy, 2005). The recently enacted in Israel Nation State Law, which in essence proclaims the Arab citizens as second class citizens and as not belonging to the Jewish State of Israel, further exacerbated the situation.

Different researchers note in this context the different ways in which the Arabs in Israel suffer from discrimination, both explicit and implicit, both personal and structural. In addition, different indices and measures indicate considerable social-economic gaps between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

In the State of Israel for many years there has been overlap between the ethnic origin (people from the communities of the Middle East) and the social-economic affiliation into the "weak" groups in society. The members of the Middle Eastern communities were the lowest socio-economic groups, for different reasons, and the majority of the students of this origin attained relatively low academic achievements. The reasons are associated with variables such as the structure of the education system, the classification into learning tracks, the low quality of the teachers (for example, in some of the concentrations of immigrants in the periphery regions the teachers were "soldier teachers", who did not have appropriate professional training), the low quality of the teaching methods and the curricula, the cultural capital of the students, and the reduced learning opportunities offered to these students.

However, on the declarative level the shapers of educational policy emphasized that one of the main objectives is the reduction of the academic gaps, the reduction of the inequality in the academic achievements, and the reduction of the social inequality that primarily follows the gap in the academic achievements. In this research study a high level of overlap was found between the variables that caused low achievements among the Jews of the Middle Eastern communities and the Arab minority in Israel.

Humanist thinkers and political and ideological approaches that require equality of civic rights, the elimination of discrimination, and the reduction of social gaps caused a change in the perception of the school's roles. There is ideological-political influence on the determination of the policy of education and the school objectives. It appears that the present roles of the school will lead to the advancement of students from low socio-economic groups, but this aim has not yet been achieved.

For the school to realize the goal of the achievement of social equality, it must change its path. Its role as a mechanism for the classification of the students must be eliminated, and it must provide support for the development of underachieving students so that they can in the future engage in diverse positions and not only in occupations and jobs that earn a low salary.

The problem of the reduction of the gaps is a social problem that cannot be solved in the education system as it currently is. The rhetoric of the closing of gaps through the school is not helpful, and moreover it serves to disguise opposing goals: the school serves as a mechanism of classification and placement of students in different educational tracks that lead to different types of social roles.

The education system is a mechanism of replication that retains the social structure as it is and does not alter it. Society does not want the change and reduction in equality. In its opinion, it is possible to achieve social equality through the education system but this depends on change in its manner of operation.

A large number of interviewees displayed the desire to integrate and to live a shared life, a life of coexistence, in the same state that all the citizens, Arab and Jews, live. Some of the interviewees maintained that in the end the Israeli Arab lives with the Jews more than with the Palestinians in the West Bank and he has reciprocal relations with the Jews as a part of the constraints of life of the country. Therefore, the investment in and effort for a shared life and co-existence are important.

Because of the discrimination and non-legitimization of the Palestinian identity in Israel and the lack of adequate representation of the Palestinian identity, culture, and heritage, a new trend of alternative national education developed, a trend that was examined in the present research study.

Definition of the Objective

The objective of the present research study was to examine the formation of personality and identity of the Arab student in national, social, and cultural terms in the bilingual schools

in Israel that belong to the Hand in Hand Association, in contrast to the degree of the formation of personality and identity of the Arab student in national and cultural terms in the Arab state schools in Israel.

The following question was examined. Does Arab education, or in other words, the public state Arab school in Israel, fill its role in the education and formation of the national identity of the Arab student, in terms of the quality of teaching and in terms of the formation of the personality and the national-cultural identity in a unique way in a multicultural state like Israel?

In addition, the objective of this research study is to examine the question of what are the solutions and educational alternatives for the filling of the lack in the Arab society in Israel. What are the difficulties and challenges that these alternatives face?

Main Research Method

The main research method is qualitative. The research instruments are semi-structured interviews, and for the entire research population the interview was adjusted accordingly. The research population was chosen selectively, so as to meet the research objective. Therefore, the entire population chosen was directly involved in the bilingual schools, including principals, teachers, parents, and graduates (their children) who worked or learned in the bilingual schools that belong to the Hand in Hand Association.

The interviewees were two Arab principals and one deputy principal, twelve Arab teachers who teach in the bilingual schools, twelve parents who children learned in the bilingual schools (elementary and secondary schools), and last twelve Arab graduates who learned either through the elementary school or in the secondary school in the bilingual schools.

Primary Findings

Failure of the Arab Education System

This research study indicates that the State of Israel is far from being a partner in the post-colonial era, following the unequal reality in the social, economic, political, and educational fields, between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in Israel. This research study found that the Arab education system in Israel has failed – in all aspects, in methods of teaching and pedagogy, in the formation of the student's personality, and in the formation of the national identity of the Arab student in Israel.

The main reason for the failure of the Arab education system in Israel is the control from "top down" of the Jewish majority in the Ministry of Education towards the schools of the Arab minority in terms of the decision upon and determination of the aims of general and Arab education and in terms of the setting of the learning contents and textbooks. In addition to this control, the Ministry of Education implements a "policy" of supervision and intimidation, which includes a policy of "appointments and terminations", according to which, as mentioned previously in the review of the literature, obedient teachers and principals are employed, those who do not express their political opinion or internalize criticism towards this policy. In addition, this research study found a problem in the institutions for the training of the Arab teachers. In the continuation, this research recommends the investigation of the teacher training colleges for the education of the Arab teachers in Israel.

