

# Language Education Policy: The Arab Minority in Israel

Muhammad Hasan Amara  
and  
Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i



LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY:  
THE ARAB MINORITY IN ISRAEL

# Language Policy

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## VOLUME 1

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The last half century has witnessed an explosive shift in language diversity not unlike the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel, but involving now a rapid spread of global languages and an associated threat to small languages. The diffusion of global languages, the stampede towards English, the counter-pressures in the form of ethnic efforts to reverse or slow the process, the continued determination of nation-states to assert national identity through language, and, in an opposite direction, the greater tolerance shown to multilingualism and the increasing concern for language rights, all these are working to make the study of the nature and possibilities of language policy and planning a field of swift growth.

The series will publish empirical studies of general language policy or of language education policy, or monographs dealing with the theory and general nature of the field. We welcome detailed accounts of language policy-making - who is involved, what is done, how it develops, why it is attempted. We will publish research dealing with the development of policy under different conditions and the effect of implementation. We will be interested in accounts of policy development by governments and governmental agencies, by large international companies, foundations, and organizations, as well as the efforts of groups attempting to resist or modify governmental policies. We will also consider empirical studies that are relevant to policy of a general nature, e.g. the local effects of the developing European policy of starting language teaching earlier, the numbers of hours of instruction needed to achieve competence, selection and training of language teachers, the language effects of the Internet. Other possible topics include the legal basis for language policy, the role of social identity in policy development, the influence of political ideology on language policy, the role of economic factors, policy as a reflection of social change.

The series is intended for scholars in the field of language policy and others interested in the topic, including sociolinguists, educational and applied linguists, language planners, language educators, sociologists, political scientists, and comparative educationalists.

# Language Education Policy: The Arab Minority in Israel

by

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“WE SHALL NEVER UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER  
UNTIL WE REDUCE THE LANGUAGE  
TO SEVEN WORDS”

(Khalil Gibran, 1926. *Sand and Foam*)

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## **Preface by the Series Editors**

The decision of Kluwer Academic Publishers to launch both a new journal and a new book series on language policy recognizes the growing importance attached to the field. Language policy has come to be significant not just in newly independent states but also in well-established ones. We define language policy as having three interrelated aspects: practices, ideologies, and management. It may be inferred from studying the systematic choices of linguistic items or varieties as part of the language practices of a community, or from the language beliefs and ideologies about language use current in a social group. Or it may be made explicit in language management (which we define as efforts by people or institutions that possess or that claim authority to modify the language practices or ideologies of others). Because it is an ongoing process in continuous interaction with a great range of other factors (social, political, religious and so on) in a society, its study comes to have even wider significance. To study a society or state without considering its language policy, or to study language policy without taking into account its full social context, leads to an impoverished understanding.

In the book series and the journal, we will therefore seek and publish scholarly and scientific analysis of cases and issues and development of theories that take into account careful empirical study, whether qualitative or quantitative and thorough reasoning. While recognizing that most scholars in the field have firm opinions about controversial language policy issues, we will discourage polemic. The books and articles we publish will cover the full scope of language policy, whether at the largest or smallest social or institutional or political level. Because language acquisition policy, especially as it effects the decisions about which languages to use for instruction and which to teach, is such a fundamental and universal aspect of language policy, we will aim for full coverage of language education questions.

We therefore welcome the present volume as the first in the book series because it helps make clear not just our major concerns with policy in context but also the critical role of decisions about language education as an integral component of language policy. There are of course many special local features concerning Arab minority language education in Israel, but the topic allows the authors to explore the complex general relationships between the design and implementation of a school policy for teaching and using languages and the rich

sociolinguistic, social, political, religious, attitudinal, and economic contexts in which the policy exists, offering thus a model of much wider significance, especially to the many countries in which ethnic and language conflict exists. It shows how in a democratic society, compromises may develop that, which not satisfying all interests, permit limiting conflict while allowing for continued tension for improvement.

The book by Amara and Mar'i sets forth a number of intriguing paradoxes. In spite of the continued political struggle between Arabs and Jews in the Middle East, Israel is one of the few non-Arab countries where there is state-supported mother tongue instruction for Arabic speakers throughout primary and secondary school and in teacher training institutions. Israel is also among comparatively few states in the world that offer this amount of instruction in a home language of a minority.

At the same time, as this study makes clear, there remain important problems in the design and implementation of the system. In part, no doubt, this reflects the general difficulty of developing an appropriate policy for a community that is ethnically or linguistically different from the majority. The issue of ethnic or religious (or ethnic-religious) definitions adopted by polities sets up challenges for recognition of appropriate civic status for minority groups. It is a controversial issue not just in Israel (where the matter is exacerbated by the continuing conflict between Israel and the surrounding Arabic-speaking countries) but potentially wherever one group is singled out for recognition in national constitutions or ideologies.

