

# The Troubled Seeds of Coexistence: Arab-Jewish Integration in Israeli Schools

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Work in progress

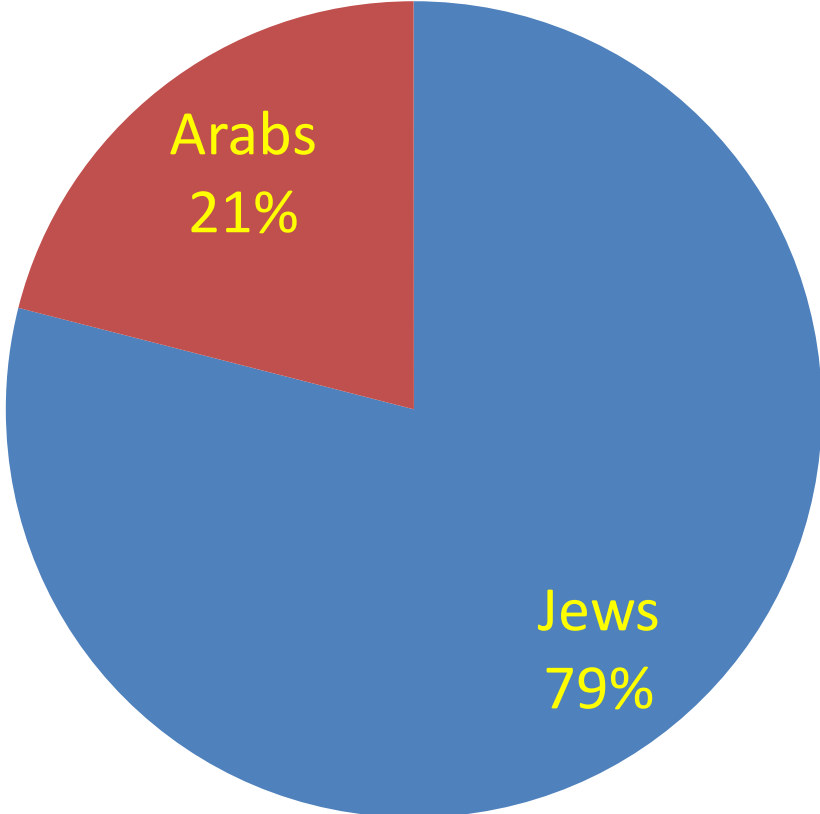
Thanks to the Jacobs Foundation for funding and to Maisalon  
Dallashi and Eran Kraus for research assistance

# Objectives

- This is a study of friendships between Arab and Jews in mixed Israeli schools.
- We compare the degree of social integration between Arabs and Jews who attend Multicultural and Hegemonic schools.

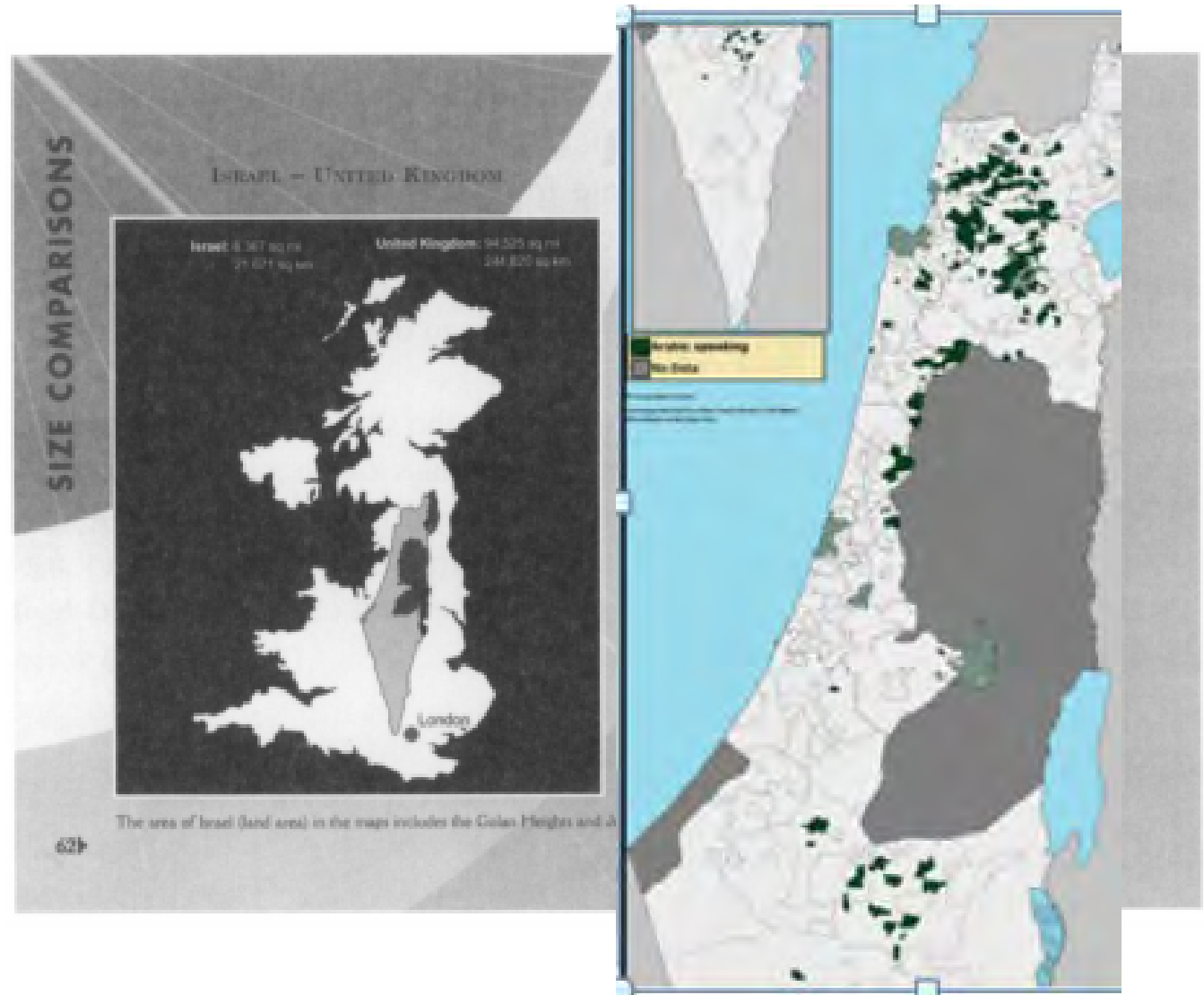
**BACKGROUND**

# Palestinian Arabs and Jews in Israel



# Residential segregation between Arabs and Jews

- Israel in its pre-1967 borders
- 90% of Arabs reside in Arab-only towns and villages.



# Residential segregation between Arabs and Jews

- Israel in its pre-1967 borders
- 90% of Arabs reside in Arab-only towns and villages.
- Most of the remaining 10% reside in cities where Jews form a majority (Smoocha, 2012).



SOURCE: Rabinowitz & Monterescu  
2008

# Social segregation: Muslim-Jewish intermarriage is rare.

**Couples by Spouses' Religion, 2008, in 000s**

Religion of Husband	Religion of Wife				Total
	Jewish	Muslim	Christian	Other	
Jewish	<u>1,131.20</u>	<b>0.15</b>	4.93	39.41	<b>1,175.71</b>
Muslim	<b>0.62</b>	<u>238.48</u>	0.56	0.24	<b>239.90</b>
Christian	3.58	0.29	<u>30.75</u>	0.87	<b>35.49</b>
Other	27.10	0.15	0.91	<u>25.02</u>	<b>53.18</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,162.52</b>	<b>239.07</b>	<b>37.15</b>	<b>65.54</b>	<b>1,504.28</b>

