

LIVING TOGETHER: THE IMPACT OF THE INTIFADA AND THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD COEXISTENCE OF ARAB AND JEWISH PUPILS IN ETHNICALLY SEGREGATED AND MIXED SCHOOLS IN JAFFA

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Abstract – Changes in the willingness of Jews and Arabs to coexist was the subject of two studies conducted in 1989 and again in 1994 among 12-year-olds in schools in Jaffa, an Israeli town where a large population of Arabs coexists with a Jewish population. The Palestinian uprising, the commencement of direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, and the peace treaty with Jordan have marked the attitudes of Jewish and Arab pupils in ethnically mixed and segregated schools. The study also explored the interaction effect between time when attitudes were measured and type of school. An increase was found in separatist tendencies, especially among Arab students studying in Arab schools. There was also a drop in faith in coexistence especially among Jewish pupils. Reality was increasingly perceived to offer equal occupational opportunities on the part of both Jewish and Arab pupils in integrated schools. Finally, we observed a growing faith in coexistence among Arab students studying in integrated schools. Since joint Jewish and Arab schooling decreases isolationist tendencies and increases willingness to coexist, findings seem to justify this type of schooling.

Introduction

Attitudes to the Arab-Israeli conflict have been characterised over the last ten years, in both the Israeli and the Palestinian populations, by two conflicting trends: the first is a political extremism, supported by religious fundamentalist ideology, and the second is a growing fatigue with the protracted conflict and the repeated attempts to find a political solution to end it. Public opinion in the Arab and Jewish populations in Israel oscillates between despair and the tendency to isolationism, on the one hand, and hope and faith in peaceful coexistence, on the other. These fluctuations are very sensitive to changes in the region's political climate.

The willingness of the Jewish and the Arab populations to live together was the subject of a study conducted in the late eighties among 12-year-old pupils in schools in Jaffa, an Israeli town where a large population of Arabs coexists with

a Jewish population. The assumption was that the views of these pupils reflect those of the adult population and that children's responses are sincere, free of fears and outside interests.

The findings of this early study revealed a low willingness among the Jewish pupils for close relations with the Arab people, and a clear preference for living with and among Jewish rather than Arab people. Arab pupils, in contrast, were more willing to live together in close relations with Jewish people.

The above-mentioned study was conducted during the early stages of the Palestinian uprising in the Palestinian Territories. During the five bloody years that followed, the intifada also spread slowly into the small Arab villages and towns within the boundaries of Israel. The intifada had a tremendous effect, although not necessarily in the same direction, on the willingness of both parties to live together. Other events occurring in the course of this period, e.g., the commencement of direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, the Oslo agreement and the peace treaty with Jordan, also made their impact on both parties' attitude toward coexistence. We hypothesised that all these events would affect the earlier studied two population groups as regards their feelings about coexistence. Repeating the same study in similar population groups was meant to test this hypothesis.

Theoretical framework

Studies of relations between minority and majority groups that live together in a pluralistic society (Ashmore & Del-Boca 1976) distinguish between two types of relationship: a) a 'paternalistic' relationship typical of pluralistic societies where an underdeveloped minority exists under the patronage of a highly developed majority group and b) a 'competitive' relationship characteristic of societies where the two groups have similar socioeconomic status or where the two groups are parties in political conflict.

In the paternalistic type of relationship members of the majority group are highly appreciated by the minority members who show a high degree of willingness for close contact with the majority group. In the competitive type of relationship on the other hand, other processes occur. The more symmetrical the relations between the two groups, the higher are the expectations for mobility on the part of the minority group. When these expectations are not met, frustration and feelings of deprivation arise. The positive image of the members of the majority group is eroded, the nationalistic pride and sense of identity of the minority group grows, ethnocentric tendencies appear (LeVine & Campbell 1972; Sumner 1906), and the groups tend to withdraw from each other and reject social

contacts (Bisman & Amir 1983, 1982; Hofman 1977; Hofman & Najjar 1986; Schwartzwald & Yinon 1977). When the majority and minority groups are in 'real conflict' i.e., they have incompatible goals or compete for scarce resources (LeVine & Campbell 1972), the above processes are accelerated.

