# The bilingual school – an educational model for civic equality in a divided society

Ilana Paul-Binyamin & Wurud Jayusi

Published online: 22 Mar 2018.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

# The bilingual school – an educational model for civic equality in a divided society

Ilana Paul-Binyamin and Wurud Jayusi

Faculty of Education, Beit Berl College, Beit Berl, Israel

## ABSTRACT

The current study examines the workings of a bilingual school for Jewish and Palestinian-Israeli students and its contribution towards the goal of educating for equal citizenship in Israel's multicultural society. The findings indicate that this school succeeds in advancing the notion of equal citizenship, as demonstrated in the fact that the school's organisational structure and the curricular contents afford equal status to both nationalities. Findings of this study maybe relevant to other multicultural societies.

## Background

The bilingual school is a unique phenomenon in the education system in Israel. In a society in which the major divide is between Palestinian-Israelis and Jews, a bilingual school was founded, with the goal of educating Jewish and Palestinian students, citizens of Israel, towards equal and shared citizenship. The current study examines the manner in which the school promotes education for equal citizenship and copes with this complex task. Before turning to the bilingual school, we provide an outline of the context in which the school operates, in terms of Israeli society and the Israeli education system.

### The marginal status of the Palestinian-Israeli education system in Israel

In the second millennium, Israeli society is divided and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict affects the reciprocal relationships between the Jewish and Palestinian population in Israel. The Palestinian-Israeli minority accounts for approximately 20% of all of Israel's population, and is comprised of 85% Muslims, 6% Druze, and 7.5% Christians (Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics 2015).

The academic literature draws a distinction between three types of minority groups: immigrant minorities, national minorities, and native minorities (Kymlicka

---

**CONTACT** Ilana Paul-Binyamin ✉ Ilanapb@beitberl.ac.il

1995). Immigrant minorities are those groups who migrate to a country and become minorities with characteristics which differ from the majority groups. They have legitimate claims for recognition and civil rights. National minorities are national groups that lost the battle in the process of the establishment of the state in which they live. Examples of this include Scots in Britain, Francophones in Canada, or the Basques in Spain. Indigenous peoples are those who have a historical continuity with pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories. They consider themselves distinct from other sectors. They develop and transmit their ethnic identity and cultural heritage to the next generation. Examples are the natives of North America, Canada and the United States, New Zealand Maoris, Aborigines in Australia, and we can include in this category, the Palestinian citizens of Israel (Jamal 2011).

The Palestinian-Israeli minority in Israel is a native minority, a status that became patent with the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. They are one of three broad groups that each live under three different legal and political systems: (1) state less Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza under a mixture of Israeli military rule and self-rule; (2) Palestinian Jerusalemites, or Palestinian residents of Israeli-occupied and annexed East Jerusalem; and (3) Palestinians living in Israel (Jamal 2011).

This minority group aims to retain its unique characteristics while becoming integrated within the majority culture (Smooha 2012). The Palestinians living in Israel are a substantial native, linguistic, religious, and national minority and have consistently resided in several main areas: the Galilee and Triangle regions in the north and centre of the country and the Negev in the south. The Palestinian group views itself as a distinct ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious group (Jabareen 2015). This minority group does not enjoy equal citizenship status with the Jewish population, in terms of employment, per capita income, education, or accessible paths to social and political leadership (Ghanem 2001). The dominant political culture emphasises that Israel is a Jewish state; hence, the Palestinian citizens are relegated to secondary status (Shafir and Peled 2002; Smooha 2012). Indeed, their status as second-class citizens is even justified in Israel's self-definition as an 'ethnic democracy' (Smooha 2002), which by default grants more civil rights to the Jewish majority.

The Israeli education system was formed within this context. The Palestinian-Israeli education system enjoys limited autonomy (Al Haj 1998) and is significantly marginalised (Golan-Agnon 2006). Especially noticeable is the inequity in allocation of funds and in the poor quality of teaching that characterises the Palestinian-Israeli education system. Such gaps in the infrastructure are manifested in the high rate of school dropouts, in the students' poor academic achievements, and in the obstacles secondary school graduates encounter as they attempt to meet the demands of higher education institutions (Arar and Haj Yehia 2010). According to the 2015 report issued by the National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education, it appears that there are significant and systematic gaps between

the achievements of Arab and Jewish students in all academic subjects (National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education 2015).

These conditions prevent Palestinian-Israeli citizens in Israel from using education as a social leveraging tool, as is the practice of many other minority groups throughout the world; they simply cannot match the achievement levels of the majority (Arar and Haj Yehia 2010). The inequality is also expressed in the curriculum. To date, there has been no significant effort to infuse the curriculum in the Palestinian-Israeli school system with content that reflects Arab culture, history, or literature (Podeh 2002; Teichman 2001). Although Arabic is defined as an official language in Israel, it is not treated as such in the Jewish education system (Saban and Amara 2002).

In recent years, in the process of relinquishing responsibility for the education system and placing it in the hands of market forces (Dagan-Buzaglo 2010), the state has abandoned education for multiculturalism and social solidarity. Consequently, problems of social inequity and injustice are being ignored. Details of this phenomenon can be found in the 2016 Israeli National Comptroller's report, which pointed to the incompetence of the Ministry of Education in educating for democracy (Israeli National Comptroller 2016). These steps have increased the gap between the various sectors of society and their alienation from one another, and have simultaneously reduced the chances of achieving social change through education. The fact that bilingual schools were founded in this context, leads to the following question: Can a school in fact create an equitable educational environment that educates students of both nationalities for equal citizenship?

## *Bilingual schools*

The phenomenon of bilingual or mixed schools is not unique to Israel (Cummins 2013), but it is rather characteristic of countries coping with an ongoing conflict (McGlynn, Zembylas, and Bekerman 2013). Research has shown the bilingual schools provide the opportunity to establish mutual recognition (Aboud and Sankar 2007), reduce alienation, develop tolerance, and initiate processes for recognition and reconciliation (Bekerman and Horenczyk 2004; Ben-Nun 2013). There are vast and significant studies on bilingual education, but they vary in their contexts. While some emphasise one's sociocultural or socio-political background, others emphasise the ethnicity or linguistic factor. Cummins (2000) pointed out that political and economic issues interact with language learning, constraining or enabling human action. All these studies influence the manner in which language models are implemented at schools (Schwartz and Palviainen 2016). In addition, some of these studies also focus on the role of bilingual education in promoting tolerance and reconciliation in divided societies (Gallagher and Duffy 2016) e.g. a study on Macedonia which emphasises the sociocultural context (Leitch 2011); a study on the United States which emphasises an ethnicity aspect (Gallagher, Duffy, and Baker 2015; Kindel 2015) and a study on Northern Ireland which emphasises

the sociocultural and religious aspect (Gallagher 2016). These studies and the like, indicate that bilingual education has a great potential to galvanise a positive social change. The research findings indicate that educators who adopt an intercultural education orientation are committed to challenging the operation of coercive relations of power within their school environments, and they have considerable power to resist and to lead changes (Cummins 2015). Moreover, some researchers argue that this is the only way to educate children, in the twenty-first century, to embrace human diversity (García 2009). In our case, in Israel, the situation is more complicated because of the intertwined and inseparable contexts that define the diversity of the population, such as the socio-political, national, religious and linguistic aspects.