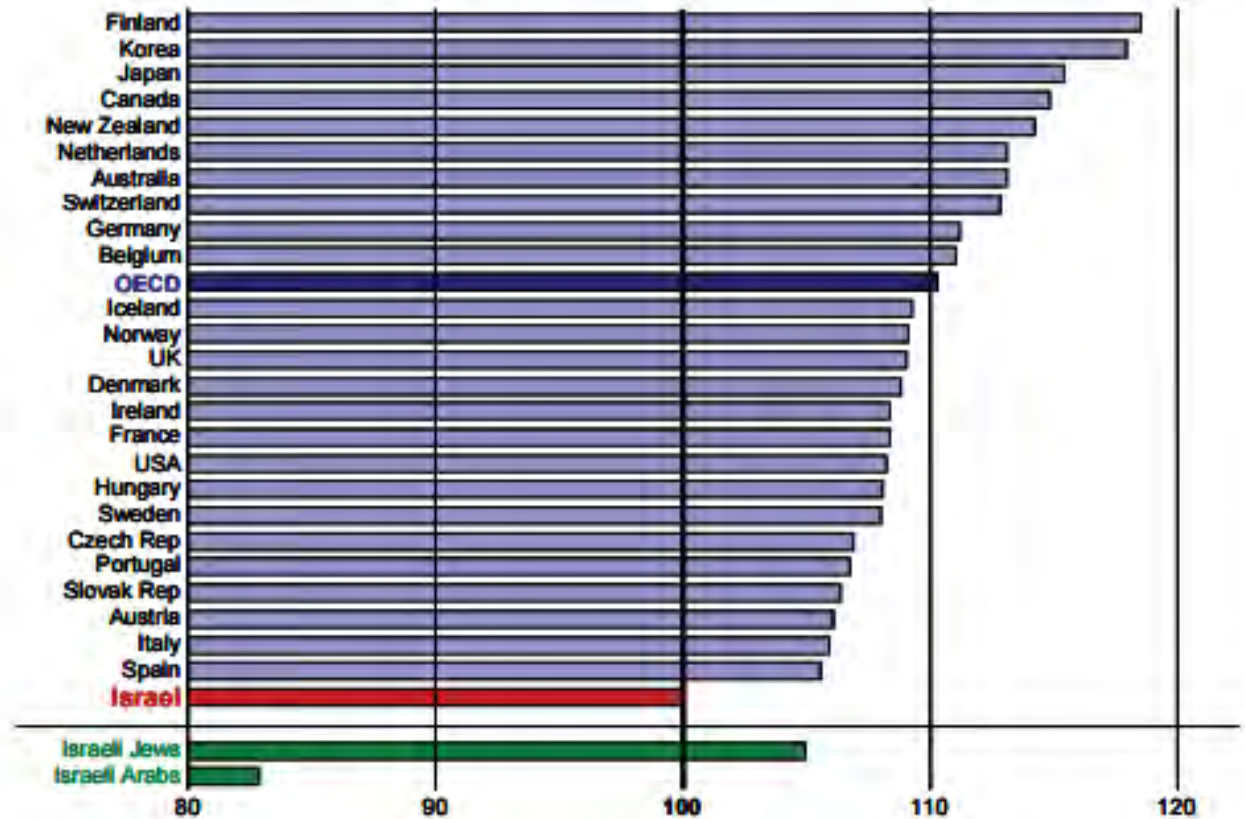
SOURCE: Della Pergola forthcoming

# Inequalities

Monthly Wages, % Below Median	
Arabs	81
Jews	47

SOURCE: Cornfeld & Danieli 2015

Figure 1  
**Average level of education**  
 average achievement levels in 25 OECD countries and in Israel  
 PISA 2009 exams\*, base: Israel = 100



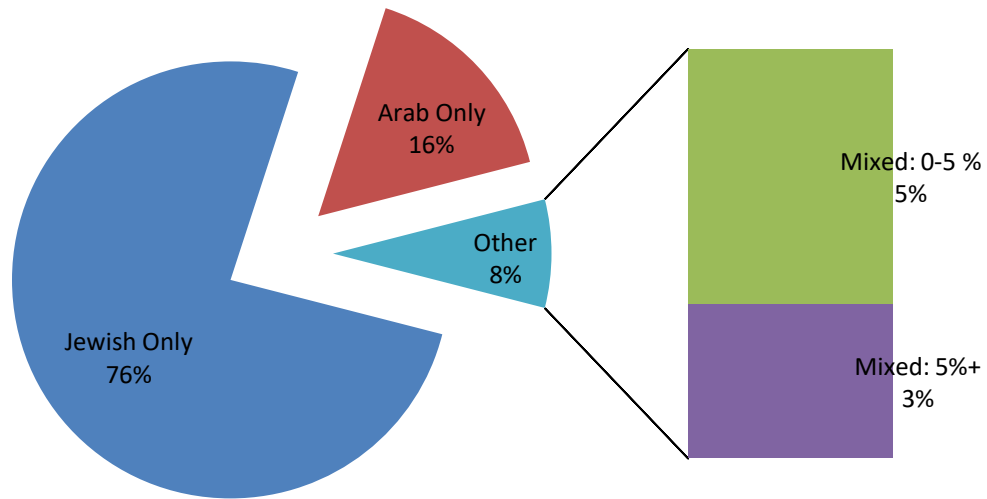
\* National average in math, science and reading exams. Israeli data does not include *haredi* boys in all subjects or *haredi* girls in science.

Source: Dan Ben-David, Taub Center and Tel-Aviv University.  
 Data: PISA; Israel's National Authority for Educational Measurement and Evaluation.

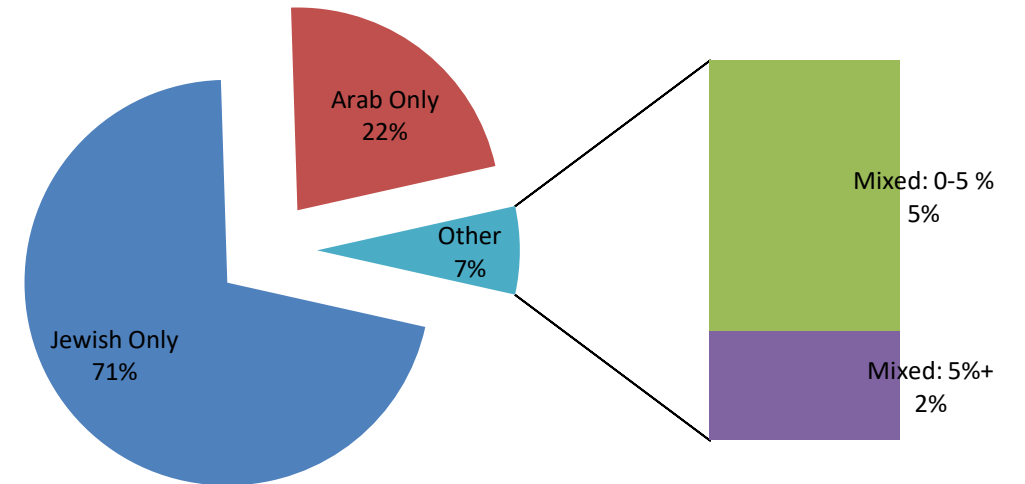


# School integration is still very much the exception

**Distribution of Schools by Ethnic Composition**



**Distribution of Students by Ethnic Composition of School**



# Why study integration if its so rare?

- Ideological motivation
  - A glimpse at the future?
  - We hope to encourage integration.
- Theory
  - An opportunity to study cross-ethnic friendships under conflict.
  - **A comparison of friendships in multicultural and hegemonic schools.**

