

Socio-cultural differences between Jewish and Arab teachers' attitudes toward career education in Israel

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Abstract Teachers' attitudes towards career education play a crucial role in the successful implementation of relevant career related programs in school curriculum. In the current study, attitudes towards career education are investigated among 202 Israeli Arabs and 136 Israeli Jewish teachers. Results demonstrated similarity in the general pattern of ranking of importance of career education goals, but significant differences emerged in relation to a number of issues (e.g. self-knowledge, familiarity with range of occupation, experience with choice making). Differences are discussed as a reflection of diverse world-views, a disparity between majority and minority status and a difference in social structure.

Résumé Différences socio-culturelles en matière d'éducation à la carrière en Israël entre enseignants juifs et arabes. L'attitude des enseignants en matière d'éducation à la carrière joue un rôle primordial dans la mise en place, dans le cursus scolaire, de programmes adéquats de préparation à la carrière. La présente étude examine les attitudes en matière d'éducation à la carrière de 202 enseignants arabes d'Israël et de 136 enseignants juifs. Les résultats ont démontré une similarité dans la schéma général de classement par ordre d'importance des objectifs de l'éducation à la carrière. Cependant, on constate des différences significatives liées à un certain nombre de domaines tels, par exemple, la connaissance de soi, l'éventail des occupations, et l'expérience du

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choix. Les différences constatées sont le reflet de visions différentes du monde, de la disposition entre statut majoritaire et minoritaire, et de la différence dans la structure sociale.

Zusammenfassung. Soziokulturelle Unterschiede in den Einstellungen zur Berufswahlvorbereitung zwischen jüdischen und arabischen Lehrern in Israel.

Die Einstellungen der Lehrer zur Berufswahlvorbereitung spielen eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Implementierung entsprechender Programme in den schulischen Lehrplan. In dieser aktuellen Untersuchung wurden die Einstellungen zur Berufswahlvorbereitung bei 202 israelisch-arabischen und bei 136 israelisch-jüdischen Lehrern untersucht. Die Ergebnisse zeigen Ähnlichkeiten in der allgemeinen Einschätzung der Wichtigkeit von berufswahlbezogenen Lernzielen, aber wesentliche Unterschiede zeigten sich im Hinblick auf einige Themen (z.B. Selbstkenntnis, Vertrautheit mit der Spannweite beruflicher Möglichkeiten, Erfahrung mit Entscheidungssituationen). Diese Unterschiede werden analysiert vor den Hintergründen unterschiedlicher Weltanschauungen, Ungleichgewichten zwischen Minderheiten- und Mehrheitsstatus, sowie Unterschieden in der gesellschaftlichen Struktur.

Resumen. Diferencias socio-culturales entre las actitudes del profesorado Judío y Árabe hacia la educación para la carrera en Israel.

Las actitudes del profesorado hacia la educación para la carrera juegan un papel crucial para la inserción adecuada de programas relevantes dentro del currículo escolar. En el presente estudio se han investigado las actitudes de 202 profesores Árabes y 136 profesores Judíos (todos israelíes) hacia la educación para la carrera. Los resultados demostraron semejanzas en el patrón general del grado de valoración de las metas de la educación para la carrera, pero hubo diferencias significativas con respecto a un número de cuestiones (por ejemplo el autoconocimiento, la familiaridad con el rango de ocupaciones, la experiencia en la toma de decisiones). En la discusión de resultados se consideran las diferencias como el reflejo de cosmovisiones diversas, una disparidad entre el estatus mayoritario y minoritario y diferencias en la estructura social.

It has long been accepted that career development is a life-long process, and that the development of proactive selves and adaptive careers is related to young people's school and educational experiences. Following the work of career development scholars and educators in the US and other countries (e.g. Hoyt, 1974; Watts, 2001), who advocated the need to integrate career development into education to promote the development of the child into a fully productive adult in a changing world of work, aspects of career education have been broadly implemented (Lapan, 2004). In Britain, for instance, the NICEC (National Institute for Careers Education and Counseling) has for decades been advocating careers education; it has developed programs, evaluated them and informed educational policy. In the US, as Lapan (2004) reported, educational organizations have endorsed a curriculum that includes real-world

applications (e.g. The National Association of Secondary School Principals). Although the implementation path has sometimes been bumpy, research tends to indicate the developmental advantages of the integration of career development related issues into the academic curriculum (Baker & Taylor, 1998; Evans & Burck, 1992; Magnum, 1998). A critical link in the translation of theory and policy into practice is the teacher at school. The effect of a career education program, or a successful implementation of a curriculum that integrates real-life applications into academic teaching, is likely to be impacted by the attitudes of the teacher involved.