These findings reflect the disappointment and anger of Arab society regarding the situation of the Arab schools in Israel in all respects. This disappointment is voiced by all the participants in this research study, the Arab principals, teachers, parents, and graduates, when most of them have direct contact with the Arab schools in Israel in comparison to the private or Jewish schools in Israel.

1. Failure of the Arab education system in all its roles towards the student in social, national, personal, and achievement-oriented terms.
    A. Disappointment in the formation of the personality: Disappointment with the Arab public schools in terms of the "formation of the student's personality" was voiced towards the policy of the establishment and towards the principals and the teachers. It can be argued that the disappointment with the failure to form the student's personality derived from the overload and pressure of the study materials that the Ministry of Education obligates the teacher to convey to the Arab student, as if he is a bottle that should be filled and the perception of the school as a machine for grades, which causes lack of creativity and lack of availability of the Arab teachers for the engagement in the topic of the formation of the student's personal identity or in every other topic.
    B. The policy of the determination of the learning contents that do not suit the Arabs. The distress is not only in the race and the competition but also the lack of educational contents in books, which are suited to the Arab student or the creation of an Arab student who is proud in his personality or in his identity. Another interviewee adds that the disappointment in the learning contents in the books of

the Arabs when she said that she is forced to change, add, and remove contents, so as to form a strong and proud personality of the student.

C. Teacher disappointment with the formation of the personality. Criticism and disappointment were directed towards the Arab teachers regarding the lack of formation of the student's personality.

D. Disappointment with the degree of the formation of the national identity. The disappointment with the degree of the formation of the identity of the Arab student was directed primarily towards the establishment but criticism was also voiced towards the principals of the Arab schools and towards Arab society, especially the first generation. The disappointment was expressed and heard from the sharing of the personal experiences of the Arab teachers during the interviews, towards the policy of the Ministry of Education and less towards the school principals, the first generation of Arab society in Israel and the Arab leadership.

2. The decline of the status of the principal and the Arab teacher in the Arab schools and their perception as "obedient" or as "collaborators" with the establishment. In addition, they are perceived as "cowards" and "traitors" since they do not have the courage and the ability to discuss topics that are important for the Arab student. Following this negative perception, a lack of confidence and trust is created in Arab society towards the school.
3. The loss of the national identity of the Arab student in Israel. Most of the interviewees expressed concern about the indications of the "loss of the national identity" of the Arab students in Israel and the implantation of feelings of inferiority towards their national, cultural, social, and ethnic origin, which develops among the students in the Arab education system in Israel.
4. The "dropping out" of the "good" Arab students (who have intellectual and/or well-off parents) from the Arab public schools and the search for an educational alternative.
5. The $(PR)^2$ Model. The choice of the educational "alternative" for the Arab parents in Israel goes through a unique process. This process requires the school be *permitted, recommended, preferred, and risky-challenging.* The Arab parent in Israel is forced to cope with the difficulties and with the limitations that the Ministry of Education imposes on the establishment of private schools for the Arab population. Therefore, the Arab parent cannot choose every school he wants freely and neutrally following the complicated political, social, and cultural reality in Israel but rather it is necessary to search for a school according to the PR criteria.

A. *Permitted.* In the first stage, the Arab parents search for frameworks of legal schools according to the Ministry of Education. These are single national and binational schools, including the bilingual schools. They consist of Arab and Jewish students and teachers and are found under a Jewish-Israeli association. They embody humanist and multicultural values and a feeling of co-existence.
B. *Recommended*: In the second stage, the exploration, the Arab parents begin to explore the few offered frameworks, which are legal and recommended in terms of the quality of instruction, the teaching methods, the placement of the student at the center, the acquisition of the Hebrew language at a high level, and the integration in Israeli society.
C. *Preferred*: In the third stage, the Arab parents begin to choose from the legal and recommended options the framework they prefer in terms of the values and goals of the school.
D. *Risky-Challenging.* This is the critical stage, since the parent must choose from the permitted, recommended, and preferred possibilities. For the most part, they will choose the bilingual school, since it realizes for them all the aspirations and expectations. However, this choice also represents a challenge and a risk, since in the bilingual schools it is impossible to know what the outcome will be in national-cultural terms, unlike in single national state education.

To conclude this part, it was found that on the one hand most of the interviewees criticized the Arab schools for emphasizing the students' academic aspect while on the other hand they "blame" the policy of the Ministry of Education that emphasizes only the transmission of the learning material, without emphasis on its quality or its suitability to the Arab students' needs.

It was found in this research study that on the one hand Arab society in general and the Arab education system in Israel in particular place at the top of its priorities the students' achievements in the school, while on the other hand the topics of the formation of the personality, the development of the positive self-image, and the formation of the national identity of the Arab students are found at the bottom of this scale of priorities. Why does this happen? According to the findings, this is the outcome of the policy of intimidation, supervision, and control of the Ministry of Education in Israel, and this is a source of disappointment and the reason for the dropping out from the competitive Arab public schools.

Are the engagement and focus of the Arab schools only on the achievements and the completion of the study materials a part of the policy of the establishment, with the goal to weaken and eliminate the formation of the personality and national identity of the Arab student? The establishment exploited the "pedagogical dimension" in the Arab schools so as to weaken the engagement in the formation of the personality and identity of the Arab student in Israel.

The focus only on the students' achievements in the Arab schools and the marginality of the engagement in the formation of the self and social personality of the Arab student led to a decline in the students' achievements, and not the reverse.

To summarize, it was found that in the Arab schools there is no reference to and consideration of the formation of the Arab student's personality, on the part of the establishment, on the part of the teachers, and on the part of the parents. Therefore, many Arab teachers who have another perception of the importance of education and of the role of the school were forced to leave and to choose to teach in bilingual education.