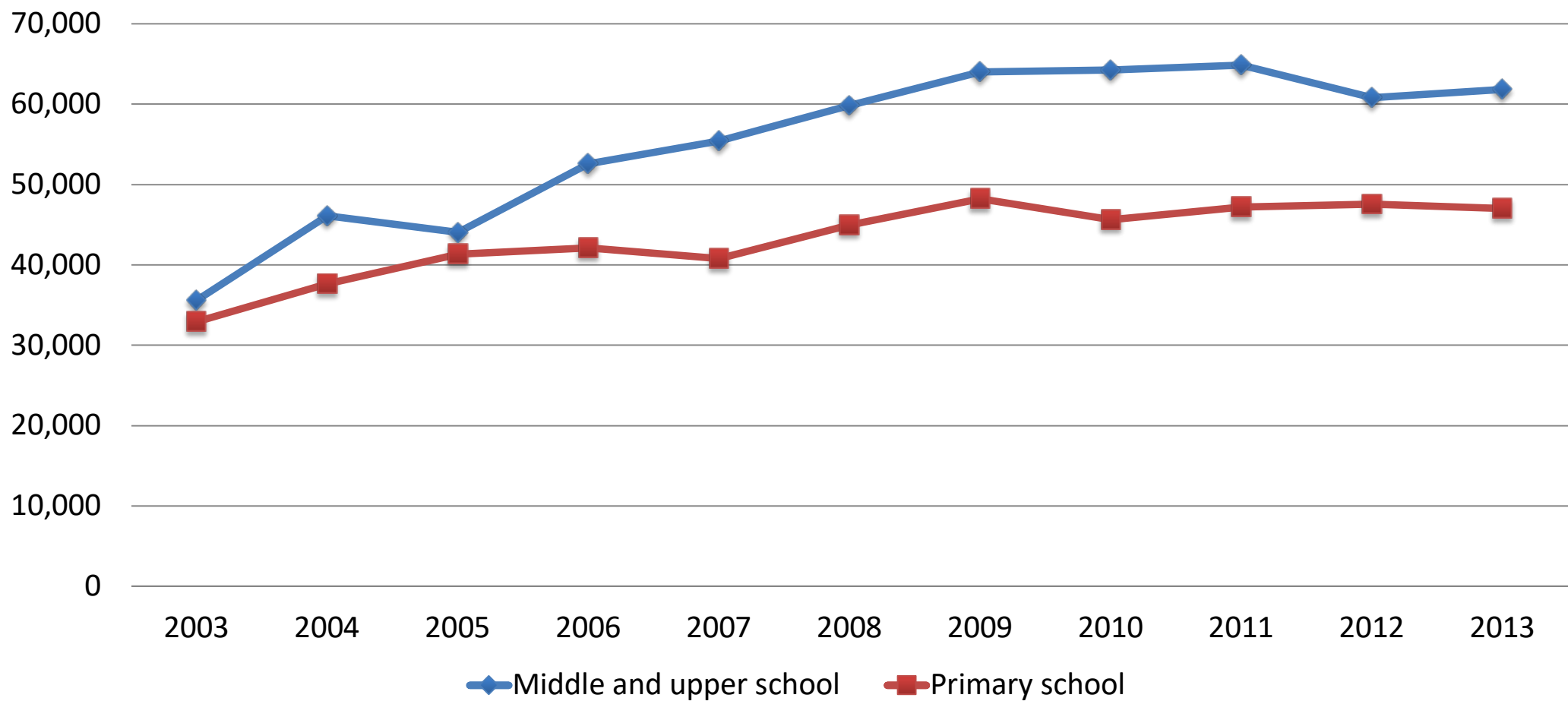
# Cause for cautious optimism

## Attitudes towards Arab Jewish Relations, 2012

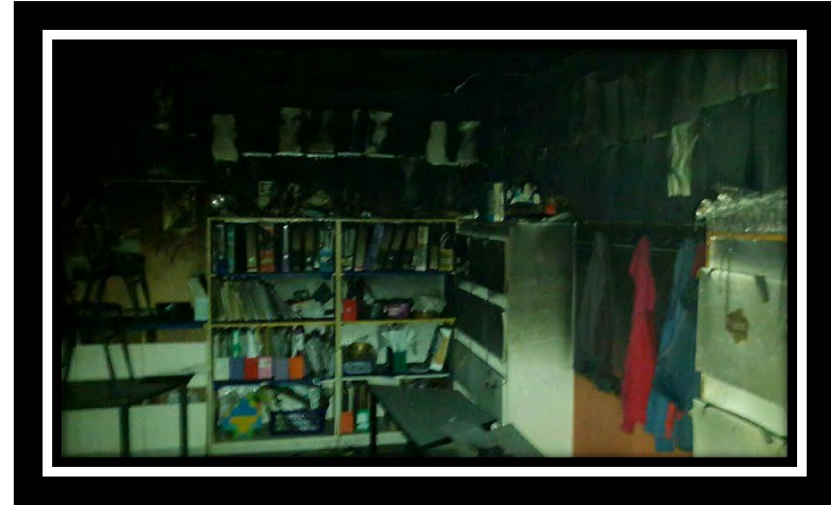
Agree that....	Arabs	Jews
Jews and Arabs should <b>maintain friendship</b> relations	79.6	69.2
There should be Arab/Jewish <b>shared organizations</b>	68.8	69.4
Arabs should live in Jewish <b>neighborhoods</b>	55.3	45.7
Arabs should <b>attend Jewish secondary schools</b>	45.1	54.9

SOURCE: Smooha 2013

# Number of pupils in mixed schools by education level, 2003-2013



## ... and for pessimism



Jerusalem's Multicultural school set on fire (November 29, 2014).

# Two main types of mixed schools

## Bi-Lingual (Arabic/Hebrew)

### Multi-Cultural

Aim to equalize the social standing of cultures and of narratives. Promote coexistence, social cohesion and friendship with “Other”.

## Hebrew mixed schools

### Hegemonic

Jewish-Zionist narratives dominate.  
Admit Arab students but ignore their cultural distinctions and narratives.

# **THE STUDY**

# Contact Theory, Multicultural education and cross-ethnic friendships

## Contact Theory

Contact

Mutual respect

Balanced ratio

Equal standing

Team spirit, Common goals

Multicultural vs. Hegemonic Education

?

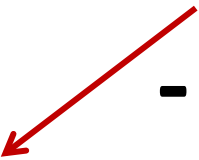
Balkanization

Reduced Prejudice

+

Cross-Ethnic Friendships

-





## Multiculturalism and Balkanization

- Multicultural education can emphasize distinct ethnic/cultural identities at the expense of collective unity.
- “Diversity without unity leads to Balkanization ....” (Banks 2008).
- “Multiculturalism [makes] a fetish of difference instead of encouraging minorities to be truly [British], ‘multiculturalism has helped to segregate communities far more effectively than racism’ (Citations in Moodod 2013)
- **Does MC balkanize friendship networks by ethnicity?**

# School-type and cross-ethnic friendships: Hypotheses

- **The Homophily Principle (baseline):** Ethnically (Arab, Jewish) segregated friendships are likely.
- **Contact Theory:** Ethnically segregated friendships are **less** likely in multicultural than in hegemonic schools.
- **Balkanization:** Ethnically segregated friendships are **more** likely in multicultural than in hegemonic schools.

# Research design

School years 2013-14, 2014-15.

In depth interview with Principal

23 Schools

- All schools with 10%+ integration
- A third (36%) of schools with 5-10% Integration,
- Three schools with less than 5% minority.