Hoyt (1974) was cautious at the outset about the willingness of teachers to incorporate career education ideas into their teaching. To what extent do teachers identify with the goals of career education? How do they perceive their role in relation to their students' learning about the world of work? To what extent are teachers interested in the promotion of their students' self-knowledge, choice making and planning skills? These are some of the questions that should be asked for personal and career development practices to be implemented effectively at school (Oppenheimer & Flum, 1986). Following Oppenheimer and Flum (1986), these questions represent four major components of career education (i.e. self-knowledge, world of work, choice, planning) that guide the current investigation. Indeed, these questions carry special significance when examined in a multicultural environment. A great deal could be learnt about the relevance of these questions if they are explored within the context of two different cultures, two educational systems within the same nation-state.

More and more voices are being heard warning that decontextualization of career development theory and research limits the usefulness and applicability of career intervention (cf. Heppner & Heppner, 2003; Spokane, Fouad, & Swanson, 2003) and may lead to culturally irrelevant intervention programs. Indeed, growing attention has recently been paid to a variety of cultural context issues in the career development literature (e.g. Fouad & Bingham, 1995; Leong, 1995), with a call for a better understanding of diversity and multiculturalism through theory renovation (Savickas, 1995). But this recent emphasis is still rudimentary and represents the beginning of a movement toward gaining cultural relevance in career theory and practice (Hartung, 2002). Even as diversity within the US is starting to be acknowledged, when an international perspective is taken, it is still commonly assumed in the career development literature—as in psychology in general—that a nation-state is culturally homogenous and stable (Cooper & Denner, 1998).

Israel is a state with a number of layers of cultural nuances. Cultural heterogeneity can be identified along different lines (e.g. ethnic, religion, national), but the clearest and most salient division is between the Jewish majority and Arab minority (Al-Haj, 2002). This social and cultural divide should be considered when teacher attitudes about career education are examined. Are the goals of career education perceived in the same manner and do they carry the same meaning for Jewish and Arab teachers?

This study attempts to account for the socio-cultural difference within the state of Israel between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority. Teachers who teach in each of the educational systems were asked about their views on career education practices. Indeed, the research objective is twofold. This study aims to shed light on teacher attitudes across this divide in Israeli society with their various implications, and it serves as a case for the necessity to contextualise theoretical concepts and practical applications.

Jewish majority and Arab minority in Israeli society

Arabs in Israel constituted about 19% of the general population in 2003 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003). The deep division between Arabs and Jews is rooted in a national conflict and its impact is reflected in both the educational system and the employment scene.

The Israeli school system is a product of socio-historical processes (for a more detailed description see Flum & Kaplan, 2003) and comprises two Jewish sub-systems (secular and religious) and an Arab system. In the 2005–2006 school year, there were approximately 1,403,000 students in Israel, distributed in approximately 51,870 classrooms in 4395 schools. Among these students, 1,041,767 study in the Jewish schools, where the language spoken is Hebrew, and 361,233 study in the Arab school system, where the language spoken is Arabic (Ministry of Education, 2006).

With the main focus on the education of the mass of Jewish immigrants, the Arab school system was a low priority for many years (Abu-Sa'ad, 2001). A change of policy in the mid 1980s, and an application of a new development plan for schools in the Arab sector in the 1990s, resulted in some improvement, though much still needs to be done (Assadi, 1998). The gap between the Jewish and Arab school systems starts in early childhood, continues into elementary and secondary schools (Al-Haj, 1996), and is manifested in educational outcomes such as higher drop-out rates, lower academic achievement and entitlement for high-school matriculation diplomas among the Arabs. At university level about 90% of those enrolled for the first degree are Jewish and only about 5.1% of those enrolled for a second degree are Arabs (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003).

Israeli Arabs are under-represented in high status and professional jobs, and are over-represented in the lower occupational class scale of unskilled jobs and among the unemployed (12% in comparison with 7% among Israeli Jews; Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003), as a result of their level of education, limited vocational opportunities and discrimination in the labour market (Al-Haj, 2003; Sa'di & Lewin-Epstein, 2004). In general, Arab male workers are significantly younger than their Jewish counterparts. Arab men tend to join the labour market at a younger age (around the age of 20). Indeed, 61% of them participate in the labour market between 18 and 24, while only 40% of Jewish men of the same age group do so. Most Jewish men spend 3 years in the army from age 18 and, as was indicated earlier, the percentage of Arab

men who study in higher education is lower. At the same time, in the pre-retirement age group (55–64), only 37% of Arab men have not dropped out of employment in comparison to 70% of Jewish men who are still engaged in paid jobs (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003; cf. Sa'di & Lewin-Epstein, 2004).