Success of the Education in the Bilingual Schools

This research study indicates the success of bilingual and binational education in its educational role for the students from both nations in the development and formation of the identity in personal, social, cultural, and achievement-oriented terms and primarily in national terms.

1. Satisfaction was found among all the interviewees, principals, teachers, parents, and graduates, and their positive attitude towards the quality of education, the values, the teaching methods in the bilingual schools, in comparison to the single national Arab schools.
2. All the interviewees of the three types – teachers, parents, and graduates – noted the success in terms of multicultural education. There were only disagreements and reservations about the "quality" and level of the school in terms of the achievements, since in the opinion of some of the interviewees, especially teachers and parents, it is necessary to improve and to choose teachers who are more suited to the position. In parallel, most of the graduates and some of the teachers and parents maintain about the quality of the teaching that less material is learned. However, they assert that the school instills in them learning skills, thinking abilities, and creativity and places the student at the center of the learning process, and in their opinion this is preferable to the learning

by rote and coverage of a quantity of material without in-depth understanding and discussion of the topic.

3. The Arab teacher in the bilingual schools "blossoms" since he is allowed to choose and to decide for his class. The Arab teacher in the bilingual school, in comparison to the Arab teacher in the state school, is more creative, invests more, puts forth more effort, learns more, flourishes more since he is the recipient of a personal attitude and his opinion is respected, as are his contribution and his role as an educator – unlike the condescending attitude in the public Arab schools, where nobody listens to him and to his opinion and there is no room for creativity. There are no possibilities of choice for the teacher regarding the learning contents and the different activities.
4. The bilingual school has succeeded through school-based curriculum, unique learning programs the school develops, to develop appropriate programs that meet the needs of the different students who learn in the school. These programs are built by the teachers, both Arabs and Jews, through professional consultations and in-service training courses, to build a suitable, proper, and educational school-based curriculum.
5. A positive and surprising finding noted primarily by the teachers who were interviewed is that although the working conditions in the bilingual school are difficult, requiring of the teachers considerable work and extensive preparation, both for the school-based curriculum and for individualized education plans and both at the end of the year and the beginning of the year, in comparison to the regular public schools, where this is not done, the teachers feel that they are blossoming, that they are creative. They are satisfied with the product they produce, the school-based curriculum and their students' enjoyment and satisfaction. The effort gives them personal satisfaction and worth and a positive self-image, thus encouraging them to continue to work in the bilingual school, although they have the opportunity to work in the public schools, where they need to put forth less effort. Nonetheless, they preferred to continue in the school that gives them a place for creativity, self-expression, expression, and personal and professional development, through in-service training courses that the Hand in Hand Association provides them.
6. Most of the Arab teachers in the bilingual schools maintain that only in the bilingual schools were they exposed, for the first time, to the topic of their "national identity", as a result of their work in the bilingual school. There they assert that they experienced a process of the development of the personality and national identity, like the Arab student.

7. Hence, a new class was created in Arab society: the white collar Arab working class. This is the development of a new generation of Arab intellectuals who search for "quality" frameworks of education to enable the integration of their children in higher education in Israel. This class is reflected in the new generation of parents, young, educated, and relatively rich, who aspire to quality education for their children, like the Jewish intellectual class in Israel, who are well-off and who for the most part send their children to private education frameworks of quality.
8. In addition, it was found that in the bilingual schools they succeeded in recruiting and building a school community through study days for parents and the community, lectures and workshops for the development of cultural, social, and educational awareness, reciprocal recognition, shared life, and aspiration for co-existence. Education for a "community life" is essential and important in a country with many cultures, nationalities, and religions, for the continuation and solidarity of society, in social-economic and political terms.
9. A finding that arises from this research study is that the contact, the learning together, with Jews developed among the Arab students values such as empathy, peace, shared life, co-existence, mutual respect, pluralism, patience, tolerance, and so on. These values are central to the creation of a healthy society, which is stable and strong and leads to progress in the modern and technological era.

The bilingual school was found to be successful in the realization of its objectives as effective alternative education that inculcates equality of opportunities between Arabs and Jews, and this in contrast to reality in Israeli society. The Arab education system in Israel is discriminatory and suffers from pedagogical, value-oriented, and cultural deficiencies. Therefore, alternative education in the bilingual school provides a solution on the topic of social equality and provides equality of opportunities to the Arab student who belongs to the nativist national minority in the State of Israel.

The bilingual schools attribute considerable importance to the core topics, and they write and develop unique school curricula. Another characteristic is the creation of "ceremonies" for the national days of both nations, as a part of the role of the school as former of the national, social, and personal identity of all its students.

Transition of Arab Society to Cultural "Israelization" – Importance of the Mastery of the Hebrew Language

1. The development and increase of the desire of Arab society for Israelization, which arises from the emphasis of the vast majority of the interviewees of their satisfaction that their children have mastered the Hebrew language as a mother tongue. This fact emphasizes their satisfaction with the quality of the school. They maintain that the importance of the Hebrew language is that it facilitates their children's successful integration in Israeli society and the importance of the work on the Hebrew language exceeds that of the development and reinforcement of the Arabic language. The decisive majority holds that the emphasis they ascribe to the importance of the mastery of the Hebrew language derives from their own experiences and difficulties as students. They felt that the lack of control of the Hebrew language was for them a "barrier" for progress, both in the institutions of higher education in Israel and in the job market in Israeli society.
2. The Hebrew language is still the hegemonic language. It was found that Arabic is a marginal language, not important, when the emphasis of the State of Israel is placed on the Hebrew language and the English language and less on the Arabic language, whose speakers are a part of the State of Israel. This is expressed in the Jewish education system in the State of Israel, which does not obligate its Jewish students to learn the Arabic language as part of the core subjects of study. Moreover, the contents of the curriculum for the Arabic language are determined by the government, which has a Jewish majority. As found in this research study, the studies of the Arabic language for the Arab students do not serve as a tool that meets the needs of the Arab student to know his culture and personal, social, and cultural identity.
3. In addition, it was found in this research study that teachers, parents, and graduates are proud of the Arab students' mastery of the Hebrew language and not necessarily their Arabic language.