Short questionnaire for homeroom teachers

113 Classrooms

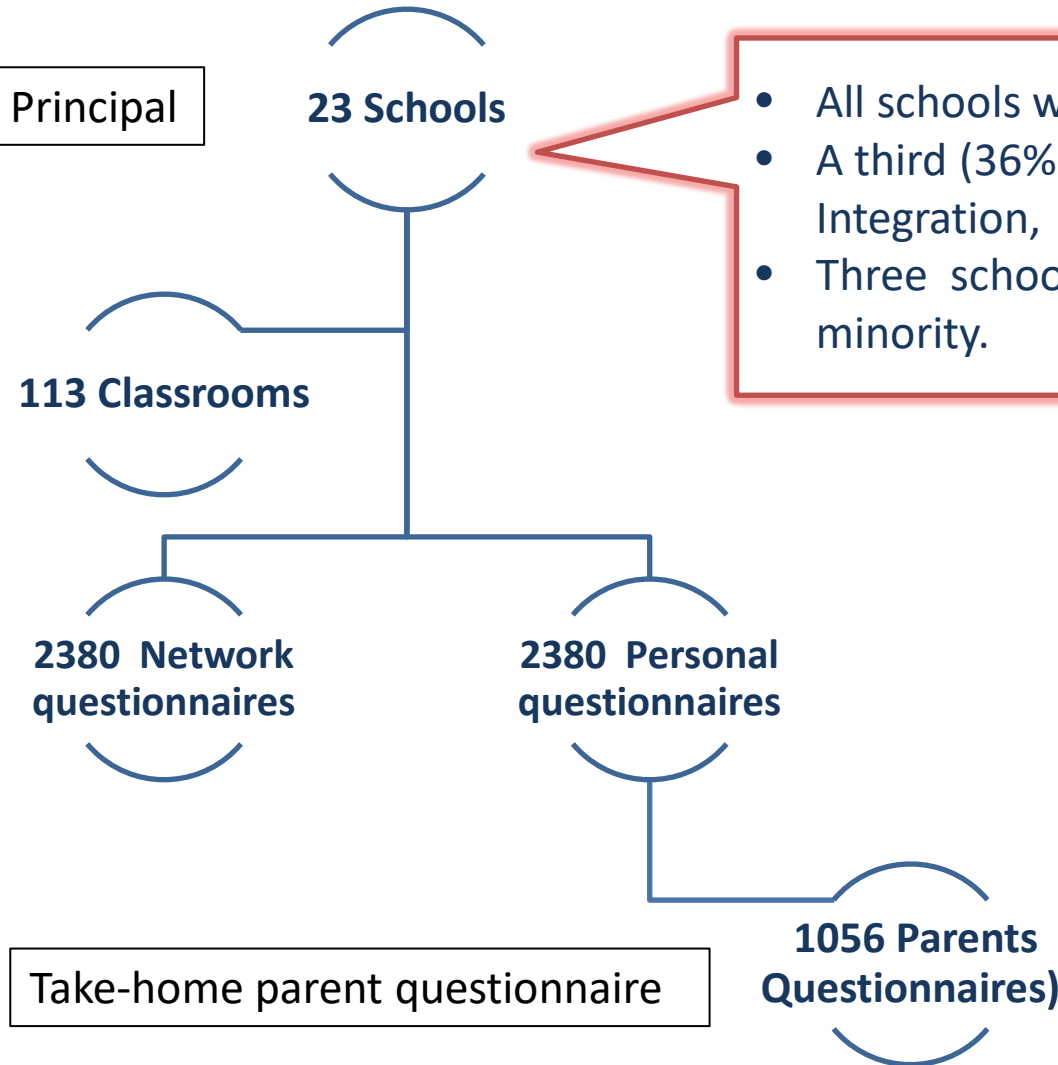
Two Student questionnaires

2380 Network questionnaires

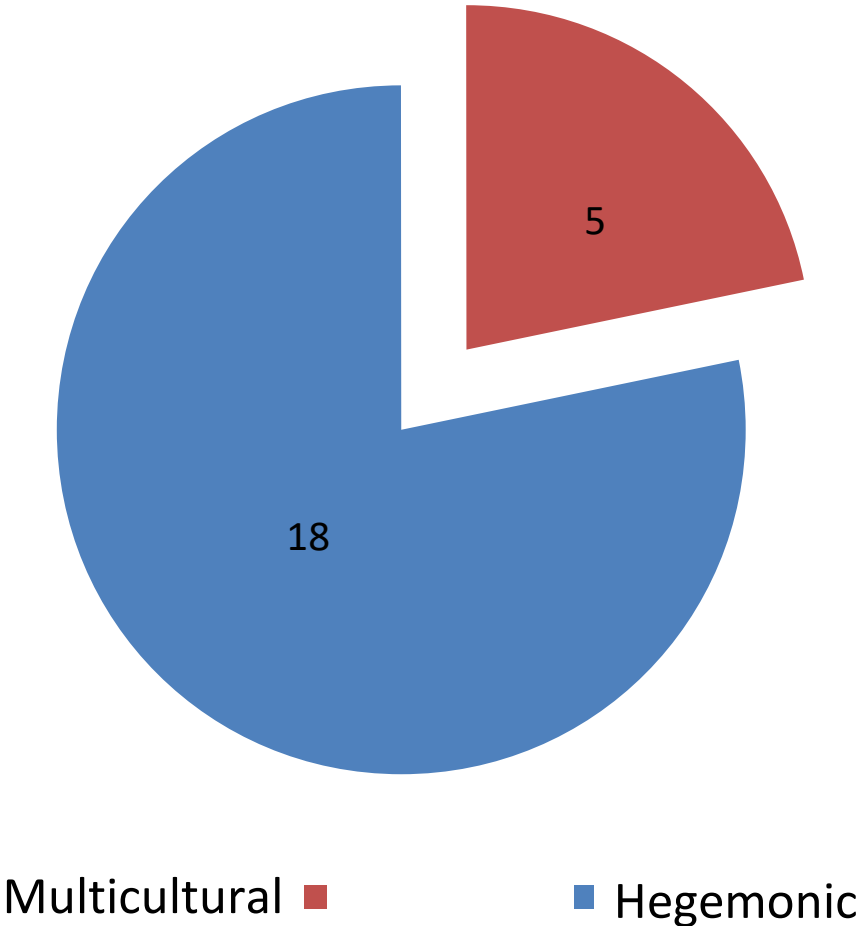
2380 Personal questionnaires

Take-home parent questionnaire

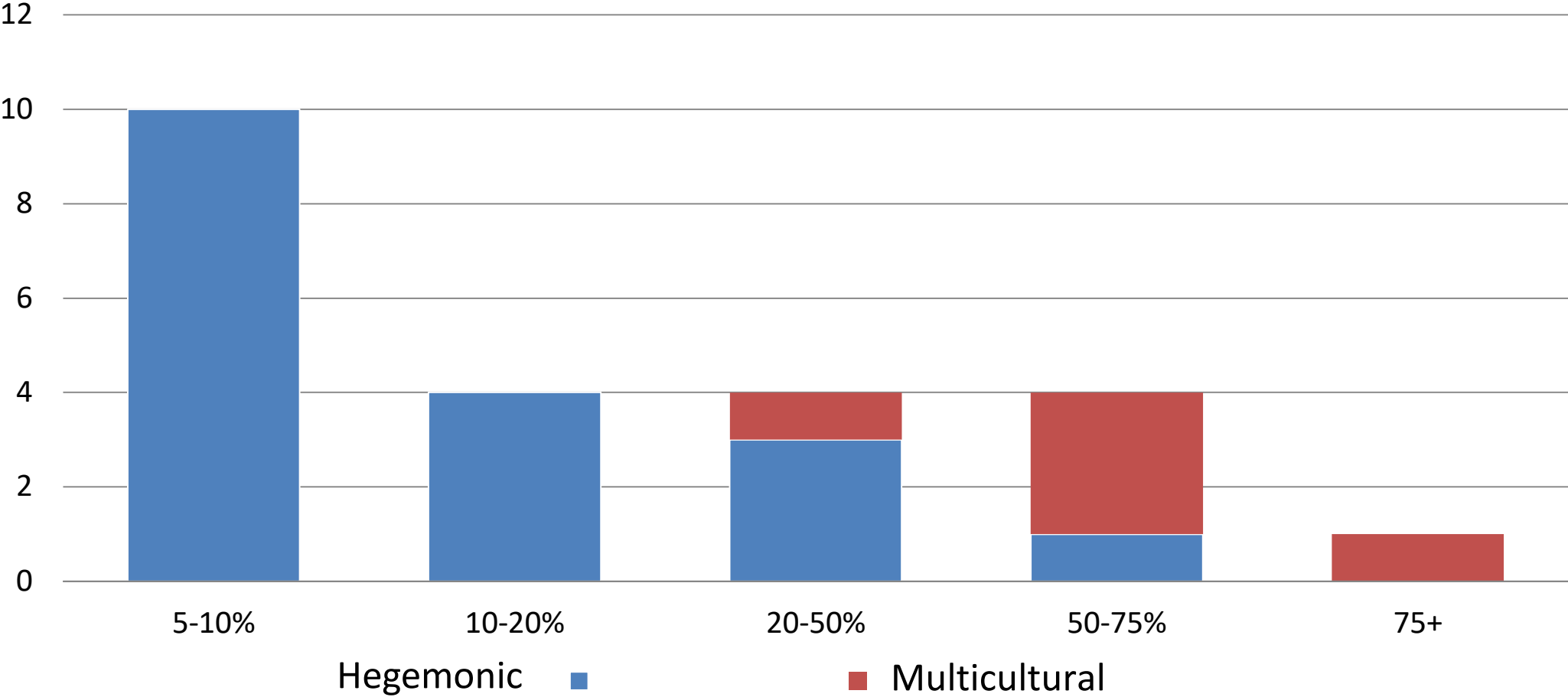
1056 Parents Questionnaires



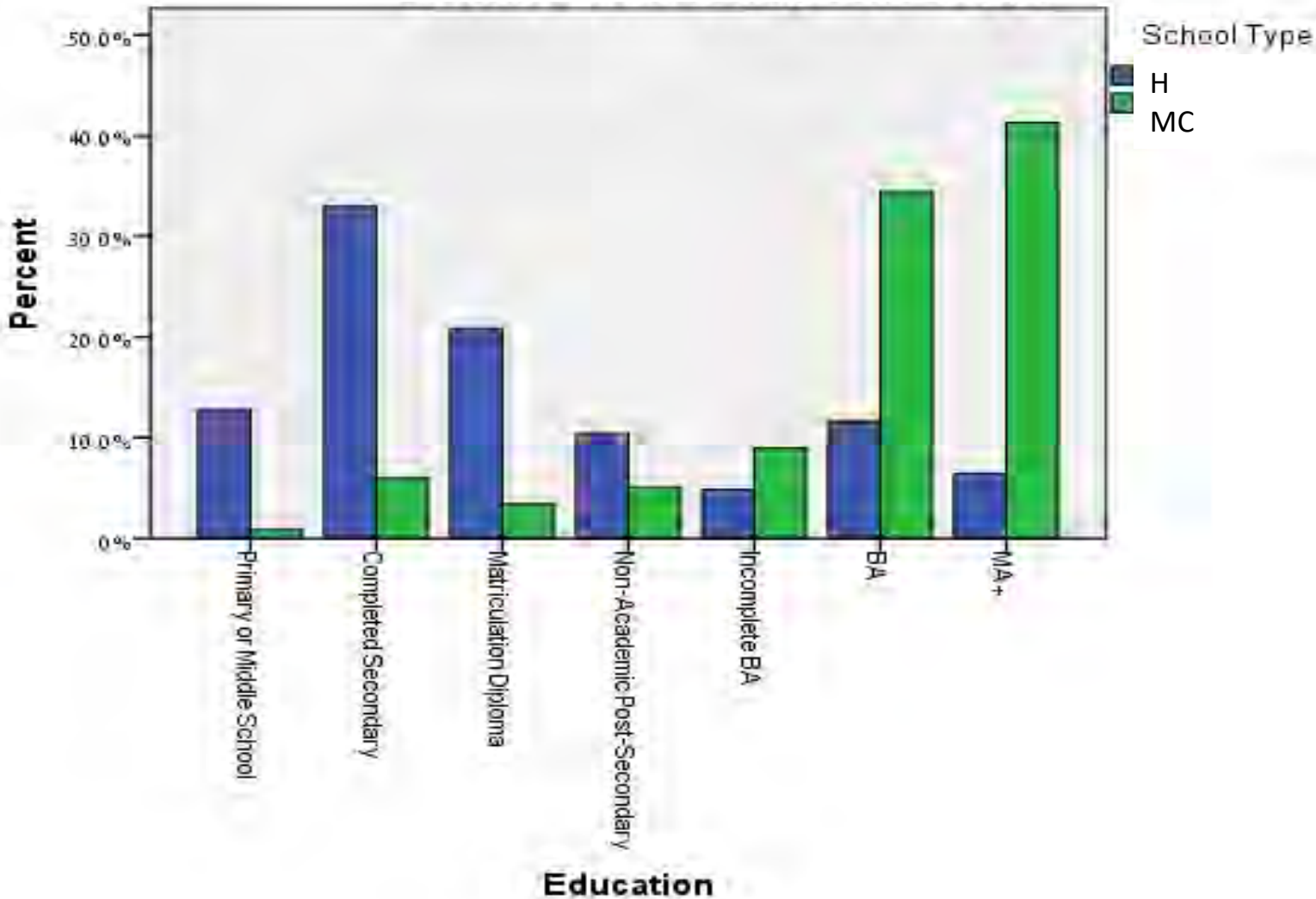
# Number of mixed schools in the sample, by type



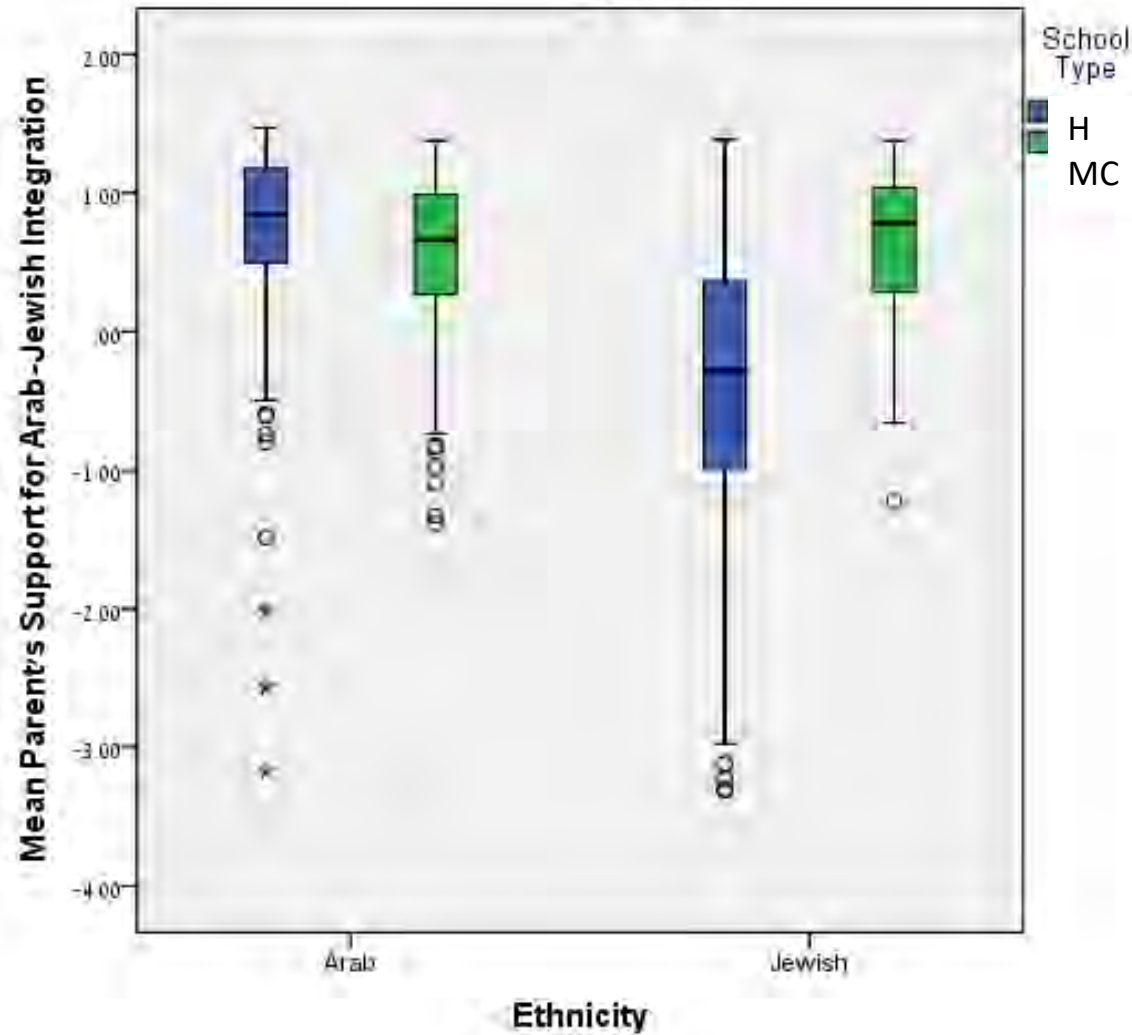
# Number of sample schools by % of Arab students and school type



# Parents' education by school type



Parent's Support for Arab-Jewish Integration by Ethnicity and School Type,  
Bar Chart



# Why do Arabs choose Hegemonic schools? (Quotes from headmasters and parents)

- “Hebrew schools are better”
- “Proficiency in Hebrew language and culture”
- “Special needs not met by Arab schools. “



# Why do Arab parents choose MC schools?

- “...the Arab school system is not good enough.
- Solution for kids with special needs
- “Hebrew language”
- “At first they came in order to fit in (living together, speaking Hebrew). Nowadays there is a greater impact for academic achievements.”

# In sum, the motivations of Arab families are similar in the two school types

- School quality
- Proficiency in Hebrew
- Special needs

=> Coexistence is not an important motivation.

# Why do Jews choose MC schools?

- Coexistence: Jewish parents want their children to know Arabs and Arabic.