Among Arab women, the highest ratio of employment—22%—is in the age group 25–34, whereas 79% of Jewish women in the same age group are at work. An especially important factor among employed Arab women is education. The higher their level of education, the more likely they are to work outside the home (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003). And, as evidence of the transition to modernity that the Arab society in Israel is undergoing, both the women's level of education and their participation in the workforce has been growing in recent years.

A dramatic increase in the level of education among all Arabs in Israel during the last three decades is evident, but the most fundamental change is observed for women. In 1970, only 9% of Arab women had more than 8 years of education. By 2000, the figure had risen to 59%, i.e. over six times as many. For Arab men the parallel increase in the level of education was from 21% to 70%.

Education has become valued as social capital by the Arab citizens of Israel (Al-Haj, 2003), and educated Arabs are considered as agents of social change. Research focusing on educational and developmental issues related to Arabs in Israel is still relatively scarce; however, a series of studies by Seginer and colleagues (e.g. Seginer & Halabi-Kheir, 1998; Seginer & Mahajna, 2003) centred on the future orientation of adolescents indicate that part of the reality of young Arabs as they make the transition to adulthood is the “dearth of role models and sources of relevant information” (Seginer & Mahajna, 2003, p. 185). The discontinuity that these young people experience is even greater for women, given Arab culture and traditions. Young educated Arabs find it difficult to translate their education into the world of work, to remain part of the community and the family while engaging in the pursuit of a career (Seginer & Vermulst, 2002). A traditional developmental trajectory consists of early marriage for the young Arab woman and is likely to preclude high educational plans (cf. Seginer & Mahajna, 2003). Indeed young Arab men tend to be more conservative (than women) in their attitudes towards the emancipation of women, and regard themselves as the protectors of the females in their family (Rapoport, Lomski-Feder, & Masalha, 1989). Hence, the relatively high educational expectations of adolescent Arab girls (Seginer & Mahajna, 2003) may conflict with tradition. Planning prospective education and career along with a prospective family and a commitment to the collective becomes a complex process.

In a recent qualitative study (Mansor, 2005) of young Israeli Arabs, the family is highlighted as both a resource and a barrier to career success. The collectivistic and traditional features of the Israeli Arab society (Sivan, 1995) are associated with emphasis on interdependence, commitment to the family, social hierarchies, and low level of competition. As indicated, whereas these still seem to reflect the general characterization of the Arab minority in Israel, the Arab Israeli society is a society in transition. In comparison, the Jewish

majority is generally characterized (with much heterogeneity) as more individualistic, and following Triandis's (1990) conceptualisation, tends to be oriented towards autonomy and independence, achievement, and high levels of competition.

The effects of socio-cultural differences between Jews and Arabs in Israel are explored in this study as they are reflected in attitudes of teachers towards career education. The focus is on specific components of career education that capture central themes in career development.

Components of career education

This study adopts the notion of career education that was delineated in a previous study (Oppenheimer & Flum, 1986). Four main goals are defined for career education programs; the four components represent important career developmental issues. The first component refers to the expansion of student awareness and knowledge of the world of work. This includes sensitisation of students to the variety of occupations, their characteristics, and their concomitant life-styles as well as an array of working concerns and experiences as they translate to the students' personal meanings, and the acquisition of relevant skills.

The second component is self-knowledge. Here, the emphasis is on the promotion of self-exploration and on triggering and facilitating the young person's own involvement in her or his development. Engagement in self-exploratory activities is likely to contribute to the development of a flexible self—concept that can increase in complexity and yet become coherent and differentiated. A heightened awareness of one's unique abilities, interests and values, preferred styles and rhythms are liable to affect the young person's decision making. Indeed, awareness of choices in various life domains and the making of educated decisions is the third component. Both historically and developmentally, the number of transitions encountered in life, and with them the choices people face, are increasing and becoming more complex. To provide students with choices, to process their experience with them and to foster their decision-making skills is a goal of career education.

A future perspective that is approached constructively with initiative and planning is based on elements of all the previously described components. Effective and skilful planning, the fourth component, links all the others and relies on appreciation of the realities of the world of work, adequate self-knowledge, and the ability to make considered choices.