Recommendations

Arab intellectuals and different researchers of the Arab education system in Israel have proposed solutions that entail the implementation of cultural sensitivity in at least two channels. The proposal is for educational autonomy in the spirit of the rights of minorities in multicultural countries, when educational autonomy is supposed to help the Arab minority in Israel express the Arab student's needs in personal, social, national, and pedagogical terms through the

tailoring of the goals and contents of Arab education. This recommendation is legitimate according to the conventions for the rights of minorities and social groups that Israel has signed. In addition, it is necessary to act and implement the idea of education for multiculturalism.

The general direction of the desired change is to maintain a less centralized and a more decentralized policy, which will enable legitimization of differential educational and cultural action in the schools in Israel. This policy expresses a multicultural approach, alongside the recommendation of the Ministry of Education to focus on topics such as the required infrastructures and objectives of supervision and licensing.

A democratic society sees public education to be a bridge that helps lead the young generation to their lives as citizens in a democratic state. This type of education, which is included in the areas of responsibility of the state, will facilitate the proper functioning of democracy and will preserve its existence for many years (Ichilov, 2010). As aforementioned, the education system and the schools in essence serve as a main tool for the training of the future citizens of the democratic state. This training makes the national unit sovereign over the educational citizenship of its future graduates. The structure of the system, the contents, the national environment, and the organization of the studies are one unit that is interested in the education for citizenship in a democratic regime (Talshir, 2006).

This research study showed that there is education for the values of democracy, but education for multicultural values, pluralism, acceptance and respect of others, equal society, are missing in Israeli education, since from the "melting pot" until today there is clear preference for the hegemonic culture, which is Western and Ashkenazi Jewish, which has ignored from the beginning the Mizrachi Jewish and the Arab culture. In recent years there is correction on the topic of the Mizrachi Jewish culture but nothing has been done regarding Arab culture.

To implement effective multicultural education in the education system in Israel, it is necessary to address with great seriousness the developmental needs and to change the policy guidelines, including the creation of equality in the budget and resources for the development of curricula for the Arab and Jewish schools, the increase of the involvement and control of the Palestinian Arabs in the development of curricula, the elimination of stereotypes and negative representation of Palestinian Arabs in all the educational programs and textbooks in the Jewish schools, the inclusion of learning material about the history and cultural identity of the Palestinian Arab people in the curriculum and in the Jewish and Arab textbooks, the elimination

of the security clearance in the selection of workers in the Arab education system and their employment according to criteria of abilities and experience, as in the Jewish education system, and the granting of full civic and national rights to the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel (Abu Saad, 2007).

Arab Education

It is important to emphasize as a recommendation for the Ministry of Education that this top-down control towards the Arab schools – the control and supervision of the Ministry of Education of the learning contents, learning goals, textbooks, social and political education in the Arab schools – is detrimental to its role and operations and harms the status and role of the teachers and the principals as "leaders and educators" and makes them perceived as obedient and collaborators.

The recommendation to the Ministry of Education and the institutions of teacher training on how to create and develop the Arab teacher is to be critical and have a clear social, cultural, and national identity. In my research study it becomes clear that among most of the Arab teachers and parents there was ignorance about their self-identity and self-definition until they discovered and developed them during their studies in Israeli universities or when they began to work in the bilingual school.

Arab Schools

The response to the decline in the achievements in the Arab schools is the focus on and observation of the Arab student, not as a machine of grades, but out of consideration of his personal needs that include tailoring of learning materials and the textbooks, in terms of motivation, empowerment of the personality, and positive self-image for each and every student separately.

1. The institutions for the training of Arab teachers must teach courses on the following topics: the difference between the students in cognitive, personality, social, cultural, and national terms and courses for Arab and Jewish teachers on multicultural education, its principles, and ways of implementation.
2. In the theoretical literature the contribution of the education system and the teachers to the shaping of values is emphasized. Giroux (1992, in Golan & Rosenfeld, 2015) and Freire (1998, in Golan & Rosenfeld, 2015) focused on the teachers' power to lead change in society and expressed their opinion that teachers can cross cultural

boundaries and lead to intercultural dialogue and therefore they can serve as cultural workers and agents of change that develop critical thinking.

3. Therefore, this research study emphasizes the importance of the training of the Arab teachers in the colleges that must change the perception of the teacher and his role, the transition from a teacher whose role is to acquire knowledge to a leader and social agent. Hence, a reform is necessary that will emphasize the richness of Arabic and the relationship between it and the national and cultural identity.

Bilingual Schools

In this research study, there is the recommendation of the model of the bilingual school as a model to be imitated in the Ministry of Education. In the bilingual schools, it is possible to teach the core topics that unite all the students of Israel with the right for the schools to build their own school-based curricula and to hold ceremonies for the national days and not only religious ceremonies. The formation of the national identity is a vital, inseparable need of the Arab student and teacher that cannot be ignored by the Ministry of Education. In the modern technological era, in which knowledge and information is accessible, it is important to educate students to be critical thinkers. It is important that the students obtain trustworthy information in the school walls. This situation is preferable to the situation in which the Arab student will search for his personal, social, cultural, and national identity outside of the school walls.