There are currently five bilingual schools in Israel (Haviv-Barak, Bekerman, and Bilu 2011). The motivation for their establishment was to create a bilingual and equitable educational environment, in which children and youth in Israel can get acquainted and learn to respect each other, while fostering their unique cultural heritage, this in contrast to the segregation that characterises the state-run school system in Israel (Bekerman and Tatar 2009). 'Hand-in-Hand', the non-governmental organization that operates the schools, defines its mission thus:

> Our Mission at Hand-in-Hand is to create a strong, inclusive, shared society in Israel through a network of Jewish-Arab integrated bilingual schools and organized communities (…) Jews and Arabs – learning together, living together – and inspiring broad support for social inclusion and civic equality in Israel. (Hand-in-Hand Website)

Several studies of these bilingual schools have been conducted over the last decade. Most of them have examined two major aspects: the linguistic aspect of acquiring two languages and the aspect of national identity and coping with conflicting narratives (Bekerman 2009). In the studies, which examined second language acquisition in a context of national conflict (Bekerman and Horenczyk 2004), it was found that in the bilingual schools, despite the desire to promote both languages equally, there was a lack of symmetry in the use of the two languages and that Hebrew was the predominant language (Amara 2014). Another group of studies examined the latter aspect, i.e. educating for peace, engaging in processes of reconciliation, coping with conflicting issues such Memorial Day observance by both nationalities, in the context of a national conflict (Ben-Nun 2013; Haviv-Barak, Bekerman, and Bilu 2011). These studies revealed that the two nationality groups undergo distinct processes, according to the balance of power between the majority and minority groups.

## *Educating for equal and shared citizenship*

According to the schools' mission statement, the curriculum is based on two principles: reflecting the two cultures and the two languages without giving preference to either one and educating for equal and shared citizenship. What constitutes

equal and shared citizenship and what is the educational process that advances this notion?

Citizenship is a complex and long-debated concept: its meaning has shifted from one era to the next, and it has been appropriated by conflicting ideologies in order to include or exclude certain groups (Shafir and Peled 2002; Yuval-Davies 1999). The concept of educating for equal citizenship cannot be separated from the theoretical approaches that define citizenship, namely, the republican, the liberal, and the politically critical approaches. These approaches promote different types of democracy and have different definitions for what they consider the optimal attributes of the 'good citizen' that they wish to promote. These distinct definitions of citizenship dictate different educational goals, pedagogic approaches, and curricular contents.

According to the republican approach, the needs of society take precedence over the needs of the individual, and citizens share a common interest, referred to as the common good. Being a citizen means being faithful to a political community and taking an active role in the public sphere (Habermas 1996; Oldham 1998). The educational approach derived from this discourse provides students with the necessary tools to live in a participatory democracy and educates them to become active citizens, faithful to and respectful of their nation's symbols.

The liberal approach emphasises the neutrality of the state and considers citizenship the official status of the individual, which ensures each person's rights as granted by the state. Unlike the republican approach, there is no *common good*; rather, the common interest that citizens share is to maintain the state's neutrality and its role as the protector of individuals (Galston 1991; Rawls 1993). The educational approach derived from this discourse deals with the autonomy of individuals, and the need to maintain their own rights while simultaneously protecting the rights of others (Pinson 2007).

The politically critical approach offers an alternative discourse and is based on the principles of multicultural citizenship, which promotes the right to be equal and to belong despite differences (Silvestrini 1997; Young 2000). Thus, it advances the need to recognise multiple identities (Kymlicka 1995) and educates for social justice (Apple 1999). The educational practices derived from this approach deal with the creation of an educational environment of equality, which constitutes a model for equal citizenship. This implies an active educational process committed to establishing a correlation between the educational process and its contents (Dewey 2004). This equality is expressed in an organisational structure that gives equal status and room for the various sectors, in terms of official roles of personnel, the content of materials studied, and the manner in which these materials are taught. This approach provides the ideological infrastructure for the bilingual school examined in this research.

Let us clarify that the focus of this study was on citizenship education, in contrast to civic studies, which is a separate discipline with its own curriculum, in which students can enrol in preparation for the matriculation examinations. Citizenship

education is a comprehensive and continuous educational process that includes learning about procedural aspects of citizenship in a democracy, in addition to experiencing a climate of civic equality at school, which promotes democratic and shared citizenship, as well as tolerance and equality. Citizenship education encompasses a process in which students acquire knowledge, analyse current events, and are encouraged to form a critical approach and act on it as citizens (Cohen 2013; Pinson 2007).

In the context of the current study, educating for civic equality is one of the main goals of the bilingual school. The school under investigation brings together two sectors that are in conflict; in this sense, it attempts to do more than teach two languages simultaneously. Rather, the simultaneous study of the languages of two alien sectors aims at promoting civic equality and shared citizenship.

## *Research goal and questions*

The goal of the study was to examine the ways in which civic equality education was promoted at the bilingual school. The research questions were: What are the conditions that the school promotes for its Jewish and Arab students in order to enable education for equal citizenship?

As used in the current study, the concept of educating for civic equality is reflected also in the school's organisational structure, which is based on equality and serves as an alternative model to the existing structures in Israeli society. Hence, the model employed in the bilingual school ensures the following: equal status of officials from both nationalities in the realm of administration and teaching; equal status of both languages; equal opportunity for students of both nationalities to produce academic achievements that can serve as leverage for social mobility; equal representation of both cultures in the curriculum and in social activities; and the inclusion of curricular content related to multiculturalism, tolerance, democracy, and shared citizenship. In other words, human and civil rights are perceived as equally applicable to all human beings (Nagle and Clancy 2010).

The notion of civic equality was investigated because the non-governmental organization that operates the school (Hand-in-Hand) claims that the curricula of its schools are 'based on the principle of reflecting the two cultures and languages equally – without exhibiting preference for either one, on the principle of multicultural literacy, and on the principle of equal and shared citizenship' (Hand-in-Hand Annual Report 2012–2013). Accordingly, we sought to understand the ways in which civic equality is manifested within the school's perimeters. To recap, this is not a 'regular' bilingual school that aims to promote the study of both languages; rather, this is a bilingual and bi-national school that brings together students of two sectors, which are in conflict with each other and which do not currently enjoy civic equality. The gaps and civic inequalities between the sectors are pervasive in Israeli society; hence, educating for civic equality is one of the school's main purposes.