This four-component-model of career education (Oppenheimer & Flum, 1986) provides a conceptual platform in the current study. In general, the model frames the question of whether and how career education goals are perceived and translated differentially to practice by teachers of two different systems, that are embedded in two different socio-cultural groups. Whereas the purpose is to contribute to a general, theoretical, discussion, the study is situated in a particular socio-political context. Indeed, this research project

aims to explore the attitudes of teachers towards career education with a focus on the examination of similarities and differences between Arab and Jewish teachers in Israel, and thus to serve as a specific case in that discussion. Hence, the overall exploratory question to be addressed is whether Israeli Jewish and Arab teachers differ in their attitudes towards career education and if so, how differences are characterized and explained. Specifically, guided by the four components, research questions explore how Jewish and Arab teachers regard the importance of career education goals. What is the difference between the two groups of teachers as far as their interest in implementing career education activities is concerned? What is the difference in their report of actual engagement in planned and unplanned career education activities? In addition, attitudes and their likely translation to practice are explored in terms of reservations on the one hand and signifiers of commitment on the other hand.

Method

Participants

Data were collected from 338 Israeli teachers (234 females and 89 males; 15 participants omitted the gender information) aged 20–59 ($M = 38.36$; $SD = 9.75$) who teach in 37 public schools. One hundred and thirty-six of the participants teach in the Israeli Jewish school system (a sample drawn from 15 schools) and 202 participants are Israeli Arabs who teach in (22) Arab schools. Participating schools in both systems are from different geographical parts of the country (i.e. the northern, centre and southern regions). One hundred and twenty-nine participants (38.4%) teach in elementary schools (41% and 59% are Jewish and Arab, respectively), 84 participants (25%) teach in junior high schools (27% and 73% are Jewish and Arab, respectively) and 123 participants (36.6%) teach in high schools (48% and 52% are Jewish and are Arab, respectively) (two participants did not provide this information).

Sixty-five participants completed teacher training colleges, 196 hold Bachelor degrees, 70 completed Master's degrees, and 4 hold Ph.Ds. The level of education of Jewish teachers is found to be significantly higher than that of Arab teachers ($\chi^2(4, 333) = 28.57$; $p < .001$), with 8.9% and 18.7% of Jewish and Arab teachers, respectively, with a teacher's certificate from a teacher training college, and 32.6% and 13.1 of Jewish and Arab teachers, respectively, with a Master's degree.

Similarly, Jewish teachers are found to be significantly more experienced than the Arab teachers in this sample ($t(325) = 4.36$; $p < .001$), the mean years of experience for Jewish teachers being 17 years ($SD = 9.60$) and for Arab teachers 12.35 years ($SD = 9.33$). This is also reflected in a significant difference in age ($t(315) = 5.10$; $p < .001$) between the two groups of teachers who responded to the questionnaire. Jewish teachers tend to be older ($M = 41.6$; $SD = 9.2$) than Arab teachers ($M = 36.16$; $SD = 9.6$). This, indeed, mirrors the trend in the general population; whereas the mean age of Jewish

teachers in Israel is 44.4 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004a), the average age of the Israeli Arab teachers is 38.3 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004b).

Hence, it should be noted, that existing differences between the samples of Jewish and Arab teachers either reflect a trend in the general population (e.g. level of education, age) or (e.g. level of school) are of no consequence to the differences reported later (in the “Results” section).

Instruments

The questionnaire employed in this study was designed to measure Teacher Attitudes Towards Career Education (TATCE) and was validated prior to its usage in an earlier study (Oppenheimer & Flum, 1986). In addition, before the adoption of the questionnaire for the current study, two researchers in education and a Ph.D. student in career counselling classified the statements that reflect career education components and sorted them from statements that represent other educational domains and teaching goals (content validation).

This instrument is a 42-item, 6-part questionnaire. In the first part there are nine teaching goals. Four of the goals represent the four components of career education (e.g. “to increase the students’ awareness of their interests and abilities”), while the other five are general teaching goals (e.g. “to improve the students’ understanding abilities”) that serve as anchors (from a commonly endorsed teaching goal like the above example at one end to a commonly unacceptable teaching goal at the other end). Participants were asked to indicate the degree of importance they attached to each goal on a 3-point scale with 1 (*most important*), 2 (*moderately important*), and 3 (*least important*). The inclusion of teaching goals of other educational domains in addition to career-education goals is instrumental in assessing the relative importance assigned to the career-education goals in the broader context of teaching.

In the second part, teachers are presented with a list of eight career-education teaching activities (e.g. “I discussed with the students the relationship between work and other life areas, such as family and leisure”), two for each component. Participants were asked to indicate whether or not they had engaged in these activities during the past year and whether the activity was carried out with or without prior planning.