1. It is important to cultivate values of shared life and coexistence and social-civic solidarity with the State of Israel. The Ministry of Education must emphasize education for humanist values and education for multiculturalism in a methodical, essential, orderly, and formal manner.
2. The change in the policy of the Ministry of Education – participation in the writing of the textbooks in Arabic. There is extensive literature addressing the education system as a tool for the control of the State over minorities (Abu Saad, 2004). This control preserves the social-economic, political, and cultural inferiority of the Arab citizens of Israel. The control is implemented through the setting of goals and objectives for the curricula that are not suited to the Arab population and serve as an opening for the discrimination in resources, programs, and educational services (Abu Saad, 2004). This research study indicates that the policy of top-down control and the control of the Ministry of Education of formal and informal education is detrimental and does not facilitate the development of Arab education in pedagogical and social terms. It was found that the textbooks for the most part do not suit the needs of the Arab student in

Israel, and this situation is intentional. One of the recommendations of this research study is that the Ministry of Education must change its policy towards Arab education. It must allow the Arabs of Israel – the intellectuals – to intervene and to participate in the learning contents, especially in light of the modern technological era in which it is not possible to conceal knowledge from the Arab student.

3. Recommendation for the Ministry of Education. To allow every school in Israel to build unique school-based curricula for the school, as decided by the professional staff of the school and suited to the needs of its students. It is preferable that the school-based curricula not engage in non-pedagogical programs; rather the focus should be programs for social, multicultural, or national education (Palestinian narrative), under the supervision and with the approval of the Ministry of Education, but without the prohibitions from the start. The recommendation is to enable every school to express itself in an educational and ethical manner. In this way, we encourage creativity on the part of the school teachers and the teachers will feel self-worth and a more positive self-image. In the continuation of this recommendation, so as not to totally eliminate the role of the Ministry of Education in the setting of policy, it is recommended to emphasize and strengthen the building of school-based curricula unique to each school. It is important that the state determine core topics shared by all the citizens of the State of Israel but it is important to give a voice to the differences among the students, especially in cultural terms, in the school-based curricula tailored by the staffs of the different schools to the needs of the Arab students of this school.
4. Another recommendation for the Ministry of Education is to require the staffs of the public schools to write an end of the year summary for the class. This can be called a "summary week", which will be after the end of the school year. In addition, there will be an "opening week", which will be near the start of the school year, during which the teachers open the files and read the summaries and prepare for the coming year.
5. A recommendation for the Ministry of Education and the school principals and the mayors is to organize study days, lectures, and/or workshops on community life in the schools. This encourages feelings of belonging to the school, the city/village, and the State. The emotions of identification and belonging will encourage progress and prosperity in the modern era.
6. In addition, I recommend that the bilingual education of the Hand in Hand Association present methods for the prevention of the dropping out of Jewish students and for better

marketing of its framework. It should offer projects of further meetings for its graduates so as to continue the encounters and contacts between Jews and Arabs.

7. The Ministry of Education as a "learning" organization that changes and develops must learn the "model" of bilingual education of the Hand in Hand Association and attempt to change and adjust the teaching methods, the social education, and the topic of the formation of the personal and national identity.
8. In addition, it is necessary to establish the values of shared education, shared life, values and importance of coexistence, through educational projects and continuous meetings between Arabs and Jews and not to continue to produce disconnection and total separation between the Arab students and the Jewish students. The Ministry of Education must develop projects, from the first grade through the twelfth grade, for the meetings of the two nations and two cultures in the State of Israel. To create social solidarity, healthy and good civic education, which develops and promotes emotions of belonging to the same state where there live Arabs and Jews who are citizens of the state.
9. Emphasis should be placed on multicultural and pluralistic education for a democratic and modern society that aspires to realize the conventions on the rights of minorities that the State of Israel has signed. It is important that the policy of the Ministry of Education act according to the values of multicultural education, with the implementation of official and formal programs of meetings between the different cultures. It was shown that the exposure to and contact with the other side on the one hand focuses and causes the discovery of the student's self-identity and on the other hand develops empathy, understanding, and respect for the other, thus leading to the softening and diminishment of the conflict and to its end. If the State of Israel does not aspire to and encourage a shared life and coexistence, then the situation will worsen in all areas – socially, economically, politically, and internationally. According to the theory of contact, to reduce tension and conflict in a divided country, for instance the conflict and tension between Arabs and Jews, the lessening of the tension will come naturally after the meeting between the two nations and cultures. If the tension and conflict lessen, then the young generation will be available mentally, emotionally for the existence and advancement of the State. Therefore, the recommendation of this research study is to build a formal educational project/program that is mandatory for all the schools in Israel in which they will meet, know one another, and talk with one another since Arabs and Jews live together in the same country.

10. For a shared life and coexistence, it is important that Arab students and Jewish students meet and have continuous contact between them. The situation of today, in which the meeting only happens in the frameworks of higher education, should not be retained. This recommendation arises in light of the reality existing in the State of Israel, which is a multicultural state, found in a situation of separation and conflict, and thus it is recommended to adopt the model of bilingual education so as to promote our society and encourage prosperity and progress in the modern era.