This framework provided a basis for interpreting the findings of the present work which aimed to understand changes in attitudes of Israeli-Arab minority members (i.e. the Arab population and its descendants, who lived in Israel before 1948 and stayed in Israel during the War of Independence), and the Jewish majority in Israel toward close contacts, in the face of present changes in the political context of the conflict.

An historical perspective

The relationship between Arab and Jewish groups in Israel in the last 50 years is marked by a dramatic change in the status of the Arab population in Israel. From constituting a majority group in the region prior to 1948, Arabs came to be a minority in a Jewish State, living largely in segregation, geographically and economically, from the Jewish majority. This state of affairs was accepted by both sides since they perceived the situation as temporary. Arabs believed that sooner or later Israel would cease to exist, and the Jews believed that sooner or later the Arabs would voluntarily emigrate to neighboring Arab countries. As a result a paternalistic type of relationship between the Arab and Jewish people evolved.

With the improved socioeconomic status of the Israeli-Arabs over the following years, the paternalistic relationship shifted in the direction of a competitive type of relationship. Studies carried out during the 70s and 80s demonstrated an increase in a sense of deprivation among the Arab population (Alper 1987; Bareli & Schmida 1981; Smoocha 1976, 1988, 1989), as well as increased nationalism and a shift from Arab-Israeli identity toward Arab-Palestinian identity (Alper 1987; Nakhleh 1975). All this led to a decreased desire for close relationships with the Jewish population. Nevertheless the Arab minority remains more favorable to interaction than the Jewish majority.

Israel's official policy has been segregationist and almost all social institutions, including schools, maintain separate frameworks for Jews and Arabs. There have been attempts to integrate Arab and Jewish populations in mixed towns, but with limited success (Benjamin 1975; Deutsch & Kehat 1986) and the relations between the two peoples remain instrumental in their nature (Smoocha 1984).

With the passing years, both sides have begun to realise that they must find ways of living together (Peled & Bar Gal 1983). Nonetheless, today, 50 years after

the establishment of Israel, only 10% of Arabs in Israel live in mixed towns, usually in separate neighbourhoods.

As is often the case when political institutions fail to bring about a desired (social) change, the educational system is recruited to perform the task. Since the early 70s, official attempts at intervention have been made through the educational system, with the aim of bringing the two groups together.

Two documents named after the heads of two committees, the 'Yadlin Report' (1972) and the 'Peled Report' (1976) illustrate the shift in educational decision makers' attitude to Jewish-Arab relationships: from a pragmatic approach mainly aimed to guarantee the loyalty of the minority group to Israel, to a more in-depth understanding and legitimisation of the Islamic unique culture. As a result of this change a more balanced approach that seeks a way to bridge the gap between the two cultures was adopted.

Two models were applied by the educational system in order to achieve this goal. One, called the 'contact' model, and the other the 'information' model. The contact model assumes that opportunities for contact between Arab and Jewish pupils either in schools or through out-of-school activities will, by themselves, lead to mutual understanding and acceptance (Ben Ari & Amir 1986, 1988). This model spawned hundreds of organisations that initiated meetings between Arabs and Jewish youngsters, mainly in non-formal frameworks. The other model, the 'information' model, assumes that it is the lack of information about each other that causes negative stereotypes and prejudice. Thus intensive official activity in the realm of curriculum development occurred.

Both models did not reach their expected goals: the level of implementation of the curricular materials remained low, leaving effectiveness of these curricular interventions unclear. Curricular materials and educational programs that deal directly with the Israeli-Arab conflict were found to be used only in 28% of schools (Rasel & Katz 1991). The percentage was found to be much higher in the Arab sector than in the Jewish sector and extremely low in religious Jewish schools.