In the third part, the teachers were asked to indicate their degree of interest in incorporating the eight activities from part 2 into classroom teaching. Responses were made on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*extremely interested*) to 5 (*not at all interested*). Internal reliability of all eight items as measured in the current study is satisfactory (Cronbach alpha coefficient was .83).

Six statements expressing reservations about the implementation of a career-education program in schools were listed in the fourth part of the questionnaire (e.g. “My role as a teacher is to help students acquire knowledge and does not include topics like career education”). Participants were asked to rank their agreement with each of these statements on a 4-point scale, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Higher mark indicates higher doubts about career education. Whereas this list could also help in the

identification of specific objections to the topic, the internal consistency of the six statements is satisfactory (Cronbach alpha coefficient is .79).

In the fifth part, four career-education teaching activities representing each of the components (similar to part 2) were presented to the participants. They were asked to respond according to what they assumed could be the degree of interest of other teachers, colleagues at their school, in applying such activities. They ranked the interest of their colleagues on a 5-point scale, with 1 (*extremely interested*) to 5 (*not at all interested*) (Cronbach alpha coefficient is .83).

The sixth and final part of the questionnaire consisted of five questions. The first related to the issue of who should conduct career-education in the school. The second related to whether or not career-education programs should be carried out in the framework of the formal educational system (i.e. the schools) or nonformal education systems (e.g. community centres). The third question invited participants to express their opinion as to whether career education elements should be infused into the regular teaching material or whether career education should exist as a separate entity in addition to the regular syllabus. The fourth question asked teachers to rank the importance of career education topics on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*very important*) to 4 (*least important*). The last question addressed the issue of the teachers' actual commitment to career education. Teachers were presented with five in-service workshops (career education, family life education, small group in teaching, audiovisual aids, the integration of work and family) and were required to rank them in order of preference.

Procedure

Most of the questionnaires were distributed and collected by school counsellors and research assistants. Counsellors were asked to distribute about 15 questionnaires among teachers in each school. There was no time limitation, but it took 15–20 min to complete. Eighty eight percent of the completed questionnaires were returned by teachers who had agreed to participate. Fifty of the questionnaires were administered to teachers who took part in a training course for experienced teachers at the university. These teachers came from a variety of schools in a region in central Israel. In addition to the questionnaire, participants completed a demographic data sheet (see section "Participants").

Results

In reporting the results the focus is on the career development components and differences in responses that address the objectives of this study. The four components of career education were represented in the first part as educational goals, and participants marked their degree of importance.

As can be seen in Table 1, teachers in both groups regard the self-knowledge goal as the most important, and the world of work goal as the

Table 1 Importance scores of career education teaching goals

Goals	General <i>N</i> = 328 <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Jewish <i>N</i> = 131 <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Arab <i>N</i> = 197 <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i>	η^2
To increase the students' awareness of their interest and abilities	1.47 (0.65)	1.32 (0.55)	1.55 (0.70)	- 3.25**	.03
To help the students become familiar with the range of occupations	2.22 (0.70)	2.35 (0.65)	2.14 (0.73)	2.63**	.03
To increase the students' awareness of the choices in different areas (e.g. occupation, family life)	1.74 (0.74)	1.68 (0.70)	1.78 (0.76)	- 1.15	.02
To develop the students' ability to make plans for their future lives	1.70 (0.69)	1.71 (0.64)	1.68 (0.73)	.44	.03

Note. 1 = most important, 2 = moderately important, 3 = least important. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

least important. However, significant differences emerge between the Arab and Jewish groups in the extent to which the two career goals are endorsed despite similarity in ranking. Jewish teachers tend to endorse the self-knowledge goal as significantly more important than their Arab counterparts ($t(309) = -3.25$; $p < .01$; $M = 1.32$; $SD = .55$ and $M = 1.55$; $SD = .70$, respectively). The reverse is true in the endorsement of the world of work goal, with significant difference between the two groups ($t(309) = 2.63$; $p < .01$). Arab teachers tend to regard this goal as more important than their Jewish counterparts ($M = 2.14$; $SD = .73$ and $M = 2.35$; $SD = .65$, respectively).