## Methodology

This research employed the qualitative method (Kouritzin, Piquemal, and Norman 2009), which enables researchers to holistically observe the numerous layers of any existing reality (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). In this manner, the participants' perceptions of reality serve as the central focus of the study (Kincheloe 2010). According to Kincheloe, the qualitative investigation is likened to the process of bricolage, i.e. using whatever materials and tools are available to analyse and produce a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study.

### *The population*

The study population included two school principals; two supervisors from the Ministry of Education who oversee the school's activities; the vice principal; the educational counsellor; 25 teachers; and 4 students attending grades five and six. In addition, a total of 21 students attending the fifth or sixth grade were randomly selected to participate in three focus groups.

### *The research tools*

The current study made use of (a) interviews, (b) focus groups, (c) observations.

(a) The semi-structured interviews were conducted with the school's educational staff (the 2 principals, the vice principal, the educational counsellor, and 25 teachers), the 2 educational supervisors, and 4 students attending grades five and six. A total of four interviews were conducted *with the school principals* throughout the school year, in which the following issues were addressed: school management and the division of labour between them, the curriculum and teaching methods advanced by the school, the status of Hebrew and Arabic at school, joint teaching, and ways of coping with issues of personal and national identity. The following issues were addressed in the *course of the interviews held with the teachers (one interview per teacher):* their perception of the school mission, their motivation for joining the school staff, teaching methodologies and the development of curricula, students' academic achievements, the model of joint bilingual teaching, and the social relations between Jewish and Arab students at school. The following issues were addressed in the *course of the interviews held with the two educational supervisors*.

The following issues were addressed in the *course of the interviews held with the four students* (one interview per student): their reasons for attending the school, feedback on school in general and on academic and social aspects in particular, their view of joint teaching and having two teachers in the classroom, and the issue of identity.

(b) A total of three *focus groups* were held throughout the year with students attending grades five or six (with six–eight participants in each). The following issues were addressed: their reasons for attending the school, feedback on school in general and on academic and social aspects in particular, their view of joint teaching and having two teachers in the classroom, and the issue of identity.

(c) A total of 10 *observations were conducted during lessons*, in order to closely examine the dynamics during class, to get a sense of the joint classroom teaching model, and to form an impression of the relationships that exist among the various parties. In total, classroom observations lasted nine hours. Additional *observations*, conducted five times for a total of 10 h, *were held in the public sphere*, in an attempt to gain a sense of the reciprocal relationships between Jews and Arabs outside the classroom during free time. Two additional *observations were held during teachers' meetings*.

### The researchers

Emulating the composition of the study population, also the research team included one Jewish and one Arab member. This was intended to ensure equal representation at this level of the study, as well as to enhance researchers' intercultural sensitivity (Burnette et al. 2014). An additional reason for including a researcher from each nationality was to enable interviewees to use their native language freely, should they wish to do so. The researchers are not – nor were they at any time – affiliated with the school staff; rather, they come from an external academic institution involved in education and educational research.

### Procedures

The study was conducted in the course of a single academic year. The interviews with the two school principals and with the vice principal were conducted earlier in the year. The interviews held with the teachers and the classroom observations were conducted throughout the year. Once the researchers felt that they had familiarised themselves with the school and its characteristics based on the broad collection of data obtained through observations and interviews, the focus groups were held with the students.

The following parameters were used by the researchers to determine whether and the extent to which equality was being promoted at school.

(a) The reciprocal relationships between the two nationalities as observed among the school staff (principals and teachers), and the degree to which the individuals from both nationalities played an equal role and were give equal representation in the students' educational environment.

(b)  Levels of academic achievement, perceived as a path to social mobility and equal citizenship.
(c)  Bilingual practices that reflect the equal status of both languages.
(d)  Curricular content that reflects both cultures equally.

These parameters were derived from two sources: the first, the theoretical basis of the critical approach to the promotion of equal and shared citizenship. One of the main pillars of this approach is creating a learning environment, the structure, contents and methods of which reflect the desired civic equality, rather than the hegemonic social environment in which the school as a whole is situated. The second source is the thematic analysis method of all the data collected, as detailed below.

## Data analysis

The interviews, observations, and focus groups of principals, teachers, and students, were analysed using the thematic analysis method based on that of Braun and Clarke (2006) and of Shkedi's (2004). Each researcher separately reviewed the data, and afterwards they had a collaborative reading, in order to enable them to get acquainted with the data more intimately and profoundly. This method of data analysis also enriches the interpretations of the findings, because the researchers also learn about one another's angle. In the case of this study it is even more significant because although both researchers are Israelis, one is Arab and the other is Jewish.

In the second stage of analysis consisted of coding significant units that were perceived relevant to the research questions posed. In the third stage, researchers attempted to consolidate the codes and create significant themes, which were reviewed in the fourth stage to ensure that the contents matched the themes. In addition, the definition of themes and sub themes was reviewed to ensure consistency. In the case of the present article, the analysis of the findings and the definition of the themes were done by combining the parameters presented in the theoretical review with the findings of the study. Both served as a basis for the creation of four topics: equality of representation among school staff, equal representation of both languages, equal representation of two cultures in the curriculum, and the importance of academic achievements as a tool for social mobility, especially for the minority group.

Finally, the themes were connected so as to create a narrative that provides a response to the research questions. This structure tells the 'story' of the research, by explaining how the four themes tell the story of education which aspires to promote a more egalitarian society in a country that is marred with conflicts.

It is important to note that the data analysis was influenced by Charmaz's work (2000, 2012, 2008). In her critique on the developers of grounded theory, she argues that not only the researcher does not approach the data from a neutral

position, but she or he should rather be aware of their biases that correspond with their background and prior knowledge. Moreover, each researcher must consider four components in data analysis and in writing the findings: the context of the research the researcher's background, the participants' background, and the languages of both, the researcher and the participants (Charmaz 2008). In this specific study, all four components were addressed. The first component is the socio-political context of the Israeli society within which this unique school was developed; the second is the identity of both scholars, an Arab, whose main language is Arabic and a Jew whose main language is Hebrew; the third component is the participants' personal background, and the fourth is the research as a subject, and as a method. The language plays a dual role: the first as a research subject that focuses on the significance of bilingual education, and the second as a method that focuses on the two different native languages of both researchers (Arabic and Hebrew). All of these factors require great research sensitivity because both languages serve as the object of research, but also because of the different status of each one. While Hebrew is the hegemony major language, Arabic is second to it. Therefore, in this particular case, language reflects also the challenges of the formal practice and definition of equal citizenship.