The Topic of the Languages – Arabic and Hebrew

1. The recommendation for the Ministry of Education is to reinforce the studies of the Hebrew language among the Arab students in Israel. The recommendation is for a Hebrew speaking teacher to teach the Arab students the Hebrew language. The Hebrew language is the hegemonic language and in the opinion of the teachers and the parents the mastery of the Hebrew language is an instrument for the Arab student's coping and success, both in higher education and in the job market.
2. Another recommendation regards the importance of the reinforcement of the Arabic language as an integral part of the identity of the Palestinian Arab student. The research indicates the concern about the loss of the literary Arabic language in the future in Arab society in Israel. Therefore, it is important to increase the awareness of the importance of the native language as a part of the personal and national identity of the Arab student in Israel.
3. In parallel to the recommendation about the Hebrew language among the students in the Arab schools, it is recommended that in the Jewish schools the study of the Arabic language become mandatory, as taught by an Arab teacher. The knowledge of the Arab culture and language is an aspect in the meeting and contact with the other side and will lessen the tension and conflict.

The Arab minority wants a shared life and coexistence, as a complement to the existing reality and to integration in Israeli society. It is important to note that higher education and the exposure to the modern and technological era developed in this public political, social, and cultural awareness in their contact with the Palestinians in the West Bank and with the Arab and Western worlds. This exposure forces the Ministry of Education to search for different ways of coping with the extant and new reality that cannot be fully controlled by the Ministry of Education or the school and the teacher.

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Appendices

Appendix Number 1: General Data about the Israeli Education System (Weissblay, 2013)

Schools and Classes

Table Number 1: The Number of Schools and Classes in the Education System, 2013

	1948\9	1969/70	1989/90	1999/00	2009\10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13
Schools	611	2320	2432	3539	4214	4329	4449	4479
Classes	4546	22491	36168	48986	58099	60019	62070	63373

(Source: Ministry of Education Website, 2013)

In the year 2015, there were 20,637 institutions and 62,328 classes.

Table Number 2: The Number of Students in All the Schools, by Sector, 2013

	Jewish	**Arab**	**Bedouin**	**Druse**	**Circassian**	**Total**
Number of Students	1166033	304678	85193	33007	415	1589326
Percentage of all Students	73.3%	19.2%	5.4%	2.1%	0.03%	100%

(Source: Ministry of Education Website, 2013)

In the year 2015 there are 383,860 Arab students, 110,870 students Bedouin students, 41,266 students Druse students, and 523 Circassian. There are 1,605,111 Jewish students (Weissblay, 2013).

Teaching Workers

Weissblay (2013) presents that in the 2012 school year in the education system there are 136000 teachers. The following table presents select data on the teachers in the education system.

Table Number 3: Teachers in the Education System, by Select Attributes, 2012

	Jewish Education	Jewish Education	Jewish Education	Arab Education	Arab Education	Arab Education
	Elementary	Middle School	High School	Elementary	Middle School	High School
Sex: Men	13.5%	20.2%	26.9%	23.5%	35.9%	51.5%
Sex: Women	86.5%	79.8%	73.1%	76.5%	64.1%	48.5%
Age: Till 29	13.2%	6.2%	7.2%	22.1%	18.9%	16.1%
Age: 50 plus	25.9%	34.8%	39.2%	13.7%	14.1%	20.4%
Years of experience recognized for teaching, average	15.9	18.6	19.6	13.1	13.5	14.6
Work hours a week, average	27	17.7	19.2	29.9	24.5	28.8
Percentage with academic salary rank	79.9%	92%	86.3%	86.7%	94.5%	88.2%

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Annual for Israel, 2012, Tables 8.6 and 8.17)

Teacher Salary

In the 2011 school year, the mean gross salary for a full-time position of a teacher employed by the State was 10,746 shekels. The Education Report for the year 2010 (OECD, in Weissblay, 2013) indicates that the salary of teachers in Israel was lower than the salary of the teachers in the countries of the West noted in the report.

Education Budget in the Different Schools

It was found that the size of the budget inequality between the schools is ambiguous and nobody knows the answer. In the past two decades profound gaps have opened between the budgets of different schools. Everybody knows that schools are different from one another in the size of the budget at their disposal, but the size of the gaps nobody knows, for the simple reason that in Israel full budgetary data of every school is not published. The *Knesset* members, when they go to vote on the state budget, do not know this. They also cannot know since the information submitted to them by the Ministry of Education is not transparent and is not complete: even the Ministry of Finance complains that it finds it difficult to understand from the Ministry of Education how much every school receives every year. The result is that the tremendous gaps between the schools exist and certainly are even growing without a public hearing on the matter (Adva Center, 2012).

The school budget is not transparent first and foremost because most of the budget that the Ministry of Education allots the school is not given in money but in hours of teaching (called ‘standard hours’ or weekly teaching hours for the year). It would seem that every school receives standard hours in the number that should be enough for it to hold in each and every

class all the hours of study required according to the curriculum. Until now all is simple, but from here things become more complicated (Adva Center, 2012).

For more than two decades, the budget of the Ministry of Education has no longer been the sole budget player in the system. Many schools today pull in additional considerable sums of money: money from the parents, donations, money from corporations and associations that operate curricula, the school's revenue from business activity, and so on. These funds are recruited on the basis of status and political abilities of each and every school and thus they increase the budget gaps between the different schools. The Central Bureau of Statistics conducted in the year 2001 a survey of inputs to collect information on the total revenues of the schools from sources outside of the Ministry of Education, but unfortunately the survey was shelved and was not continued (Adva Center, 2012).