In the second part of the questionnaire, the focus is on the teachers' engagement in career education activities, and in the third part, participants are asked about their degree of interest in these activities. Table 2 summarizes this information for the Jewish participants and for the Arab participants, respectively. Chi square analyses indicate significant differences between the two groups of teachers in their engagement in two of the activities: "I helped students become familiar with the range of occupations" and "I discussed with the students the relationship between work and other life areas, such as family and leisure". Indeed, 31% of the Arab teachers and only 16% of the Jewish teachers report that they planned to engage in promoting their students' familiarity with the range of occupations. In contrast, 42% of the Jewish participants and only 24% of their Arab counterparts report that they did not engage in this activity at all ($\chi^2(2, 328) = 15$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .21$). It is worth noting that when the two world of work items are examined in tandem, the higher percentage of Jewish teachers who report neither planned nor unplanned activities in comparison to the Arab teachers is striking (Table 2). Similarly, 81% of the Arab participants report that in the last school year they engaged in either planned or unplanned discussion of the relationship between work and other life areas with their students, whereas only 69% of their Jewish counterparts report that they had done so ($\chi^2(2, 332) = 6$; $p < .005$; $\eta^2 = .13$).

Table 2 Respondents' activities and interests in career education among Jewish ($N = 132$) and Arab ($N = 201$)

Component	Activity	Planned act (%) Jewish (Arab)	Unplanned act (%) Jewish (Arab)	No act (%) Jewish (Arab)	Interest (M) Jewish (Arab)	Interest (SD) Jewish (Arab)
Self-knowledge	I increased the students' awareness of their interests and abilities	33.3 (39.2)	53.0 (50.8)	13.6 (10.1)	1.95 (2.08)	1.0 (1.0)
Self-knowledge	I discussed hobbies and other leisure activities with students in order to help them clarify their self-concept	26.2 (27.9)	44.6 (46.8)	29.2 (25.4)	2.32 (2.22)	1.1 (1.0)
World of work	I helped students become familiar with the range of occupations	16.0 (31.0)	42.0 (44.7)	42.0 (24.4)	2.79 (2.27)	1.1 (0.94)
World of work	I discussed with the students their experiences at work	18.2 (20.2)	41.7 (50.5)	40.2 (29.3)	2.78 (2.90)	1.1 (1.2)
Choice	I increased the students' awareness of choices in different areas	25.0 (28.9)	53.0 (53.2)	22.0 (17.9)	2.13 (2.16)	1.0 (0.99)
Choice	I allowed the students to have opportunities for choosing so as to develop their decision-making ability	53.4 (43.3)	37.6 (44.3)	9.0 (12.4)	1.73 (2.11)	0.97 (1.0)
Planning	I taught the students skills related to planning for their future lives	22.0 (26.0)	46.2 (49.0)	31.8 (25.0)	2.09 (2.18)	1.0 (1.0)
Planning	I discussed with the students the relationship between work and other life areas, such as family and leisure	25.2 (30.3)	44.3 (50.7)	30.5 (18.9)	2.34 (2.34)	1.0 (0.99)

Note. 1 = extremely interested, 2 = moderately interested, 3 = interested to a certain extent, 4 = minimally interested, 5 = not at all interested

Analysis of variance indicates a significant difference between the two groups regarding their interest in incorporating career education activities ($F(8,319) = 6.17$; $p < .01$; $\eta^2 = .13$). Univariate analysis on each item demonstrates a significant difference for two of the eight activities. With regards to an interest in helping students become familiar with the range of occupations ($F(1, 319) = 19.91$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .06$), Arab teachers are more interested ($M = 2.27$; $SD = 0.94$) than Jewish teachers ($M = 2.79$; $SD = 1.0$); and in the case of the choice component activity of allowing students to have opportunities for choosing so as to develop their decision-making ability ($F(1, 319) = 10.59$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .03$), Jewish teachers exhibit higher interest ($M = 1.73$; $SD = 0.97$) than Arab teachers ($M = 2.11$; $SD = 1.0$).

The fourth part of the questionnaire deals with reservations about the implementation of career education programs in schools. Arab teachers tend to show (see Table 3) consistently higher reservation about the implementation of career education programs than their Jewish counterparts, with these differences being statistically significant in five out of the six statements.

No difference is found between the two groups of participants when their own interest in the four components of career education is compared with their report of the interest of other teachers in their school. The overall trend, however, with statistically significant differences (pair t -test) for the four activities, is that other teachers in the school are less interested in these activities than I am (see Table 4).