## Findings

### Equality among the school staff – modelling the educational environment

### Equality between the school principals

The school's vision of equality is manifested in the appointment of two school principals, one Jewish and one Arab. Over the years, there developed a tendency to appoint one principal and one vice principal. Findings indicated that the relationship between the principals was amicable and that they consulted with each other frequently, divided the ongoing tasks among them, and shared the tasks that involved decision-making. One of the principals said the following: 'there is no official division of labour; we have come to a working agreement over eight years of partnership. All major decisions are taken together; smaller issues are decided separately and then we update each other'. There is great symbolic significance in having representatives from each nationality: it appears that the school is not a replica of Israeli society in that sense, but rather is based on a relationship of equality and partnership between Arabs and Jews, a key factor to realising the school's vision, according to most of the participants.

### Equality between the teachers – 'bilingualism is more than merely speaking two languages'

The reality to which students at the bilingual school are exposed is completely different from the daily reality encountered beyond the school grounds. Students are greeted by two teachers in the classroom, one Jewish and one Arab, who

conduct the lesson jointly, without any hierarchy and without either one taking centre stage. This state of affairs conveys a message of equality, which does not align with the hegemonic reality found beyond the school grounds.

Just as the dual representation in the school management level is significant, so too is the dual representation in classroom management. However, the presence of an Arab and a Jewish teacher plays an important role beyond its symbolism, namely, in teaching Hebrew and Arabic language, in educating students about multicultural values, and in acquiring knowledge about the cultural world and the particular background of each teacher. This model is expected to produce results in educating for equality. An additional gain is the ability to advance students' academic achievements, given that there are two teachers in a classroom with a relatively small number of students.

Applying the co-teaching model is not a simple task; rather, it requires a great deal of preparation and constant consultation with the school system, in an effort to cope with both content-related and interpersonal difficulties. The majority of the teachers in this study (22 of 25) reported optimal cooperation and described the manner in which they managed this teaching method.

> We have two teachers in the classroom and we teach together; we communicate with a glance and know when it's the other's turn to speak, without translating what the other has said. We prepare class in advance and that's why the lesson proceeds fluently.

> As regards the control of the classroom during the lesson, occasionally one of the teachers speaks more than the other, but I don't attribute any significance to that, because each one speaks as he or she deems necessary. In my opinion, no one has more control than the other.

Only 3 of the 25 teachers reported difficulty regarding the co-teaching.

> Bilingualism is not merely speaking two languages; we do everything together: every decision about every grade and great curve – everything. On the other hand, many times teachers divide the students between them so that each teacher evaluates only part of the students and thus there is no collaborative decision making. Sometimes teachers give different grades to Jewish and Arab students. I saw some teachers do that and I was completely shocked!

This report of lack of cooperation between the teachers was reinforced in the course of an observation conducted during one of the lessons. Both teachers returned examinations to students. As the test had been offered in both languages, each teacher corrected the tests in her native language. However, one of the teachers provided verbal evaluation, whereas the other teacher gave the evaluation using a percentage mark. Students quickly picked up on this and were upset by this difference. The teachers realised only too late that they had failed to consult on this matter.

In the conversations conducted with students during the focus groups, it became clear that students perceived the cooperative teaching and the presence of two teachers working simultaneously in two languages as a matter of routine.

I've been here since kindergarten and I got used to it, so it's easy for me to have two teachers. I listen in both languages, because they do not repeat the same information; rather, each one expands and explains further.

Students explained the advantages of having two teachers in the classroom: 'it's good, because when one teacher demonstrates in Hebrew, the other explains in Arabic, and vice versa'. All of the participants noted that their decision to approach a particular teacher is related to the teacher's personality rather than to his or her nationality.

### *Levels of academic achievement, perceived as a path to social mobility and equal citizenship*

The issue of academic achievements, as a value and as a matter of daily practice, is considered a path to civic equality. Academic achievements constituted secondary – rather than directly observed – data, as they were obtained through the interviews with the school supervisors and with the teachers. According to these sources, the desire to achieve high academic standards was a major motivation compelling Arab parents and students to join the bilingual school; in fact, they viewed the bilingual school as an instrument for social mobility. One of the teachers phrased it thus.

Arab parents come to the school mainly because they do not have the options of good schools, schools that will help them advance. That's why they consider our school a path to social mobility. Through this school, their children will matriculate and will be able to attend university. In contrast, Jewish [parents'] motivations are related to advancing humanistic values, creativity, etc. Jewish students can attend any school they want to in the city, so if they come here, they are motivated by ideology, whereas Arab parents see the school as a platform for advancement.

It appears that this social leveraging goal is achieved, because Palestinian-Israeli graduates of the bilingual school have the advantage of having studied in a rich environment and have acquired a higher level of Hebrew proficiency than that of their peers who attended Arab-sector schools. They have also acquired knowledge and experience that will help them compete for entrance into Israeli higher education institutes. In addition to the educational advantages, the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991) that Palestinian-Israeli students acquire at this school is yet another noticeable advantage that these graduates have over their peers educated in the Arab sector's education system. This cultural capital is manifested not only in terms of facility using spoken and written Hebrew, but also in terms of their greater familiarity with the nuances of Jewish Israeli society and lifestyle, all of which provide leverage for social mobility. Another acquired advantage, one which cannot be measured, is the sense of self-confidence that Palestinian-Israeli students acquire due to their experience at school, and their sense of belonging to Israeli society. The findings of a nationwide schools' test held in Israel in 2015 proves that the achievements of the students in the bilingual school were higher

than those of students with similar socio-economic background attending other schools, as shown in Table 1.

Teachers explained Arab students' high academic achievements by referring to both the students' strong sense of motivation and to the teachers' desire to guide their students towards improved achievements. The following are excerpts from teachers' responses:

> 'Arab students are internally motivated to pursue high-level academic achievements and this influences the Jewish students. Being a good student is an honor, an important principle that leads to success. This perception is less evident among the Jewish students'; 'Parents of Arab students encourage their children and are very insistent that they speak Hebrew [and appropriate] not only the language but also the entire Western liberal culture. That is what paves their way to becoming integrated in society, becoming an academic scholar'; 'In the high school, the groups are smaller and the school aims to encourage [students] to perform at the best of their abilities. We work very hard to [help them] achieve their maximum potential'.

The attitudes of the students complement that of their teachers:

> 'It is a privilege to study here, because of the high academic level' (a ninth grade Arab student); 'I came to the school in the seventh grade – my parents chose it because of its high academic level' (ninth grade Arab student); 'The academic level is good – although not excellent; yet in comparison to the academic level in the Arab schools in general, the academic level here is high' (a sixth grade Arab student); 'I came here because it is important that in Israeli society Jews and Arabs study together and the academic grades are fine, as far as I'm concerned. I can't speak for others, but I feel challenged' (a ninth grade Jewish student).