The only study on the effect of such a curriculum that was carried out as part of its formative evaluation (Puckan & Moshkowitz 1976), showed that 75% of Jewish pupils observe social discrimination against Arabs and the majority of pupils do not believe in peaceful coexistence. As for the 'contact' model, some scholars were sceptical about its benefits and pointed at negative effects – polarisation and intensification of existing negative attitudes (Har-Even 1993). The policy in favour of real contacts between Arab and Jewish pupils learning in the same schools was not adopted.

The present study, along with looking at the changes due to contextual effects in student attitudes over the years from 1989-1994, can be viewed as another

attempt to determine the effect of the contact model. It explores the impact of contact among Jewish and Arab pupils studying in ethnically mixed schools vs. no contact between Jewish and Arab students in ethnically segregated schools, on their willingness to live together with the other people. The research questions were as follows:

1. What is the effect of studying in ethnically segregated schools versus ethnically integrated schools on the attitudes of Jewish and Arab pupils toward coexistence?
2. Has there been a change during the five years of the Palestinian uprising regarding the attitude of Jewish and Arab pupils' willingness to live together?
3. Is there an interaction effect between the time when the attitudes were measured (at the beginning and at the end of the intifada) and the type of school (ethnically segregated or ethnically integrated) on the attitudes of Jewish and Arab pupils toward living together?

Research Methodology

Sample

Pupils from the fifth and sixth grades of five elementary schools in Jaffa – one with Jewish students only, two with only Arabs pupils, and two with mixed populations – made up the sample. These schools were visited in 1989 and again in 1994. Table 1 presents some of the characteristics of the sample.

TABLE 1: *Sample Characteristics*

School Identity	Type	No. of Students 1989	No. of Students 1994
1	Jewish	56	60
2	Integrated	13	65
3	Arab	35	–
4	Integrated	45	–
5	Arab	–	69
SUM		217	194
Boys		45%	55%
Girls		55%	45%
Born in 1977/78		89%	–
Born in 1982/83		–	92%

In the 1989 study, the majority of sampled pupils (89%) born between 1976-79, were between the ages of 11-12. In 1994, 91.6% were of this age level.

Instruments

Ten items related to pupils' background characteristics – age, sex, family size, parents' occupations, origin of parents and grandparents – were matched with 25 Likert-type items expressing on a 1-4 scale of agreement (1 – do not agree, and 4 – totally agree) preference for close relations only with ones' own people, in the same town, neighborhood, building, flat (6 items) and in the same school (5 items), perception of equal opportunities in society (6 items) and perceptions of equal opportunities in school (8 items). These items constituted the main part of the questionnaire that was used in this study. Additional items dealt with the students' ethnic identity and with both Jewish and Arab perceptions on the identity of Jaffa as an Israeli, Arab-Israeli, or a Palestinian town and with their perception of their school identity. The full text of the items in the questionnaire appears in Appendix A. In building the questionnaire the author consulted an Arab educational sociologist living in Jaffa, thus ensuring the questionnaire's face validity. Several scales were extracted later on from the responses to the questionnaire, and their homogeneity was found to be high. This guaranteed the content validity of the questionnaire.

The same instrument was administered in 1989 and in 1994 to pupils studying in the same or neighbouring schools in Jaffa.

Variables

The independent variables of this study were: the time when the questionnaire was administered: in 1989 (1); in 1994 (2). ethnicity: Jewish (1); Arab (2). *Type of school*: Jewish segregated (1); integrated (2); Arab segregated (3), and *population*: a combined variable describing ethnicity and type of school: i.e., Jewish students in Jewish schools (1), Jewish students in integrated schools (2), Arab students in integrated schools (3), and Arab students in Arab schools (4).