Table 3 Mean, SD and F values of the respondents' endorsement of reservations about career education among Jewish and Arab Israeli teachers

Reservation	General $N = 328$ $M (SD)$	Jewish $N = 131$ $M (SD)$	Arab $N = 197$ $M (SD)$	$F(1, 321)$	η^2
Work adjustment is mostly a matter of luck; therefore, there's no point in having career education programs	1.48 (0.71)	1.32 (0.58)	1.61 (0.77)	13.39*	.03
My role as a teacher is to impart knowledge and skills and does not include topics such as career education	1.77 (0.85)	1.60 (0.84)	1.89 (0.84)	9.52*	.03
Career education is likely to detract from the teaching of more important topics	2.09 (0.83)	1.95 (0.74)	2.18 (0.87)	6.11*	.02
Career education is simply another passing fad	1.74 (0.81)	1.56 (0.73)	1.85 (0.85)	9.98*	.03
There is enough pressure on me as a teacher without getting involved in career education as well	2.14 (0.97)	1.99 (0.92)	2.25 (0.98)	5.62	.02
My input as a teacher will not have much influence on my pupils' lives	1.80 (0.86)	1.56 (0.74)	1.96 (0.90)	15.17*	.04

Note. 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = agree, 4 = strongly agree. * $p < .01$

Table 4 Means, standard deviation and pair *t*-test of personal interest in career activities versus other teachers' interest

Component	Activity	Other interest <i>M (SD)</i>	My interest <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>t</i> (232)
Self-knowledge	I discussed hobbies and other leisure activities with the students in order to help them clarify their self-concept	2.85 (1.13)	2.25 (1.0)	8.16*
World of work	I helped students become familiar with the range of occupations	2.86 (1.03)	2.47 (1.0)	5.70*
Choice	I allowed students to have opportunities for choosing so as to develop their decision-making ability	2.53 (1.07)	1.96 (1.0)	8.05*
Planning	I discussed with students the relationship between work and other life areas, such as family and leisure	2.78 (1.08)	2.35 (1.0)	5.73*

Note. 1 = extremely interested, 2 = moderately interested, 3 = interested to a certain extent, 4 = minimally interested, 5 = not at all interested. * $p < .001$

In accordance with previously mentioned results, Arab teachers tend to endorse the topic that focuses on knowledge of different occupations as being important, more so than their Jewish counterparts ($\chi^2(5, 309) = 17.01$; $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .24$), although for participants of both groups there are other topics that are ranked more highly. The highest ranked topic is “Teaching information search and decision-making skills”, endorsed as most important by 71% of all participants. The other significant difference between the groups ($\chi^2(4, 308) = 12.6$, $p < .01$; $\eta^2 = .19$) emerged in response to a request to rank in order of interest five in-service workshops. Of the Arab participants, 50% rank the career education workshop as their most preferred, whereas only 33% of the Jewish participants do so. This is interpreted as indicating a general higher commitment of Arab participants to take action and get training in career education.

Discussion

Teachers in Israel, whether Arab or Jewish, seem to have a lot in common when they consider career development issues and their educational implementation at school. The pattern of their general ranking of these issues, as they are translated to school curriculum goals, is quite similar. However, the differences in emphasis that are transparent through different sections of the questionnaire are a reflection of diverse worldviews, a disparity between majority and minority status and a difference in social structure.

Fouad and Bingham (1995) refer (following Nobles, 1976) to a worldview as “the frame of reference through which one experiences life” (p. 335) and as a foundation for values and attitudes. While both Jewish and Arab teachers follow the more general social discourse that they share and rank self-

knowledge as a most important educational goal among the four components of career education, the significantly smaller emphasis Arab teachers put on this goal (Table 1) can be attributed to a more collectivistic world view (Sivan, 1995; Triandis, 1990). Whereas the promotion of the students' awareness of their interests and abilities is in accordance with an individualistic worldview and with the facilitation of the individual's autonomy and self-determination, the cultural origins of Arabs in Israel are rooted in more traditional ground and tend to feed an interdependent view of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Hence, the significant difference in emphasis may represent a divergence in self-construal; for Arab teachers, more so than for their Jewish counterparts, the self is more integral with its context, with the situational. Internal attributes (like abilities and interests) are understood as situation specific, and therefore tend to be perceived as more elusive (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Indeed, the specific situation of Israeli Arabs is manifested in their greater determination to promote their students' knowledge of the world of work. Whereas most Israeli Jewish youths postpone their transition to work and higher education for a few years after graduation from high school because of compulsory military service (36 months and 20 months for males and females, respectively), for most Arab high school graduates the transition to work or higher education is imminent. To become familiar with the range of occupations, for instance, may have immediate consequences for young Arabs in Israel. Furthermore, the immediate relevancy of world of work issues is reflected in the more obvious engagement in related activities (planned and unplanned) as reported by Arab teachers in comparison with their Jewish counterparts, and their greater interest in aspects of this topic.