### *Bilingual practices that reflect the equal status of both languages*

Students are expected to have proficient skills in all aspects of both languages, reading, writing, speaking, and listening. Language acquisition is not intended to provide only a means of communication, but rather it is a major component in educating for equal citizenship and plays an important role in eliminating the implicit hierarchy between the two languages. Language acquisition is also very important, because it helps eliminate barriers to the establishment of interpersonal relationships between Jews and Arabs.

Table 1. A comparison between the academic achievements of students in the bilingual school and in schools that are part of the state's education system, in the subjects of fifth-grade Hebrew, Arabic, and mathematics (National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education 2015).

| Subject | The bilingual school – averages (SDs) | General schools from similar socio-economic backgrounds – averages (SDs) | Hebrew/Arabic speakers from similar socio-economic backgrounds – averages (SDs) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hebrew | 80 (12) | – | 74 (14) |
| Arabic | 72 (18) | – | 75 (16) |
| Mathematics | 75 (14) | 60 (18) | 62 (18) |
| English | 73 (25) | 62 (21) | 61 (21) |

To help realise these goals, teaching and learning at the school is conducted in both languages, beginning in kindergarten, with the presence of two teachers in the classroom and direct teaching without translation. Also the school's organisational structure is intended to promote the use of both languages; however, in reality, obstacles have been encountered on the path to realising this vision. For example, because there is no official precedent for a bilingual curriculum, no teaching materials have been developed to this end. Hence, it is up to the teachers to take on this additional task of developing teaching materials. Preparing these materials is not a simple matter, since the teaching in a particular language is not merely an instrument, but also plays a role in the school's ideology, which means that the choice of materials requires a great deal of cultural sensitivity regarding the content and the implicit messages they invoke. The following are excerpts from teachers' responses:

> 'There is no organized curriculum. A curriculum needs to be formulated for Arab and Jewish students separately, with a different set of core studies in each. The core studies should be determined by what we deem as essential'; 'There are no clear standards for teaching the two languages. It's not clear to me what a Jewish student should know at the end of first grade – should students learn to read and write both Arabic and Hebrew in the same year?'; 'It's very difficult – we need to be prepared to teach both the native language and the second language'; 'We work in a somewhat vague framework'.

Despite the considerable efforts of the school staff to counter this tendency, Hebrew has greater presence and predominates compared to the use of Arabic at school.

> Among themselves, students speak mainly Hebrew, even the Arab students. We remind them to use Arabic, but they're already used to it; this is how people in this country speak. They want to feel that they belong … to advance.

Another teacher noted 'it's also easier for Arab students to communicate in Hebrew at school – they don't feel like switching languages'. Hence, it seems that the language used most frequently throughout the school day is Hebrew. Most students find it easy to communicate in Hebrew among themselves. However, the fact that Jewish and Arab students study together and understand each other in both languages cannot be dismissed, especially as it counters the trend found throughout Israeli society.

### *Curricular content that reflects both cultures equally*

As described to us by the school principals and teachers in the course of the interviews, the design and contents of the school curricula were intended to emphasise knowledge and recognition of the other and his or her culture. For students of a younger age, the introduction to these themes involves for the most part folklore-related aspects; however, as the children mature and attend higher grades; their exposure to conflicting narratives is increased. The gradual structuring of the curriculum is based on the assumption that the broader the personal and

cultural acquaintance, the more prepared students will be to handle difficult and conflicting issues as they advance.

> Children here learn about the complexity of the situation starting from kindergarten … There's something unique about accepting the other in the most basic sense of the term. This forces one to make a [conscious] choice each time anew. For example, during the war, this was not an easy time and interactions were highly charged.

The gradual structure of the curricular content, from folklore to conflict, seems to be working as intended, as students' input indicated. Once they reached the stage of discussing difficult issues, the students did not ignore the interpersonal relationships that had evolved over years of joint study. In addition to expressing their concern about issues of equality, the majority of students emphasised that there is mutual respect between the students of the two nationality groups.

> On Memorial Day, we come to school wearing a white shirt and prepared for the ceremony, while Arab students come dressed as usual and remain in the classroom with the teacher. This ceremony is different, as it is conducted only in Hebrew and only Hebrew songs are sung. The Arab school principal attends the ceremony, but does not participate – only the Jewish school principal participates.

Another student noted 'I don't presume to know what the Arab students actually think, but they are very respectful of Soldiers Memorial Day and of the Holocaust Memorial Day'.

The advantage of a curriculum that addresses the two cultures and the narratives of both nationalities in an equitable and substantial manner is that it offers more than the opportunity to acquire new knowledge. It also provides the opportunity to cope, both cognitively and emotionally, with the conflict, which in turn creates significant challenges for school staff and students. Dealing with dilemmas related to self-definition and national identity develops in students an in-depth understanding of their complex reality. The framework and its inherent challenges help students form a set of values and behavioural norms that include respect for the other, which is maintained even when facing complex issues. According to students, 'nothing here is self-evident; everything requires discussion and thought. I find the lessons challenging'. 'School gives us important tools for coping with the issues one encounters outside [of the school] and this creates self-confidence'. 'Every student learns about the identity of the other and we learn that there are others living alongside us; even though these issues are difficult, they are necessary'.

Students are aware of this advantage. 'We are kids who know how to express our opinions and have a great deal of knowledge about the complexities of our reality'. 'We influence reality'. 'We learn to listen without forming quick judgments'. 'We are part of something special; we help advance a solution to the conflict'. Along with the idyllic descriptions of equality, tolerance, and multiculturalism, there were also criticisms, as Arab participants referred to missed opportunities and the absence of a special ceremony for commemorating the Naqba, whereas Jewish participants criticised the diminishment of the Jewish aspect in school ceremonies.

## Discussion

Most countries throughout the world contain multiple cultures, and their societies are characterised by tensions that emerge between the mainstream majority and the minority groups, as they struggle over the allocation of resources (Smooha 2002). This fact underscores the important role of education in effecting a change in the relationship between the competing sectors. Civic equality education is one of the prominent methods for constructing a fair and just society (Cohen 2013). In Israel, as in other conflictual places around the world, such as Northern Ireland and Cyprus, the majority and the minority sectors have separate education systems. This state of affairs precludes any opportunity for interacting or sharing with 'the other', which in turn promotes ignorance and prejudice (Shepherd 2007). The academic literature states that civic equality education can succeed only if it is applied methodically and comprehensively, rather than as a single attempt (Rosen and Perkins 2013). Such an ongoing project can succeed even if it operates within a non-supportive environment (Niens and Cairns 2005). Thus, for example, despite the fact that some of the facilities at the school studied here were destroyed in a fire set by right-wing Jewish activists, who opposed the joint education of Jewish and Arab students, the buildings were rebuilt and the school continues to operate and promote shared and equal citizenship. The overall aim of the current study was to add to the existing pool of knowledge, by examining a broader issue, namely, the manner in which the bilingual school promotes an educational environment based on civic equality, and gives students an opportunity to live in an environment that is based on equality, as a model for shared and equal society through the structure and content.