# **MEASURING FRIENDSHIP**



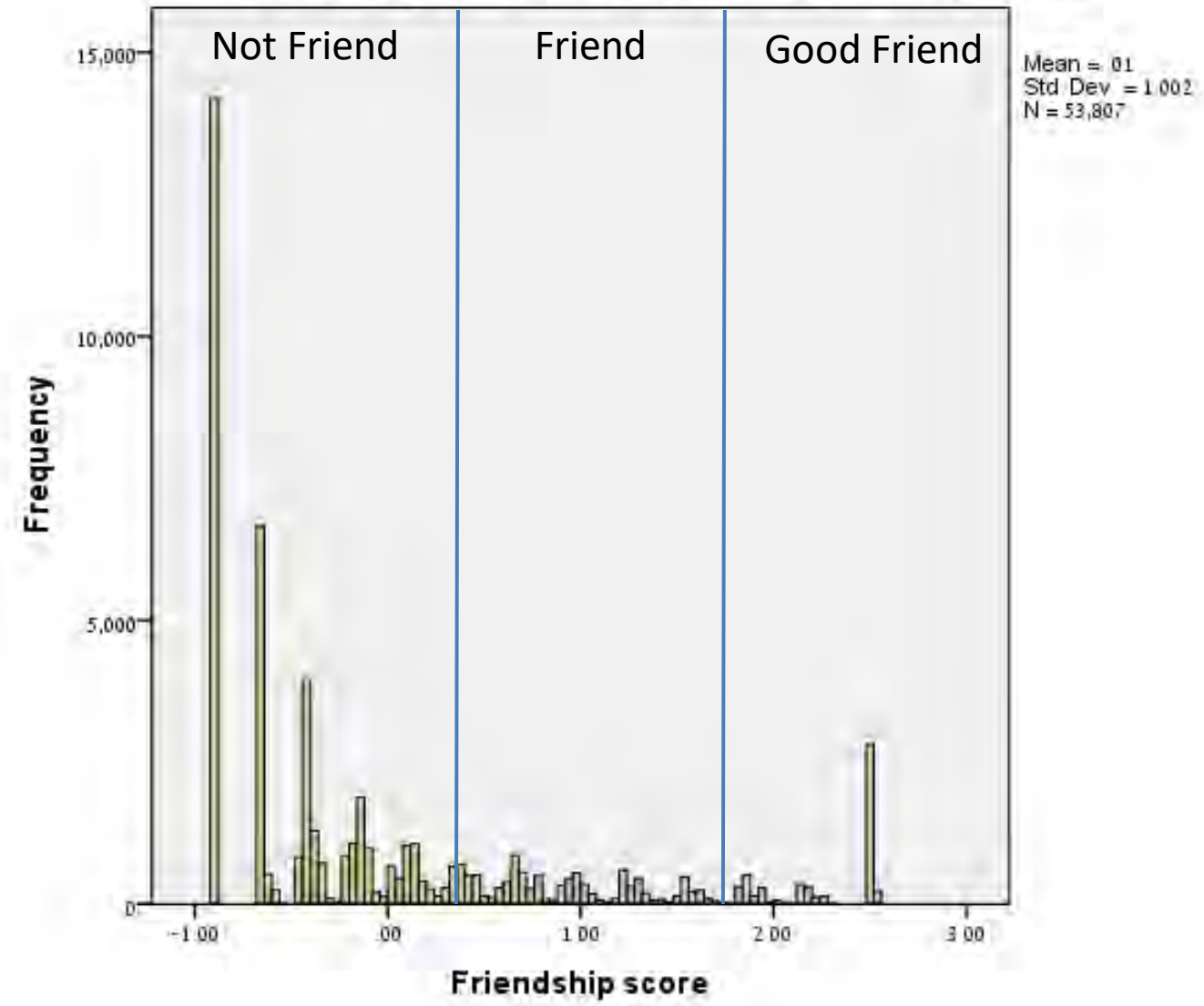
your number: **5**

		1	2	3	4	5	6	
		Do you play or talk to him\her during the break?	Do you see him\her in the afternoon outside school?	Do you speak or chat by phone, SMS, Viber, whatsapp, facebook etc?	Do you visit him/her at their home?	Did you tell him\her personal things like secrets you wouldn't tell anyone?	Do you trust him\her?	
		1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	1. Yes, often 2. Yes, rarely 3. No	
Student No.	Classmates ↓							
1	Yossi Shavit	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
2	Uri Shwed	2	2	3	3	3	3	2
3	Moran Ofek							3
4	Noa Menashe							4
5	Maisalon Dallashi							5
6	Natalie Levy							6
7	Eran Kraus							7
8	Claude S. Fischer							8
9	Martin Sanchez jankowski							9

# Factor Analysis: Friendship Score

Variables	Loading
Play in school	0.77
Meet in the afternoon	0.84
Digital media	0.81
Visit at home	0.79
Tell personal things	0.84
Trust	0.74
Eigenvalue	3.85 (eigenvalue of second factor=0.69)
Percent of total variance explained	64.31