The dependent variables of this study were extracted from the pupils' responses to the questionnaire items. A principal component factor analysis procedure with oblique rotation, carried out on the responses of the entire Arab and Jewish pupil population, $n = 411$, resulted in four factors that together explained 61% of the total variance in these responses. Table 2 presents the findings of this analysis.

The first factor explains 28% of the total variance in pupils' responses. It expresses the personal preference of students for close relations with other

TABLE 2: Factor Analysis with Oblique Rotation on Responses to Items on Pupils' Attitudes Toward Coexistence

No.	Item	Loading			
24	I prefer for my group mates to belong only to my own people	0.89			
23	I prefer to learn in class with pupils belonging only to my people	0.88			
22	I prefer to study in a school only with pupils belonging to my people	0.84			
25	I prefer for the pupils sitting next to me to be one of my own people	0.86			
12	I prefer for my next door neighbor to be one of my own people	0.66			
4	Jewish and Arab citizens have equal job opportunities		0.75		
3	Jewish and Arab citizens have equal opportunities to study at university		0.78		
5	Jewish and Arab citizens earn equal salaries for similar jobs		0.59		
15	Jewish and Arab pupils have equal chances of being elected as class representatives		0.61		
20	Jewish students prefer to play with other Jewish pupils during recess			0.76	
19	Arab students prefer to play with other Arab pupils during recess			0.78	
17	Arab teachers favour Arab pupils in their class			0.78	
16	Jewish teachers favour Jewish pupils in their class			0.74	
18	Teachers tend to support the arguments of Jewish pupils more than Arab pupils			0.55	
9	I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab neighborhood				0.88
11	I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab building				0.86
10	I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab street				0.84
8	I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab town				0.83
6	Jewish and Arab citizens have an equal chance of being elected mayor of the town				0.71
2	Jewish and Arab citizens have an equal opportunity of being elected prime minister				0.71
13	Jewish and Arab citizens have the same opportunity to become school principal in my school				0.73
1	The Israeli government treats Jewish and Arab citizens equally				0.58
14	Jewish and Arab citizens have equal opportunities of teaching in my school				0.52
	No. of items	5	4	5	9
	Eigen value	6.7	3.7	3.0	1.4
	Percent of explained variance	28%	15%	12%	6%

students of their own ethnic group. This factor is termed 'Close relationship with your own people' (*Close*).

The second factor explained 15% of the total variance. It expresses perception of equality in the occupational opportunities of Arab and Jewish citizens in the Israeli social reality. This factor is termed 'Equality in occupation opportunities' (*Equality*).

The third factor (explaining 12% of the variance) describes perceptions of separation and discrimination in the school reality. This factor is termed 'Separation in school' (*Separation*).

The last factor, explaining only 6% of the variance, consists of two elements: items describing preference for living together in a mixed Jewish and Arab residential setting and other items describing beliefs in the general equality norms prevalent in the Israeli society. This factor describes a whole belief system rather than a narrow preference and was termed 'Faith in living together' (*Faith*).

These four factors describe, on the one hand, personal preferences for and beliefs in living together, and on the other hand, the perception of equality in the near environment, i.e., the classroom and the school, and in the wider environment, i.e., the entire Israeli society.

It should be noted here that separate factor analyses of pupils' responses in 1989 and again in 1994 yielded almost identical factors. The factors were used for the construction of four indices that were named after the factors. Table 3 presents Cronbach's coefficients of these indices.

TABLE 3: Cronbach's α Coefficients of Indices Describing Attitudes Toward Coexistence and Beliefs in Equality

Index	No. of Items	α
CLOSE	5	.89
EQUALITY	4	.71
SEPARATION	5	.77
FAITH	9	.90

The relationship between the four indices are presented in Table 4.