The study was conducted in one of the bilingual schools, using the qualitative approach and three instruments: (a) in-depth interviews, which were held with all of the parties involved in the educational endeavour (school principals, educational supervisors, teachers, and students); (b) focus groups held with students; (c) observations conducted in both the classrooms and the public sphere. Although numerous studies have examined bilingual schools, their focal interest is on bilingual education (Cummins 2014, 2015) or on aspects related to national identity conflict (Bekerman 2009; Zamir 2012). Therefore, the findings of this study maybe applicable to other multicultural societies, as a model for using the education system to cope with a multiplicity of cultures by educating for democracy, equality and a shared society, as detailed in the conclusions and recommendations.

The bilingual school was established in an attempt to carve a new and important path in Israel's divided society, addressing the major divide, which is the national conflict between Arabs and Jews (Shafir and Peled 2002). This is a tension-ridden conflict that involves issues pertaining to national security and to inequality and discrimination of Palestinian citizens of Israel. Within this political and social reality, five bilingual schools were established, in which Jewish and Arab students study together and allot equal status to the two languages, cultures, and conflicting

narratives. The mission of the bilingual school is to educate for equal citizenship, by providing an educational environment based on equality. The definition of *equality* in the current study included the following components: *equality among the school staff*; *equality in academic achievements, as a path to social mobility and equal citizenship*; *equal status of both languages*; and *equal representation of both cultures in the curriculum and in social activities*.

Findings showed that the school promotes its vision of equal citizenship; however, coping with the various complex challenges it encounters on the way prevents it from attaining optimal realisation of its vision and objectives. It is important to note that the school does successfully meet the following parameters of equality. We will discuss this complexity by discussing each of the four parameters.

### Equality among the school staff – modelling the educational environment

The organisational structure of the school demonstrates an equality that does not exist in the Jewish hegemonic structure of Israeli society. This is manifested in the equal role of the two school principals and in the co-teaching managed between teachers of both nationalities. This approach allots equitable representation to both nationalities. Given that this is not the state of affairs in Israeli society, it has a crucial effect on the Palestinian-Israeli students' identity formation. As noted in the theory developed by Taylor (1992), obtaining recognition is an essential component in the individual's identity formation process.

### Equality in academic achievements, as a path to social mobility and equal citizenship

One of the motivations for Arab students to join the bilingual school is that it is perceived as a platform for social mobility in Israeli society. This raises the question of whether the school meets this expectation and in fact provides leverage, enabling its Arab students to advance into higher education, and to integrate socially, academically, and economically into Israeli society. To provide a complete answer to this issue requires a long-term study that would examine the degree to which the students succeed in integrating into Israeli society. For the time being, given the scope of the current study, this question can be addressed by examining students' academic achievements. Findings based on a national schools' test held in Israel in 2015 demonstrates that the achievements of the students in the bilingual school were higher than other schools from similar socio-economic backgrounds (National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education 2015).

In addition, the school's success should be examined not only in terms of students' academic achievements, but also in relation to its significant contribution to students' cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991), bilingual skills, and their exposure to important values, all of which enable optimal integration into Israeli society. In other words, having classes that cater to a small number of students with two

teachers present in each class apparently contributes to the high academic level maintained in the school. In this sense, the school promotes the development of an equitable society not only by providing a model framework, but also by ensuring strong academic achievements, which can help students – especially, Palestinian students – pave a path towards social mobility.

### Bilingual practices that reflect the equal status of both languages

The curriculum gives equal representation to the narratives and languages of both cultures. The school's vision is not entirely manifested in terms of the use of the two languages, since it was found that Hebrew was used mostly in the public sphere, during recess, and during activities that were not part of the formal class time. It is the predominant language used both among the teachers and, the students. This finding coincides with those of other studies that examined bilingual teaching (Amara 2014; Bekerman 2011; Bekerman and Horenczyk 2004; Cummins 2015). Nonetheless, officially, the school allots equal status to both languages and conveys a clear message to the students and to society. Furthermore, Jewish students understand Arabic and are able to participate in a dialogue with the Arab teacher during class – an achievement that cannot be taken for granted, given that the majority of Jews in Israeli society not only do not speak Arabic, but consider it the language of the enemy (Amara 2002). In other words, not only does the school accomplish the goal of operating in a bilingual environment, it promotes an entirely different approach to the Arabic language than that which is publicly expressed in Israeli society. This contrast conveys a clear and resounding message to all of the school's students, namely, that both languages should be equitably represented in Israeli daily life. As a result, beyond the exposure to a bilingual environment, students gain a heightened awareness of and a critical attitude towards the inequities in Israeli society.

### Equal representation of both cultures in the curriculum and in social activities

The school aims to allot equal status to the two cultures. According to the findings of the current study, the general atmosphere among teachers and students indicates that there is indeed a unique atmosphere at the school, in which both cultures find opportunity for equal expression. There is a sense of openness in accepting the other and their desire to learn of the other's culture and beliefs. The fact that the members of the teaching staff represent a broad spectrum in terms of their opinions and commitment to the school makes it difficult for the school to present a coherent and clearly defined agenda. This was noted in the fact that teachers found it difficult to lead the students to conduct an in-depth discussion on complex issues, presumably, because they themselves are not completely at one with the educational vision that they represent. In addition, findings indicated that among members of both nationalities there are those who feel their own

narrative receives insufficient attention, especially in terms of commemorating certain historical events. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the bilingual school is the only one in the country that recognises the Day of the Naqba (catastrophe), the Memorial Day for Palestinian-Israelis. This is an experience which not only empowers the Palestinian-Israeli students to be equal citizens, but it also reinforces the school's educational goal of modelling equal citizenship education for the benefit of both Jewish and Palestinian-Israelis.

In summary, the school's goal is to create an educational environment of equality, in order to promote conditions of equal citizenship, and to educate a new generation of people who are tolerant and respectful of the other, who will act as agents of change in Israeli society. The school promotes these goals through its organisational structure and the contents taught: the organisational structure represents a society of equality in which no national group has an advantage over the other; the curricular contents promote equality and teach about conflicting narratives, acceptance of the other, tolerance, and multiculturalism. Despite the difficulty of fully realising all of these goals, the bilingual school can be considered an island of equality within a society of inequality. The bilingual schools are leading a pioneering project, which contradicts the national-ethnic discourse that prevails throughout the country (Yiftachel 2006). Hence, even in regard to the parameters that the school meets with only partial success, its operations should be judged taking into account the broader social context. In a world characterised by a multiplicity of cultures and ethnic, religious, and national divides, the integrative framework which these schools provide should be adopted, as it has significant potential for creating social change.