Frequency Distribution of Friendship Score, Dyads



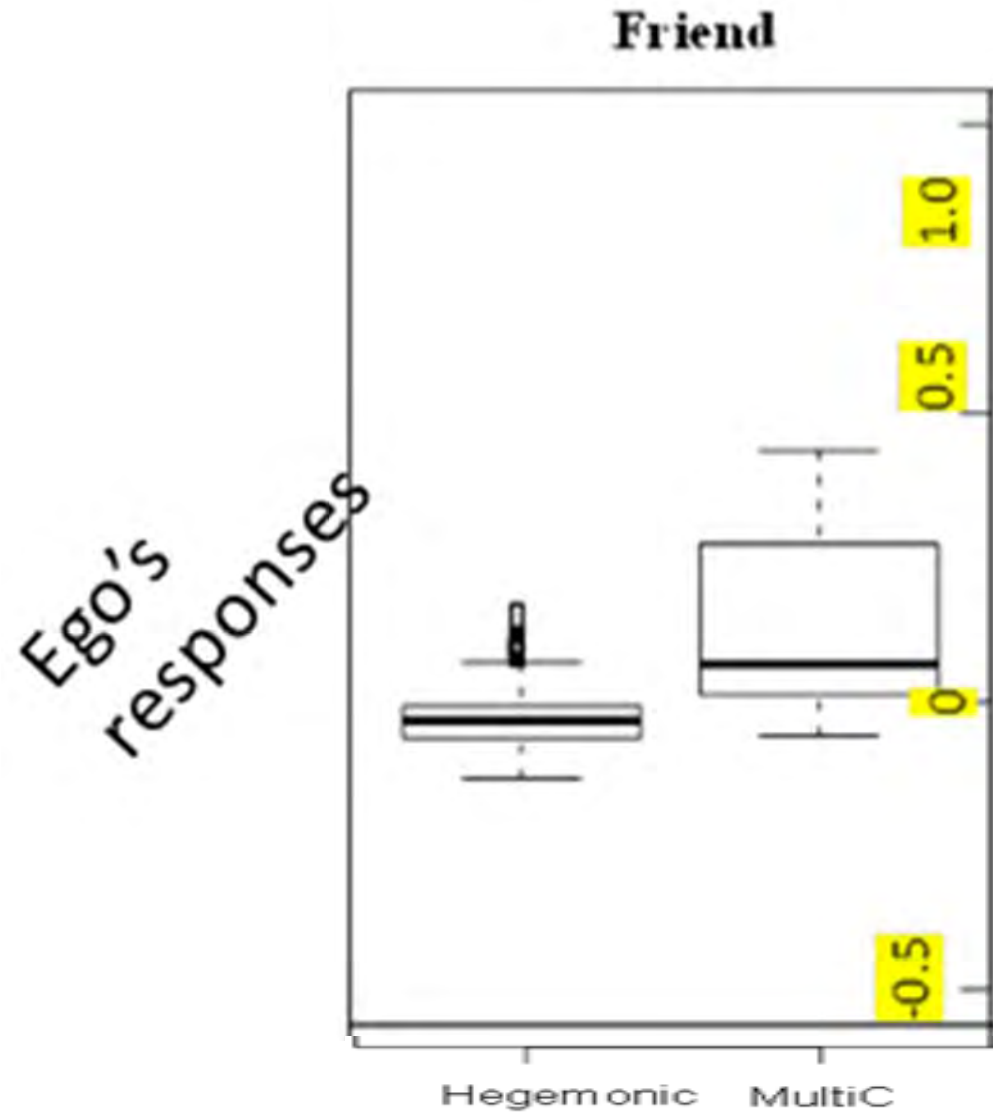
# **THREE TESTS OF THE HYPOTHESES**



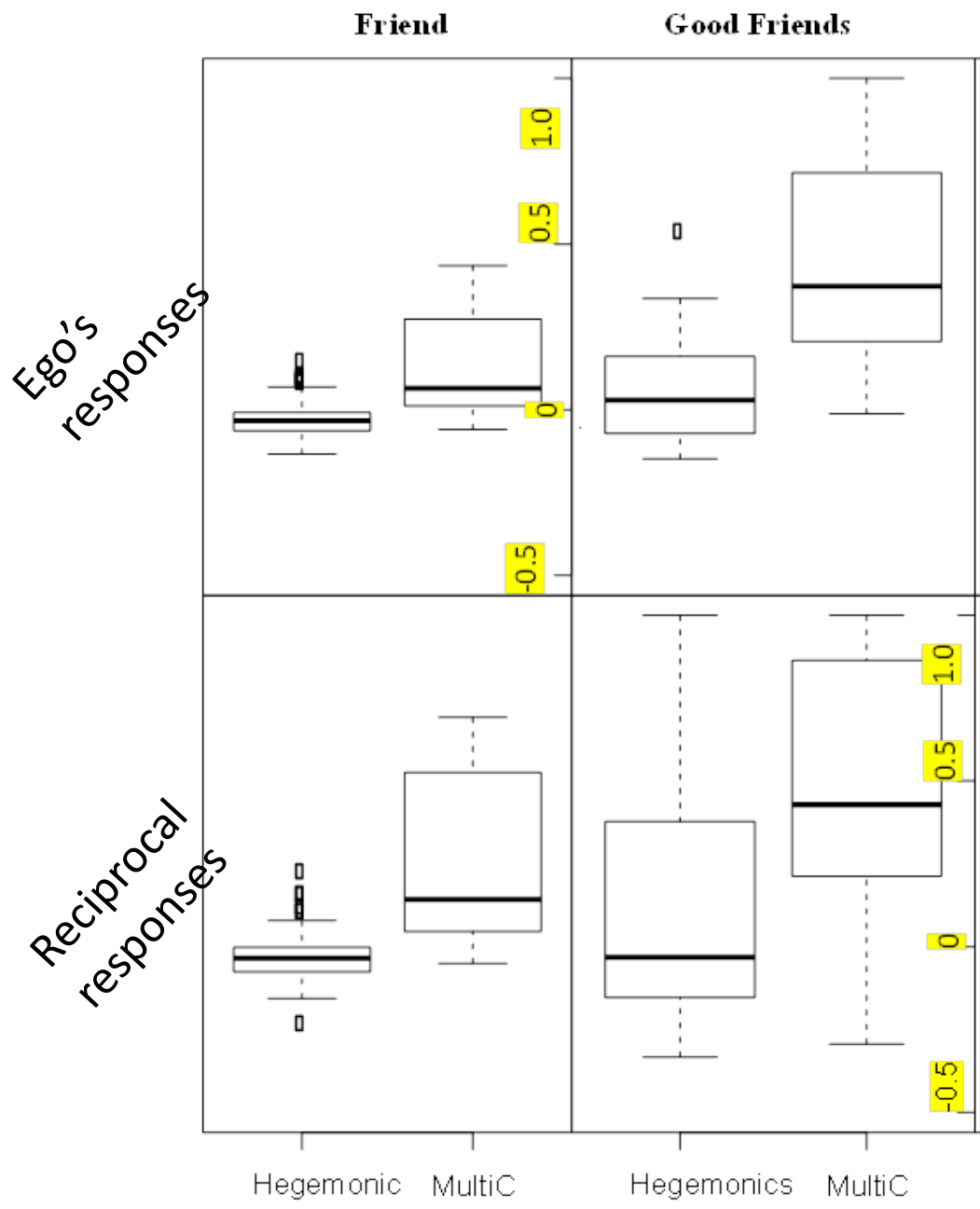
# **COMPARISONS OF ETHNIC SEGREGATION IN MC AND H PRIMARY CLASSES**

# Ethnic segregation in 61 primary classes by school type

(Newman's Assortativity  
Index)



- In H schools, median segregation hovers around zero.
- Assortativity for most classes in MC schools is higher than that of most classes in H schools.
- Tentative conclusion: ethnic integration is lower in MC schools (Balkanization?).



**FOUR-LEVEL REGRESSIONS OF FRIENDSHIP:  
(DYADS NESTED WITHIN EGOS WITHIN CLASSES WITHIN SCHOOLS)**

Table 3: Mixed model regression of variables predicting friendship

	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b>Fixed effects</b>				
Intercept	0.025 (0.025)	-0.079 (0.049)	-0.578** (0.051)	-2.008** (0.230)
<b>Dyad level</b>				
Ego and alter are of same ethnicity		0.178* (0.053)	0.179* (0.049)	0.197* (0.070)
Ego and alter are of same gender			0.855** (0.010)	0.854** (0.010)
<b>Student level</b>				
Ego is Arab		0.024 (0.025)	0.018 (0.025)	0.019 (0.025)
Ego is male			0.001 (0.021)	0.006 (0.021)
Number of cars reported by Ego			0.051** (0.012)	0.049** (0.012)
<b>Class level</b>				
Number of students				-0.009 (0.003)
Class transitivity				2.133** (0.253)
Proportion of Arabs				0.131 (0.151)
Grade level				0.026 (0.016)
<b>School level</b>				
Multicultural school		-0.201* (0.084)	-0.208* (0.082)	-0.234* (0.085)
Rural				-0.050 (0.066)
<b>Interactions</b>				
Ego and alter are of same ethnicity X Multicultural school		0.345* (0.091)	0.323* (0.084)	0.352* (0.112)
Ego and alter are of same ethnicity X Proportion of Arabs in class				-0.075 (0.195)

Random effects

Student level				
Variance of intercept	0.107	0.09	0.095	0.095
Variance of Ego and alter are of Same ethnicity		0.058	0.055	0.055
Class level				
Variance of intercept	0.022	0.025	0.026	0.002
Variance of Ego and alter are of same ethnicity		0.009	0.009	0.006
School level				
Variance of intercept	0.002	0.012	0.011	0.005
Variance of Ego and alter are of same ethnicity		0.020	0.017	0.018
Residual				
Residual variance	0.869	0.83	0.648	0.648
Number of dyads	26975	26401	26348	26348
Number of students	1308	1279	1276	1276
Number of classes	61	61	61	61
Number of schools	14	14	14	14
-2 Log Likelihood	74521.28	72164.7	65841.2	65796.6

\*\*p < 0.01, \*p < 0.05

<sup>a</sup> The "Arab" category includes Mixed students. See p.11-12 for explanation.

□

# Mixed model regression of Friendship

(dyads, primary grades, selected coefficients)

Number of dyads	26,348
Number of students	1,276
Number of classes	61
Number of schools	14
-2 Log Likelihood	65,796

- The tentative conclusion holds: same-ethnic friendships (segregation) are much stronger in MC schools.

Intercept	-2.008**
<b>Dyad level</b>	
Ego and alter are of same ethnicity	0.197*
Ego and alter are of same gender	0.854**
<b>Student level</b>	
Ego is Arab	0.019
Ego is male	0.006
<b>Class level</b>	
Number of students	-0.009
Proportion Arabs in class	0.131
<b>School level</b>	
Multicultural school	-0.234*
<b>Interaction:</b>	
Ego and alter are of same ethnicity X Multicultural school	0.352*

**Digression on the effect of parent's attitudes:  
Mixed Logit model of "1+ Arab friend", (Students, Jews only)**

- Jewish parent's attitudes (towards Arab-Jewish integration) do not affect student's odds of socialization with Arabs.

	B(S.E)
Constant	1.377* (.602)
Female	-.034 (.207)
MC School	-2.255* (.967)
Number of Arabs in class	.419*** (.087)
Grade Level	-.212** (.070)
Parents' Attitudes	.146 (.104)
N=738	



**ERGM**

**(EXPONENTIAL RANDOM GRAPH MODELS)**



- **Critique of dyad models:** erroneously assume that ties between any two individuals are independent of other properties of the social network and of other ties.
- **ERGM** is an integrated modeling framework which allows us to distinguish the effects of ethnic preferences from those of other homogeneity producing mechanisms, including triadic closure, reciprocity, sociality...