To conclude, in the past two decades large gaps have opened between the budgets of the different schools. Not only do schools receive from the Ministry of Education itself unequal budgets but also many schools receive significant budgetary additions from the local authority, parents' payments, donations from funds, business corporations, and business activities of the schools themselves. In addition, no state, municipal, or private factor collects and publishes the complete information about the full budget of every school in Israel. Unfortunately, the discussion held in the *Knesset* in the Education Committee and in the plenum on the budget of the Ministry of Education is held without the *Knesset* members knowing what from the proposed budget is supposed to reach each and every school (Adva Center, 2012).

Achievements of the Students in the Education System

The success of the education system is measured in the students' achievements in the high school matriculation examinations, in the *meitzav*[54] examinations, and in the comparative international tests. It should be noted that in recent years the Ministry of Education has been subjected to sharp criticism for placing the increase of the measurable students' achievements as a main objective of the education system. It was argued that this causes harm to the autonomy of the school and the teacher, which in the end detrimentally influences the education the students receive.

The following tables present current data on the students' achievements in three main indices: the high school matriculation examinations, the *meitzav* tests in the elementary school and in the eighth grade, and the students' achievements in the international tests – PISA[55], TIMSS[56], and PIRLS[57] (Weissblay, 2013).

[54] The meitzav test is a system of tests conducted in the elementary schools and middle schools in Israel in the subjects of Science and Technology, mother tongue (Hebrew or Arabic), mathematics, and English. The tests are held every year in one-third of the schools, so that every school participates in the test once every three years. The word is an acronym in Hebrew meaning Measures of Efficiency and School Growth.

[55] The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a worldwide study of fifteen year old school students' performance in mathematics, science, and reading.

[56] The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) is a series of international assessments of the mathematics and science knowledge of students around the world.

[57] The Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) is an international study of reading achievement in fourth graders.

Table Number 4: High School Matriculation Certificates – The Twelfth Grade Students Taking the Tests and Entitled to the Certificate, 2005-2011

	2005	2008	2009	2010	2011
Age group in the population	113200	107800	116996	113511	120315
Number of learners in the 12th grade	92845	92217	93311	98168	96717
Number of learners in the 12th grade in the full age group	82%	79.2%	83.997	82.3%	80.4%
Number of students taking the examinations	84021	83866	83997	87887	86046
Percentage taking the examinations in the full age group	74.2%	72.0%	71.8%	73.7%	71.5%
Percentage taking the examinations among the learners	90.5%	90.9%	90.0%	89.5%	89.0%
Number of students entitled to a high school matriculation certificate (after the following winter date)	52520	52471	53895	57485	57878
Percentage entitled to the certificate (after the following winter date) in the full age group	46.4%	44.4%	46.1%	48.3%	48.1%
Percentage entitled to the certificate (after the following winter date) in the group of learners	56.6%	56.0%	57.8%	58.6%	59.85%
The percentage of students who meet the threshold criteria of the universities from all those entitled to the certificate	86.5%	86.2%	85.6%	85.1%	84.3%

(Source: Ministry of Education, 2013)

Table Number 5: Achievements of the High School Matriculation Examinations according to Social-Economic Group of the Residential Community, 2010

Social-Economic Group of Residential Community	Percentage of Testing Students from 12th Grade Students	Percentage of Students Entitled to a High School Matriculation Certificate among Learners	Percentage of Students Who Met the University Threshold Requirements among the Learners
Jewish Education – Total	81.9%	57.8%	49.3%
1-3	41.3%	21.4%	15.4%
4-7	83.8%	58.0%	48.7%
8-10	94.2%	75.3%	70.0%
Arab Education – Total	82.0%	48.3%	35.7%
1-3	91.7%	49.1%	34.8%
4-7	94.3%	48.2%	39.5%
8-10	93.7%	50.7%	39.5%

(Source: Ministry of Education, 2013)

Appendix Number 2: Further Review of the Types of School in Israel

The 'School – Come to Learn' Website presented a review of the types of schools in Israel:

High school. Today in Israel there are hundreds of high schools. Some are theoretical schools, while others are vocational schools. Furthermore, there are additional types of high schools – technological schools, military boarding schools, *yeshiva* high schools (combination of a *yeshiva*, for advanced Jewish religious studies, and a high school), and so on. The broad variety of the types of high schools creates a selection suited to every group of population, with the goal of making the studies accessible to the student and helping him complete 12 years of study, according to his outlook and that of his parents. In different cities there are sometimes a number of high schools, which offer different programs of study and are suited to different groups of population.

Vocational schools in Israel. These schools are intended to inculcate technical skills, knowledge, and training as well as mastery of the production processes and work procedures, so that the learners will acquire tools for his employment in a certain technical field. Technological education grants training for employment in technology-rich environments based on science and are subject to dynamic changes according to the technological changes entailed by progress. These vocational schools have become over the years the 'Amal' Network, which includes dozens of vocational schools and academic colleges. Vocational education included training in the areas of machining, carpentry, clerical skills, framing, turnery, and so on.

Vocational schools – studies of science and technology. Vocational schools operated in the format of specialization programs until the 1980s, and following the criticism voiced by the *Knesset* Committee, the Ministry of Education decided to adopt a reform to limit the number of subjects and to broaden the theoretical-scientific subjects of study. The reform was intended to increase the flexibility of the manner of choice of the subjects and to increase the accessibility of the students to studies towards the high school matriculation certificate. Today the vocational schools constitute comprehensive high school institutions in which it is possible to acquire a vocation in addition to the theoretical studies and high school matriculation certificate. Sometimes these schools are integrated in military frameworks or in frameworks of youth villages and residential schools ('School – Come to Learn' Website)

Private schools in Israel. Recently it is possible to see a prevalent phenomenon of the opening of private schools. Private schools in Israel serve as an alternative for the state education system and their estimated number exceeds two hundred, despite the objection to the idea in the Ministry of Education.