## Conclusions and recommendations

Discussions regarding education for civic equality, reciprocal recognition, multiculturalism, and coexistence often refer to quick and facile solutions, such as conducting meetings between students of different sectors or developing programmes that are implemented in a predefined time frame. These activities play an important part in the overall repertoire, but each one separately does not lead to a long-term change (Lynn-Duckworth, Allen, and Triguba-Williams 2012). John Dewey, who developed se experientially based theories, claimed that a school replicates the dynamics of society, albeit on a smaller scale. Education is not about teaching facts and information, according to Dewey; rather, the knowledge and skills that students acquire are intended to serve them in their lives as citizens and human beings (Dewey 2004). Hence, to educate the next generation to become active and tolerant citizens in a multicultural society, schools must provide an educational model, not only by teaching about multiculturalism, but by ensuring that students actually practice and experience a lifestyle that upholds the ideals of multiculturalism, equality, and democracy. Schools must provide students with an

environment that operates as an equitable and just society, in which each culture is equally represented.

Numerous countries around the world attempt to cope with the tensions that exist between hostile sectors and to educate towards peace by implementing educational projects that operate in a predefined and limited time frame. The findings of the current study are in line with studies that have concluded that education is a holistic process that cannot be contained in a single course or a limited time frame. Rather, students must be able to grow and develop within an environment of cooperation and equality (Kupermintz and Salomon 2005).

As to addressing the divisions inherent in Israeli society, as well as those in other divided societies around the world, the findings of the current study support the adoption the educational model used by the bilingual school, as described herein. To this end, teacher education colleges too should take it upon themselves to prepare teachers to work in such schools, given that this kind of holistic endeavour inevitably relies on teachers' strong commitment to the cause of civic equality.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

## Notes on contributors

*Ilana Paul-Binyamin* is a senior lecturer at Beit Berl College, Israel, and co-director of the Center for Education for Shared Society. Her research interests include multicultural policy, multicultural education and shared Society.

*Wurud Jayusi* is a lecturer at Beit Berl College, Israel, and Head of Track in the Faculty of Education. Her research interests include peace education, multicultural/multiethnic education, curriculum planning and evaluation of educational projects.

## References

Aboud, F. E., and J. Sankar. 2007. "Friendship and Identity in a Language-Integrated School." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 31 (5): 445–453.

Al Haj, M. 1998. *Education among the Arabs in Israel: Control and Change*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Amara, M. 2002. "The Place of Arabic in Israel." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 158 (1): 53–68.

Amara, M. 2014. "The Model of Bilingual Educational of *Hand-in-Hand*: Vision and Challenges." In *Issues of Teaching Languages in Israel: Part 2*, edited by S. Donitza-Schmidt and A. Inbar-Luria, 56–73. Tel Aviv: Mofet Institute. (in Hebrew).

Apple, M. W. 1999. *Power, Meaning and Identity: Essays in Critical Educational Studies*. New York: Peter Land.

Arar, K., and K. Haj Yehia. 2010. "Emigration for Higher Education: The Case of Palestinians Living in Israel Studying in Jordan." *Higher Education Policy* 23: 358–380.

Bekerman, Z. 2009. "The Complexities of Teaching Historical Conflictual Narratives in Integrated Palestinian-Jewish Schools in Israel." *International Review of Education* 55: 235–250.

Bekerman, Z. 2011. "Inside and outside the Integrated Bilingual Palestinian-Jewish Schools in Israel: Teachers Perceptions of Personal, Professional and Political Positioning." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 27 (2): 395–405.

Bekerman, Z., and G. Horenczyk. 2004. "Arab Jewish Bilingual Coeducation in Israel: A Long Term Approach to Intergroup Conflict Resolution." *Journal of Social Issues* 60: 389–404.

Bekerman, Z., and M. Tatar. 2009. "Parents' Perceptions of Multiculturalism, Bilingualism, and Peace Education: The Case of the Israeli Palestinian Jewish Bilingual Primary Schools." *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* 17 (2): 171–185.

Ben-Nun, M. 2013. "The 3Rs of Integration: Respect, Recognition and Reconciliation; Concepts and Practices of Integrated Schools in Israel and Northern Ireland." *Journal of Peace Education* 10 (1): 1–20.

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Braun, V., and V. Clarke. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77–101.

Burnette, C. E., S. S. Howard, K. Butcher, and J. T. Rand. 2014. "A Toolkit for Ethical and Culturally Sensitive Research: An Application with Indigenous Communities." *Ethics and Social Welfare* 8 (4): 364–382. doi:10.1080/17496535.2014.885987.

Charmaz, K. 2000. "Constructivist and Objectivist Grounded Theory." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, 509–535. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. 2008. "Grounded Theory as an Emergent Method." In *The Handbook of Emergent Method*, edited by S. N. Hess-Bieber and P. Leavy, 155–170. New York: Guilford.

Charmaz, K. 2012. "The Power and Potential of Grounded Theory." *Medical Sociology Online* 6 (3): 2–15. http://www.MedicalSociologyOnline.org/resources/Vol6Iss3/MSo-600x_ThePower-and-potential-Grounded-Theory_Charmaz.pdf.

Cohen, A. 2013. "What is the Difference between Civic Studies and Civic Education? – A Look at the Formal Education System." In *Civic Education in Israel*, edited by D. Avnon, 62–105. Tel Aviv: Am Oved. (in Hebrew).

Cummins, J. 2000. *Language, Power, and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*, Vol. 23. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. 2013. "Language and Identity in Multilingual Schools: Constructing Evidence-based Instructional Policies." *Managing Diversity in Education. Languages, Policies, Pedagogies*: 3–26.

Cummins, J. 2014. "Beyond Language: Academic Communication and Student Success." *Linguistics and Education* 26: 145–154.

Cummins, J. 2015. "Intercultural Education and Academic Achievement: A Framework for School-based Policies in Multilingual Schools." *Intercultural Education* 26 (6): 455–468.

Dagan-Buzaglo, N. 2010. *Privatization in the Israeli School System*. Tel Aviv: Adva Center. http://adva.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Edu2010eng.pdf.

Denzin, N. K., and Y. S. Lincoln. 2011. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dewey, J. 2004. *Democracy and Education*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Lynn-Duckworth, C., B. Allen, and T. Triguba-Williams. 2012. "What Do Students Learn When We Teach Peace? A Qualitative Assessment of a Theater Peace Program." *Journal of Peace Education* 9 (1): 81–99.