As expected there is a positive relationship between personal preferences or beliefs and the way reality is perceived: Preferences for close relationships with one's own people – *Close* – were found to be positively and significantly correlated with perception of school reality as ethnically separate and unequal – *Separate* – ($r = .28$ $p \leq 0.0001$). Similarly, faith in living together and in the

TABLE 4: Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between the Four Indices Describing Attitudes Toward Coexistence and Beliefs in Equality

	1	2	3	4
1. CLOSE (with your own people)	–			
2. EQUALITY (reality)	–	–		
3. SEPARATION (reality)	0.28***	-0.36***	–	
4. FAITH	-0.11*	0.48***	-0.32***	–

prevalence of equality norms in the Israeli society – *Faith* – is highly and positively correlated with the perception of reality as offering equal occupational opportunities (*Equality*) $r = .48$ $p \leq .0001$.

Significant but negative correlations exist between perceptions of equality in occupational opportunities – *Equality* and perception of *inequality* and discrimination in school – *Separation* ($r = -.36$ $p \leq .0001$). Significant and negative correlations also exist between perceptions of inequality in school – *Separation* and the subjects’ general faith – *Faith* in the possibility of living together and in the equality norms that prevail in the Israeli society ($r = -.32$ $p \leq 0.0001$).

The relationship between the indices of attitudes toward coexistence and those of perceptions of equality or inequality is as expected; e.g., the index of *Close* relations with own people correlates negatively with *Faith* in coexistence, and perceived *Equality* in society correlates positively with *Faith*. These relationships support the assumption that attitudes are related to the way reality is perceived, that experience gained in school reality might shape children’s perception of this reality and can thus be associated with their attitudes toward coexistence with other ethnic groups.

Results

Changes in the attitudes of Jewish and Arab pupils toward living together during the years 1989 - 1994.

Students’ scores on the four indices in 1989 and in 1994 reveal substantial differences. Table 5 presents these differences.

TABLE 5: *Change in Attitude Toward Coexistence (Means and t-values)*

Index	1989 n=217	1994 n=194	t-value
CLOSE	2.03	2.93	-7.1**
OCCUPATIONAL EQUALITY	2.48	2.83	-3.7**
SEPARATION	2.42	2.41	0.09
FAITH	2.98	2.48	5.7**

The following trends could be observed:

- Increase in the preference for close relations with one's own people
- Increase in the perception of occupational equality in Israeli society
- No change in the perceptions of segregation and inequality in school reality
- Decrease in the general faith of pupils of both ethnic groups in the possibility of living together in peaceful harmony.

The effect of school type (ethnically segregated or ethnically integrated) on the attitudes of Jewish and Arab pupils

A multivariate analysis of covariance (Manova) on pupils' responses to items 1-25 in the questionnaire was carried out. The effect of two independent variables and that of their interaction on the four indices describing beliefs in the prevalence of equality norms, and faith in the possibility of coexistence was estimated. The two independent variables and the interaction variables are: *Time* (events that occurred during the five years between 1989-1994) and *Population* (groups of Jewish and Arab pupils studying in ethnically segregated or integrated schools) and their interaction variable *Time x Population*. Table 6 presents the summary of this analysis.

The multivariate model is very powerful. The *Time* variable explains 32% of the total variability of the dependent variables, the type of population (Jewish or Arab pupils in ethnically segregated schools and Jewish and Arab pupils in ethnically mixed schools) explains 16% of that variance, but the most powerful of all independent variables is the interaction variable of *Time x Population* which explains 47% of the variability in the dependent variables.

TABLE 6: Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Covariance

Independent Variables	Wilks's Lambda	F	DF	P
TIME	0.68	43.5	4	0.0001
POPULATION	0.84	5.52	12	0.0001
TIME x POPULATION	0.53	22.55	12	0.0001

All univariate models for each dependent variable were found to be statistically significant. In two of these variables (*Close* and *occupational Equality*), all three independent variables play a significant role in explaining the variability in the index scores. In *Separation* it is the *Time* effect which is not statistically significant. While in *Faith* it is the *Population* effect which is not significant. In *occupational Equality* and in *Separation* it is the interaction variable *Population.Time* that explains most of their variability. However, in *Close* (relations with one's own people), it is *Time* alone that has the dominant effect. Table 7 presents these findings.