The development of private education schools in Israel derives from the erosion of the public education system, the decline in the students' achievements, and the decline in the percentage of the entitlement to the high school matriculation certificate. The tuition in the private educational institutions may range from 5,000 shekels a year to 80,000 shekels and more, and nevertheless this does not deter parents who are forced to deal with painstaking filtering process, difficult acceptance tests, and long waiting lists. The private educational institutions are under the private ownership of associations, local governments, parents, and other private owners, and the Ministry of Education recognizes these institutions as education institutions that are not official if they are subordinate to the Supervision Law.

The topic of private education in Israel will be discussed in greater depth in the continuation of this research (in chapter 6).

Democratic and ideological schools. The vision of the democratic school is to maintain human dignity, liberty, and rights, regardless of differences in sex, age, race, or religion. The class in the democratic schools has a different meaning, when every student is permitted to choose the lessons suited to him. In addition, in democratic schools there is a 'legislating Parliament', to which every student can be elected. In some of the private democratic schools there are compulsory lessons, when in the rest of the subjects the student is entitled to choose what to learn, when, how, and where, from the assumption that the student is aware of his choices, even in circumstances in which his choice is erroneous.

The private schools for nature, environment, and society. The idea behind the schools of nature, society, and the environment is the increase of the learning constellation of the protection of the environment and nature through diverse and innovative teaching means. The first private school for nature, the environment, and society was established in the year 1986 in cooperation between the Municipality of Tel Aviv – Jaffa, the Administration of Education, the Association for the Protection of Nature, and Tel Aviv University. The school was established as a supra-regional institution out of the vision for the fulfillment of the potential and development of the student's personality and the cultivation of the research of nature and the environment and the increase of the love and loyalty to the country and to Israeli society. Additional private schools are the Schools for the Arts, educational frameworks that integrate secular and religious students, pluralistic schools, schools for leadership, and so on ('School – Come to Learn' Website).

Appendix Number 3: Test Results in Mathematics and English (Focus on the the Arab Speaking Schools)

Table Number 6: Percentages of Test-Takers in the Mathematics Achievements Levels for the Eighth Grade, by Class

Grade	Number of Students Tested*	Relative Achievements Level (including Score Range** in Every Level)			
		1 Low (Lowest Quarter) Score Range 0-29	2 Low-Moderate Score Range 30-51	3 Moderate-High Score Range 52-74	4 Low (Highest Quarter) Score Range 75-100
8-1	30	20%	33%	33%	13%
8-2	32	0%	0%	25%	75%
8-3	30	23%	40%	30%	7%
8-4	33	24%	33%	27%	15%
8-5	22	5%	41%	45%	9%
8-6	31	23%	39%	32%	6%
Entire Grade	178	16%	30%	31%	22%
Arabic Speaking Schools		35%	28%	23%	14%
All Schools		25%	25%	25%	25%

* When the number of test-takers in the class is less than two, the class data are not reported in the table.
** The score ranges were determined on the basis of the distribution of the scores in all the schools
Note: The data in the table do not necessarily total 100% since they have been rounded to whole numbers.

Table Number 7: Percentages of Test-Takers in the English Achievements Levels for the Eighth Grade, by Class

Grade	Number of Students Tested*	Relative Achievements Level (including Score Range** in Every Level			
		1 Low (Lowest Quarter) Score Range 0-40	2 Low-Moderate Score Range 41-75	3 Moderate-High Score Range 46-92	4 Low (Highest Quarter) Score Range 93-100
8-1	31	29%	32%	35%	3%
8-2	32	0%	3%	38%	59%
8-3	31	19%	48%	26%	6%
8-4	33	15%	55%	27%	3%
8-5	21	57%	43%	0%	0%
8-6	33	24%	48%	21%	6%
Entire Grade	181	22%	38%	26%	14%
Arabic Speaking Schools		36%	35%	20%	9%
All Schools		25%	25%	25%	25%

* When the number of test-takers in the class is less than two, the class data are not reported in the table.
** The score ranges were determined on the basis of the distribution of the scores in all the schools that were tested.
Note: The data in the table do not necessarily total 100% since they have been rounded to whole numbers.

Appendix Number 4: Students Studying for an Academic Degree

Table Number 8: Students Studying for an Academic Degree, 2011-2012

	Students in the Universities	Students in the Academic Colleges	Students in the Academic Colleges of Education	Total
Undergraduate Degree				
Absolute numbers	74.923	87.409	26.908	189.240
Women	54.5%	49.7%	80.3%	55.9%
Population Groups				
Jews and Others	86.4%	93.6%	73.7%	87.9%
Jews	83.0%	90.1%	72.7%	84.8%
Arabs	13.6%	60.4%	26.3%	12.1%
Graduate Degree				
Absolute numbers	50.759	9.318	3.101	63.178
Women	57.7%	58.3%	80.7%	59.2%
Population Groups				
Jews and Others	92.3%	94.2%	78.6%	91.8%
Jews	90.2%	92.7%	78.0%	89.9%
Arabs	7.7%	5.8%	21.4%	8.2%
Doctoral Degree				
Absolute numbers	10.590			10.590
Women	52.4%			52.4%
Population Groups				
Jews and Others	95.6%			95.6%
Jews	93.2%			93.2%
Arabs	4.4%			4.4%

(Source: http://www.sikkuy.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/nohad_ali_hebrew1.pdf)