Gallagher, T. 2016. "Shared Education in Northern Ireland: School Collaboration in Divided Societies." *Oxford Review of Education* 42 (3): 362–375.

Gallagher, T., and G. Duffy. 2016. "Recognising Difference While Promoting Cohesion: The Role of Collaborative Networks in Education." In *Tolerance and Diversity in Ireland, North and South*, edited by I. Honohan and N. Rougier, 35–54. Manchester, NH: Manchester University Press.

Gallagher, T., G. Duffy, and M. Baker. 2015. "The Sharing Education Program in Northern Ireland." Paper Presented at the AER a 2015 Annual Meeting in a Paper Session Entitled: Collaboration

as an Antidote to Contested Spaces in Education: The Cases of Northern Ireland, Israel and Los Angeles. AERA Annual Conference, Chicago.

Galston, W. 1991. *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues and Diversity in the Liberal State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

García, O. 2009. *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ghanem, A. 2001. *The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel 1948–2001: A Political Study*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Golan-Agnon, D. 2006. "Separate but Not Equal: Discrimination against Palestinian Arab Students in Israel." *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (8): 1075–1084.

Habermas, J. 1996. "Three Normative Models of Democracy." In *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*, edited by S. Ben Habib, 21–30. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hand-in-Hand Annual Report 2012-2013. Accessed July 12, 2014. Http://www.Handinhandk12. org/Sites/Handinhand/Files/PDFs/Hand%20Inches%20Hand%20Annual%20Report%202012-2013.pdf

Hand-in-Hand Website. https://www.handinhandk12.org/.

Haviv-Barak, A., T. Bekerman, and Y. Bilu. 2011. "Memorial Day and Nakba Day in a Bilingual Schools in Israel: An Encounter between Identities in Conflict." *Megamot* 47 (3–4): 452–483. (In Hebrew).

Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics. 2015. http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader/publications/head_sub_arch_new.htm#970.

Israeli National Comptroller. 2016. *Report on Education for a Shared Society and Prevention of Racism*. http://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Pages/546.aspx.

Jabareen, Y. T. 2015. "The Arab-Palestinian Community in Israel: A Test Case for Collective Rights under International Law." *George Washington Law Review* 47: 449.

Jamal, A. 2011. *Arab Minority Nationalism in Israel: The Politics of Indigently*. New York: Routledge.

Kincheloe, J. L. 2010. "Beyond Reductionism: Difference, Criticality, and Multilogicality in the Bricolage and Postformalism." *Educational Psychology Reader the Art and Science of How People Learn*: 26–48.

Kindel, M. 2015. "Convening in Contested Spaces: The Education Success Project." Paper Presented in a Session Entitled: Collaboration as an Antidote to Contested Spaces in Education: The Cases of Northern Ireland, Israel and Los Angeles. AERA Annual Conference, Chicago.

Kouritzin, S. G., N. A. C. Piquemal, and R. Norman. 2009. *Qualitative Research: Challenging the Orthodoxies in Standard Academic Discourses*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Kupermintz, H., and G. Salomon. 2005. "Lessons to Be Learned from Research on Peace Education in the Context of Intractable Conflict." *Theory into Practice* 44 (4): 293–302.

Kymlicka, W. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leitch, R. 2011. "Sharing Education: Lessons from Northern Ireland." Paper Presented at a Conference at the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Conference, Skopje, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

McGlynn, C., M. Zembylas, and Z. Bekerman, eds. 2013. *Integrated Education in Conflicted Societies*. Palgrave: Macmillan.

Nagle, J., and M. A. C. Clancy. 2010. *Shared Society or Benign Apartheid?: Understanding Peace Building in Divided Societies*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education. 2015. *Meitzav Report*. http://meyda.education.gov.il/w15/files/162594_Meitzav_2015.pdf.

Niens, U., and E. Cairns. 2005. "Conflict, Contact, and Education in Northern Ireland." *Theory into Practice* 44 (4): 337–344.

Oldham, A. 1998. "Citizenship and Community, Civic Republicanism and the Modern World." In *The Citizenship Debates: A Reader*, edited by G. Shafir, 75–89. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Pinson, H. 2007. "At the Boundaries of Citizenship: Palestinian Israeli Citizens and the Civic Education Curriculum." *Oxford Review of Education* 33: 331–348.

Podeh, E. 2002. *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948–2000*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Rawls, J. 1993. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rosen, Y., and D. Perkins. 2013. "Shallow Roots Require Constant Watering: The Challenge of Sustained Impact in Educational Programs." *International Journal of Higher Education* 2 (4): 91–100.

Saban, I., and M. Amara. 2002. "The Status of Arabic in Israel: Reflections on the Power of Law to Produce Social Change." *Israel Law Review* 36 (2): 5–39.

Schwartz, M., and Å. Palviainen. 2016. "Twenty-First-Century Preschool Bilingual Education: Facing Advantages and Challenges in Cross-cultural Contexts." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 19 (6): 603–613.

Shafir, G., and Y. Peled. 2002. *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shepherd, J. L. 2007. "Moving from Piecemeal to Systemic Approaches to Peace Education in Divided Societies: Comparative Efforts in Northern Ireland and Cyprus." In *Addressing Ethnic Conflict through Peace Education: International Perspectives*, edited by Z. Beckerman and C. McGlynn, 21–32. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shkedi, A. 2004. "Second-order Theoretical Analysis: A Method for Constructing Theoretical Explanation." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 17 (5): 627–646.

Silvestrini, G. 1997. "The World We Enter When Claiming Rights: Latinos and Their Quest for Culture." In *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space and Rights*, edited by W. V. Flores and R. Benmajor, 39–53. Boston/Cambridge: Beacon Press/University Press.

Smooha, S. 2002. "The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State." *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (4): 475–503.

Smooha, S. 2012. "A Zionist State, a Binational State and an in-between Jewish and Democratic State." *Contemporary Challenges to the Nation State: Global and Israeli Perspectives* 1: 206–224.

Taylor, C. 1992. *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Teichman, Y. 2001. "The Development of Israeli Children's Images of Jews and Arabs and Their Expression in Human Figure Drawings." *Developmental Psychology* 37: 749–761.

Yiftachel, O. 2006. *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*. Philadelphia, PA: UP University Press.

Young, I. M. 2000. *Democracy and Inclusion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yuval-Davies, N. 1999. "The Multilayered Citizen: Citizenship in the Age of Globalizataion." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1: 119–136.

Zamir, S. 2012. "Peace Education through Bilingual Children's Literature Written in Arabic and in Hebrew: Different Narratives, Different Socialization." *Journal of Peace Education* 9 (3): 265–275.