TABLE 7: Summary of Univariate Analysis of Covariance

Dependent Variable	Close	Occupational equality	Separation	Faith
Independent Variable	F & Sig.	F & Sig.	F & Sig.	F & Sig.
TIME	51.28***	13.7***	0.01	33.11****
POPULATION	7.52***	4.12***	5.64***	0.71**
TIME x POPULATION	5.25***	22.9****	30.89***	59.57****
R2	17.6	20.3	22.9	48.0
DF	7	7	7	7
F for the univariate model	11.64***	13.94***	16.21***	50.37

$p \leq 0.05^*$ — $p \leq 0.01^{**}$ — $p \leq 0.001^{***}$ — $p \leq 0.0001^{****}$

The amount of variance explained in each of the univariate models varies. The most powerful model is the one that explains the variability in respondents' *Faith* in the coexistence of both people. The model explains 48% of the variance in the index score. Here *Time* plays the greatest role amongst the independent variables. *Faith* decreased over *Time*. It seems that the Arab pupils, both in segregated and integrated schools, were most affected by this factor. Similarly, *Time* is the most important variable in explaining the increased preferences for CLOSE relations with one's own people (ethnocentricity). Here the model explains only 17.6% of the variance in the index scores.

In the two remaining models – the one that explains the variability in the perceptions of occupational *Equality* in the society and the one that explains the variability in the perceptions of *Separation*, i.e., the inequalities and discrimination in school reality – it is the interaction effect of *Time x Population* that accounts for the largest portion of the explained variance (20.3% and 22.9% respectively).

Changes over time in the means of the indices in the four populations

Table 8 presents the mean values of all the indices and *t*-statistics of the differences found in their measurement at the two points in time.

TABLE 8: Differences in the Indices Means Over Time and their *t*-Values and Significance

Population	Close (relationship ones own people)			Occupational Equality (in society)			Separation (Inequalities in class)			Faith (in coexistence)		
	1989	1994	<i>t</i>	1989	1994	<i>t</i>	1989	1994	<i>t</i>	1989	1994	<i>t</i>
1. Jewish pupils in Jewish schools	2.54	2.91	-2.0*	3.17	2.50	4.7**	1.72	2.85	-7.3	3.71	1.58	16.6**
2. Jewish pupils in mixed school	2.09	2.85	-4.5**	2.26	2.9	-4.9**	2.81	2.12	4.8**	3.10	2.34	6.5**
3. Arab pupils in mixed schools	2.32	3.12	-2.3*	1.74	3.1	-5.1**	3.31	2.30	3.5**	2.27	3.37	-4.6*
4. Arab pupils in Arab schools	1.19	2.82	-6.2**	2.74	2.82	NS	1.86	2.39	-2.4*	2.85	2.61	NS

An overall increase over time in the preferences of youngsters to stick to their own people is found in all population groups. This tendency is greatest among Arab students studying in mixed schools but it also appears amongst the Jewish students in these schools. In 1989 it was the Arab students in Arab schools that scored the lowest on this index (preference for close relationship with their own people exclusively), while in 1994, a preference for segregation is common among all populations.

Faith in coexistence and in the prevalence of equality norms in Israeli society has declined, especially among the Jewish students. The greatest drop occurred among the Jewish students in Jewish schools, followed by a lesser decline among Jewish students in integrated schools. Almost no change occurred amongst Arab students in Arab schools. Their *Faith* was not very high to start with and did not change significantly.

A promising trend of change can be detected concerning *Faith* among Arab students studying in integrated schools. Their *Faith* in coexistence and equality grew over this period of time.