Being a minority has an added dimension in the case of the Arab citizens of Israel. In addition to differences in social structure and disparity in political power that often characterize the majority-minority gap, the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict serves to deepen this divide. One of the consequences is an employment constraint on Arabs in a society that is preoccupied with security (cf. Al-Haj, 2002), and limited access to certain vocational opportunities. This aspect of the situation further underscores the greater interest Arab teachers show in making their students familiar with the range of occupations, whereas at the same time their interest in giving students the experience of making choices is lower than the one expressed by Jewish teachers.

In accordance with an inter-dependent world-view, Arab teachers tend to discuss the relationship between work and family with their students significantly more than their Jewish counterparts, i.e. to engage their students in an activity with an emphasis on work in context. However, these Arab respondents report a considerable discrepancy between the actual implementation of the activity and their own interest in the activity (with their own interest being strikingly lower). This discrepancy seems to show an emphasis on the need to take action, even when the individual teacher's interest is low.

This discrepancy between action taking and reservation is, in fact, amplified in other findings. Arab teachers express reservations about the implementa-

tion of career-education program in schools and consistently show higher mistrust. Yet, they are more ready than Jewish teachers to learn about career issues, take part in in-service workshops that will enhance their knowledge of career education. Either because of a sense of greater relevancy, or because they tend as a socially discriminated against minority to look for ways to overcome the barriers, half of the Arab teachers in the sample express their readiness to commit themselves to taking personal action. Career education, as described through the four components model in the TATCE questionnaire, represents a possible link between schooling and career, between education and other domains of life with work at the centre. The Arab citizens of Israel regard education as a top priority (Al-Haj, 2003), an avenue towards improving their lot. Hence, career education, as a program that directly links education and work, appeals more to Arabs, yet not without suspicion.

There seems to be an echo of a wish to gain more sense of control through knowledge and education, while being aware of barriers from within (rooted in traditions and values) and imposed from without (cf. Sue & Sue, 1990). Indeed, it can be assumed that the language of the questionnaire and the terminology that is used in its Hebrew origin, with a stronger focus on “working” (i.e. the term “education for working life” in Hebrew) than on “career”, may have brought the concept closer to the meaning that is advocated by Blustein (2001). And so it could be argued that it is the privilege of the majority to downplay the significance of “working” as it is related to education. A minority may aspire to the same pattern of priorities, but survival needs are being channelled through a stronger emphasis on the need to make education more relevant to “working” (cf. Blustein, 2001; Chaves et al., 2004).

Conclusion

This report cannot be concluded without a word of caution and a critical view of the study limitations. Sampling in this study is neither random nor are the groups of teachers selected to fully represent their respective populations. Hence, results that are often statistically significant but with rather small mean differences across items should be treated with caution. Despite the fact that the TATCE questionnaire was designed in the 1980s and the world of work has been changing since, the components of career education that are addressed in the questionnaire remain central and valid issues. However, the use of the questionnaire as the sole research instrument in this study and the quantitative analysis that ensues, limits the ability to trace the meanings and motivations behind the reported teachers’ attitudes.

At the same time, interpretation of the findings underscores the complexity of what seems to reflect majority–minority disparity, diverse worldviews and cultures as well as a reflection of a society in transition. To examine the complex meanings of the combination of responses to the questionnaire, a further in-depth inquiry should be carried out. Only through an interview with

participants could these meanings be more clearly traced and validated. A combination of modes of inquiry is likely to add an important dimension and assist in the understanding and explanation of findings that are indicated in the current exploratory study.

Nevertheless, a number of considerations for practice can be accentuated. As indicated by the findings, school counsellors, who are often responsible for the implementation of career related programs, ought to consider the diverse attitudes of teachers and be aware of different meanings associated with work and career issues among the school population. This awareness should help define career education objectives and implementation plans.

Despite the relative lack of enthusiasm concerning career education by both Jewish and Arab teachers, the latter endorse the world of work aspects of career education more strongly and seem to find them more relevant. Arab teachers tend to be ready to be more active and learn about career education, but their suspicion and mistrust should be addressed first. Both Jewish and Arab teachers should be offered more information about career education; they can also benefit from in-service workshops that will introduce them to the different components of career education. Teachers in general, if they are to be effective in increasing their students' knowledge of career, should themselves be encouraged to explore the ideas of career education and process them in a way that fits their experience and world-view. As the study highlights, both the content and process of career education activities implemented at school should be culture sensitive. In the case of Arab teachers, this may involve relating to cultural roots as well as to the experience of change that the Arab society in Israel is currently undergoing.

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