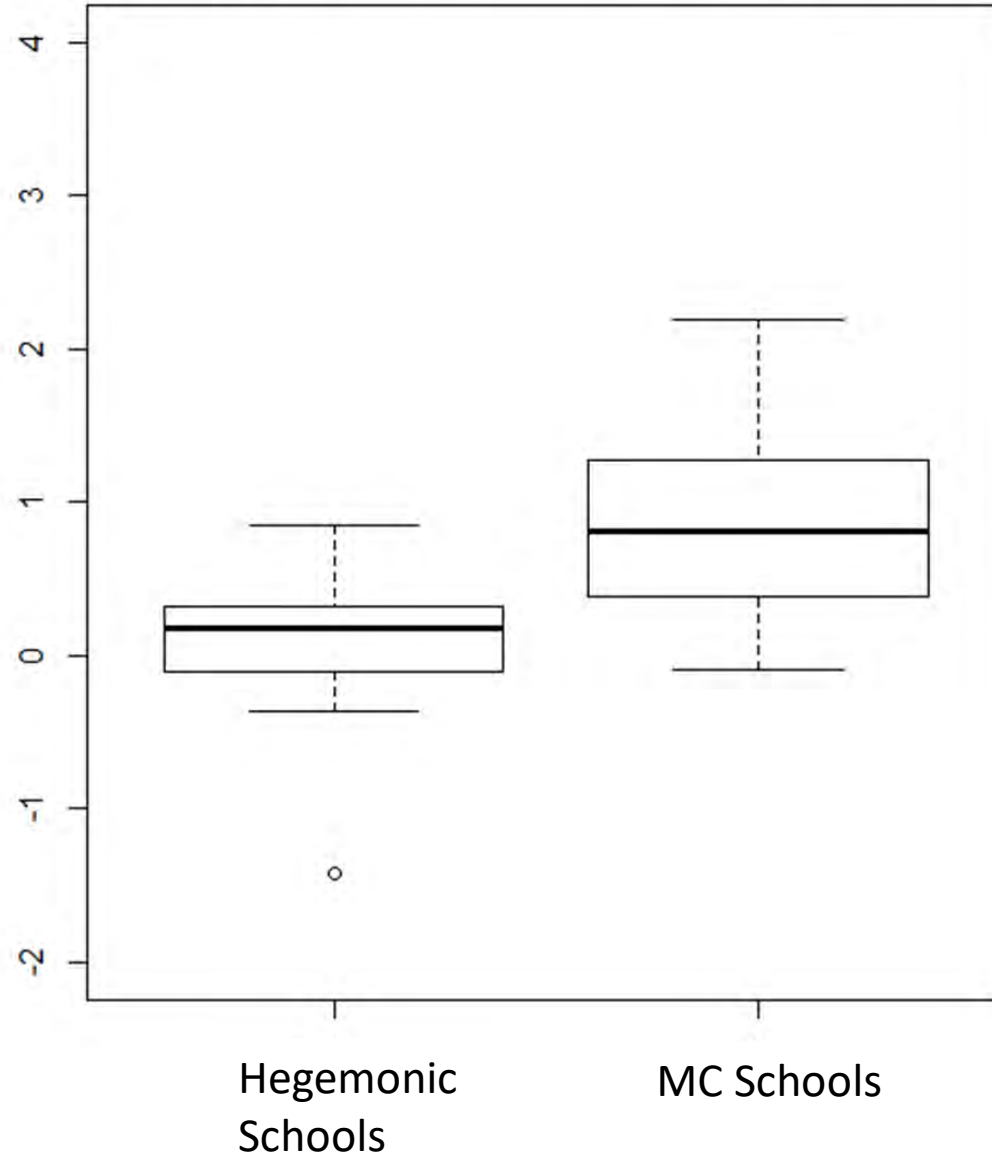
# Our simple tentative ERG model

- To what extent does being of the same ethnicity increase the odds of forming a tie?
- Controlling for:
  - Network density
  - Rate of mutual ties
  - Mean group popularity
  - Whether the dyad is same-sex or not
- This model converges well for the full sample of classes.



- In H schools, Same Ethnicity is not associated significantly with the odds of forming a tie.
- In most MC classes Same Ethnicity is associated with the odds of forming a tie.

Segregation Estimates by School Type



# Summary: Ethnically homogenous friendships are more likely in multicultural schools.

- In hegemonic schools, ethnic segregation in friendships is slight.
- Segregation in friendships is greater in MC schools.
- Why?

# A possible answer: Balkanization

## Contact Theory

Contact

Mutual respect

Balanced ratio

Equal standing

Team spirit, Common goals

Multicultural vs. Hegemonic Education

Balkanization

Reduced Prejudice

Cross-Ethnic Friendships

# Policy implications for MC schools

- Relax the emphasis on distinct identities (Bekerman and Maoz 2005)?
- Harmonize goals of Arabs and Jews.
- “Cohesion training”
  - Extra curricular activities for students (Moody)
  - Social activities for parents and families

# A word on our future research

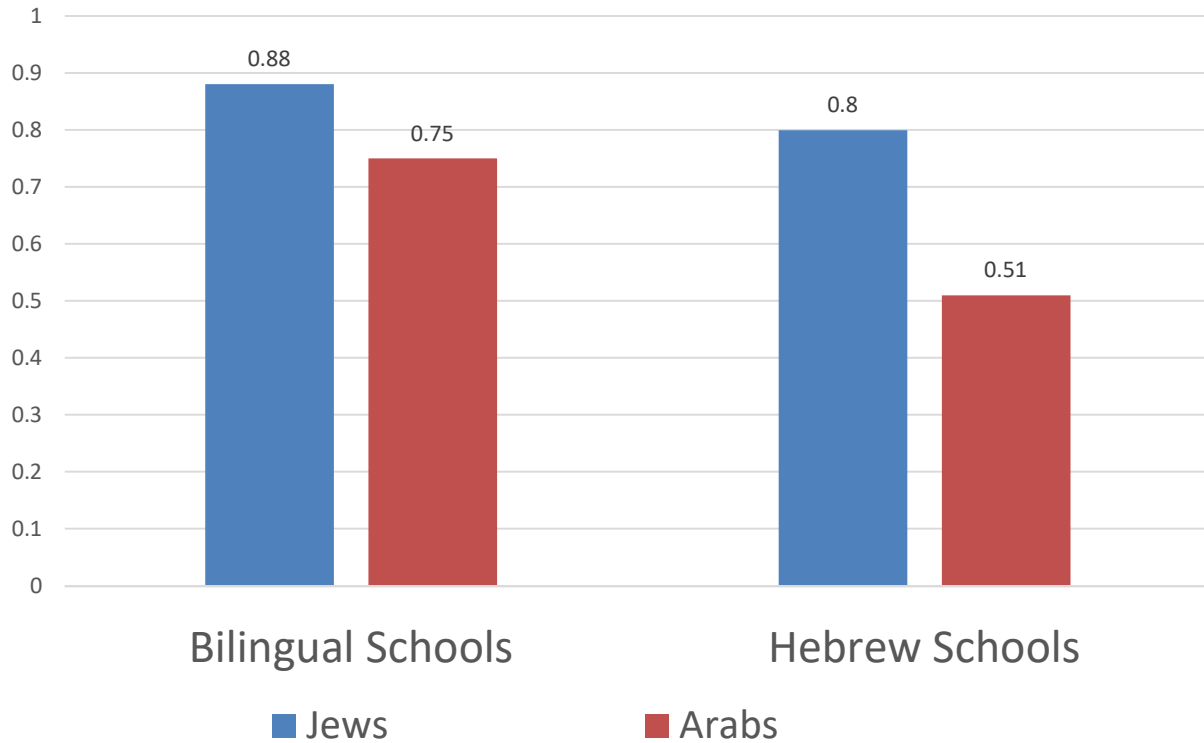
- Develop the ERGM
- Qualitative research on ethnic identities and inter-ethnic attitudes in H, MC and single ethnic schools
- Study the effects of mixed schools on long term attitudes, friendships and attainments
- Seek partnerships for comparisons to other similar setting



תודה **شكراً** Thank you



### Predicted Probability of 1+ Good Friend of Same Ethnicity



### Predicted Probability of 1+ Cross-Ethnic Good Friend