As regards changes in the perception of *Equality* in society, on the one hand, and the perception of inequality and separation at the school level (*Separation*), on the other, a shift can be distinguished among Arab as well as Jewish students who are studying in integrated schools, toward viewing reality both outside the school and inside the school as much more equal than five years ago. This finding is another sign of the positive effect of integrated educational settings on the development of favourable attitudes toward coexistence between the Arab and Jewish people in Israel.

National identity and its relations with indices describing attitudes toward coexistence

The perception of Jaffa as either an Israeli, Arab, Palestinian or mixed town, and the extent to which Arab pupils identify themselves as Palestinians was checked through two items. The first item (Jaffa's national identity) was administered to both populations and the second (students' national Palestinian identity) only to Arab participants. Table 9 presents the frequency of pupils' responses to these two items.

In 1989 the majority of the pupils regarded Jaffa as a 'mixed' town. his perception decreased during the five year interval in all populations, especially amongst the Arab pupils in Arab schools, who increasingly view Jaffa either as a Palestinian (30%) or as a mixed town (51%). Jewish students in integrated schools who earlier viewed Jaffa either as an Israeli town or as a 'mixed' town, had a greater tendency in 1994 to view it as a 'mixed' town. If we add to this information

TABLE 9: Changes in the Frequency of Students' Responses by Ethnic Origin and Perceptions of Jaffa

Year	Jewish in Jewish schools		Jewish in Mixed Schools		Arabs in Mixed Schools		Arabs in Arab Schools	
	1989 n=55	1994 n=58	1989 n=104	1994 n=50	1989 n=18	1994 n=14	1989 -	1994 n=67
<i>Jaffa is an:</i>								
Israeli Town	21.8	31.0	50.0	24.0	0	21.4	*	19.4
Mixed	78.2	67.2	50.0	76.0	88.9	78.5	*	50.7
Palestinian	0	0	0	0	11.1	0	*	29.9
I regard myself as a Palestinian					1989 n=17	1994 n=15	1989 n=34	1994 n=34
Very much					35.3	26.6	0	61.9
Medium					17.6	13.3	0	4.8
Only to a small extent					23.6	26.6	5.9	9.5
Not at all					23.5	33.3	94.1	23.8

* Non-existent data

data on the increase in the percentage of Arab pupils who regarded themselves Palestinians in 1989 vs. 1994 – from 0% to 61% – our findings indicate the strengthening of nationalistic attitudes on behalf of the Arab pupils in Arab schools.

Where responses of Jewish pupils are considered, the perception of the ethnic character of Jaffa is negatively correlated ($r = -0.18$) with the index of CLOSE relations with one's own people. Jewish pupils who are more ethnocentric tend to perceive Jaffa as Israeli while Arab ethnocentric responses are positively correlated with a Palestinian identity for Jaffa ($r = 0.35^{**}$). This tendency means that the more Jewish people regard Jaffa as a mixed or Palestinian town, the less they tend to prefer close relations with their own people exclusively (i.e., they are prepared to entertain close relations with Arab people). However, the more Arab pupils perceive Jaffa as 'mixed' or Palestinian, the more they tend to prefer close relationships only with their people and the less is their willingness to live together

with Jewish people. Among the Jewish pupils, it is the other direction – the more Jaffa is perceived as a mixed or Palestinian town, the more they are willing to live together with Arabs. The perception of the Palestinian identity of Jaffa can be regarded thus, as a differential indicator of willingness to live together with the other group.

Discussion

Summing up all the tendencies that were revealed in this study, it has become clear that where the majority of students study in ethnically segregated schools, the preference to stick to one's own people and the perception of inequality and segregation in schools increased among both the Arab and the Jewish students. Positive perception of equality and faith in the possibility of coexistence did not change among Arab students in Arab schools and deteriorated among Jewish pupils in Jewish schools. Over time, *Separation* tendencies increased among Arab pupils in Arab schools and *Faith* in the coexistence of both nations decreased among Jewish pupils in Jewish schools. The strengthening of nationalism among Arab pupils (Palestinian identity and perception of Jaffa as a Palestinian town) is positively correlated with perceived segregation in schools.

However, some comfort may be derived from the changes that have occurred among Jewish and Arab pupils studying in integrated schools. Here we find, for both groups, an increase in the perception of existing Equality in the social reality and a decrease in the perception of inequality in schools. In 1994 more Jewish pupils who study with Arab pupils than in 1989 tend to view Jaffa as a 'mixed' town and these views are negatively correlated with ethnocentric tendencies. These findings highlight the effect of integrated schooling on bringing the two peoples closer together.

The results of this study are in line with the above discussed theories of inter-group relations between minority and majority groups in a context of increased symmetry in relations and real conflict.

The events that have occurred since 1989 have left their imprint on the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of young Jewish and Arab pupils in a town with mixed Jewish and Arab populations.

Several trends could be distinguished over time:

1. An increase in separatism (isolationist tendencies). This tendency occurs especially among Arab students studying in Arab schools.
2. Decreased faith in coexistence is especially characteristic of Jewish pupils.

3. Increased perception of reality as offering equal occupational opportunities, especially on the part of both Jewish and Arab pupils in integrated schools.

It is important to note that the coexistence of Jewish and Arab people in Jaffa is a forced situation, a consequence of the war in 1948, and does not reflect the preferences of either of the parties. Attendance of mixed schools reflects, to a large extent, Arab parents' wish to have their children study in a Hebrew-speaking school. This preference, although by no means always reflecting a political choice, might have an impact on the political reality.

Since Jewish and Arab pupils' studying together decreases isolationist tendencies and increases willingness to live together, our findings would seem to justify an extension of this type of schooling.

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Appendix A — Questionnaire Items

- 1 The Israeli government treats Jewish and Arab citizens equally.
 - 2 Jewish and Arab citizens have an equal opportunity of being elected as Prime Minister.
 - 3 Jewish and Arab citizens have equal opportunities to study at university.
 - 4 Jewish and Arab citizens have equal job opportunities.
 - 5 Jewish and Arab citizens earn equal salaries for similar jobs.
 - 6 Jewish and Arab citizens have an equal chance of being elected mayor of the town.
 - 7 In a neighborhood where both Jews and Arabs are living together there are plenty of problems.
 - 8 I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab town.
 - 9 I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab neighborhood.
 - 10 I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab street.
 - 11 I prefer to live in a mixed Jewish and Arab building.
 - 12 I prefer my next door neighbor to be one of my own people.
 - 13 Jewish and Arab citizens have equal opportunities to become school principal in my school.
 - 14 Jewish and Arab citizens have equal opportunities to teach in my school.
 - 15 Jewish and Arab pupils have equal chances of being elected as class representatives.
 - 16 Jewish teachers favour the Jewish pupils in their class.
 - 17 Arab teachers favour Arab pupils in their class.
 - 18 Teachers tend to support the arguments of Jewish pupils more than Arab pupils.
 - 19 Arab pupils prefer to play with other Arab pupils during recess.
 - 20 Jewish pupils prefer to play with other Jewish pupils during recess.
 - 21 The school I attend is mainly an Arab school.
 - 22 I prefer to study in a school only with pupils belonging to my people.
 - 23 I prefer to learn in class with pupils belonging only to my people.
 - 24 I prefer my group mates to belong only to my own people.
 - 25 I prefer the pupil sitting next to me to be one of my own people.
- | | | for Arabs | for Jews |
|----|---------------------|-------------|----------|
| 26 | I regard myself as | Israeli | Israeli |
| 27 | I regard myself as | Arab | Jew |
| 28 | I regard myself as | Palestinian | — |
| 29 | Jaffa is an: | | |
| | Israeli town | | |
| | Arab town in Israel | | |
| | Arab - Jewish town | | |
| | Palestinian town | | |