The ambiguities in the nominal recognition of Arabic as an official language of Israel are clearly analyzed in the book. Robert Cooper has distinguished three meanings of official language: statutory, working, and symbolic. The preservation of the status of Arabic (first recognized as a statutory but limited working official language by the British Military Government which took over after the defeat of the Turks in World War I) as a statutory official language after the 1948 independence of Israel has had only weak implementation as a working language, with the major exception of the school system described here. This situation is starting to be challenged by an Israeli Arabic movement for civil equality, concerned at signs of declining proficiency in Arabic and increasing use of Hebrew among Israeli Arabs, but the issue is clouded in the meantime by the continued political crisis.

Focusing as it does on the Israeli education system and its language policy, and also on the place of the Arabic language, the book makes clear how the policy is not at all autonomous, but must be seen in the full Israeli sociolinguistic, political, economic, religious and cultural context. The situation of Arabic in Israel today is unique as it needs to survive and compete in a

trilingual struggle with Hebrew, the language of the hegemonic majority and the national language, with the higher status of statutory, working and symbolic backing, and with English, a global language the knowledge of which is a condition for entrance into higher education and to economic success. While Arabic is maintaining its role in the home and local community, and serves as a major mark of identity, the lack of external recognition is contributing to a loss of status and use. The volume asks then whether and how the educational system might contribute to resisting shift away from Arabic.

The authors of this book, both graduates of Bar-Ilan University, have been studying Arab language education in Israel for some years. Abd Mar'i has a doctorate in Hebrew literature, and teaches at Beit Berl College. He was responsible for a major study of the teaching of Arabic in the Arab community. Muhammad Amara teaches in the departments of English and political studies at Bar-Ilan University and also at Beit Berl College. He has conducted a number of studies dealing with the sociolinguistics of the Arabic language as it used in Israel and with language and identity and recently published a book entitled *Politics and Sociolinguistic Reflexes: Palestinian Border Villages*. Their book draws on research each has conducted, including a larger study of Israeli language education as a whole. Because they are committed and activist members of the community studied, while at the same time academically qualified researchers accepted by mainstream society, they have both the perspective and tools to undertake the challenging task set by the topic of the book. We are pleased that their book launches the Kluwer series on language policy.

Elana Shohamy

Bernard Spolsky

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## Preface

In the last three years a number of eye-catching events related to Arab-Jewish cleavage took place in Israel. In 1998 the Jewish citizens of the state celebrated 50 years to “the establishment of the state, Jewish independence and the realization of the Zionist dream” (Gavizon and Abu-Rayya, 1999: 9). In contrast, the Arab citizens of the state mourned fifty years to the *Nakba*.<sup>1</sup> Another event in the same year, called by the Arabs ‘Black Sunday’, was a violent confrontation between thousands of Arab inhabitants of Um-el-Fahm and Israeli police forces. The recent events, in September and October 2000, between Arab demonstrators and Israeli police forces led to the killing of 13 Arabs and dozens of wounded. With a quick look at Israeli newspapers the following picture emerges: Arabs started to develop a perception that the country treats them as enemies rather than citizens, and many Israeli Jews indicate that Arabs do not only demonstrate and protest, but they also want to shake the pillars of the Jewish state.

The above examples express well the intensity of the Jewish-Arab cleavage in Israel. The Israeli reality points to a number of deep divisions among the population (such as between Sephardi-Ashkenazi, Orthodox-secular, men-women, Arab-Jew), most of which, in our opinion, are progressively decreasing as time passes. The Arab-Jewish divide is the deepest of all, and there is still no solution. In spite of its intensity, it does not enjoy a centrality whether in public debates or in the academy. This subject comes on the agenda after sharp tensions between Arabs and Jews.

In this book we will explore in more detail some aspects of the Arab-Jewish cleavage, which raise fundamental questions regarding the place of the Arabs and Arab language education in the Jewish State. More specifically, the aim of this book is to describe and analyze language education in the Arab society in Israel from the establishment of the state in 1948 until today. For this purpose internal processes which are embedded within the Arab population itself, such as the socio-economic condition of the population, the diglossic situation in the Arabic language, and the wide use of Hebrew among Arabic speakers, and

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<sup>1</sup> The literal translation is “catastrophe”. This term describes the drastic change that occurred in the status and situation of the Palestinians as a result of the 1948 War, whether in their demographic dispersion or the transformations in their political and socio-economical situation.



external factors such as the policy of control and inspection of the Ministry of Education over the Arab education system in general and on language education in particular, the dominance of Hebrew, and the definition and perception of Israel as a Jewish State were examined, together with their influence on language education and learning achievements. A comprehensive examination was made of Arabic, Hebrew and English. Also examined was the teaching of French in a number of community schools.

The principal questions focused on are:

1. What are the characteristics of Arab language education in Israel? What are the principal factors which fashion it?
2. What are the considerations which guide those who make decisions in the forming of the language education policy (E.g., formulation of goals, choice of learning materials, etc.) among the Arab population?
3. Why are the achievements of the Arab students in language education so low? What are the principal and secondary factors that bring about these results?
4. What status does the Arabic language have in Israel? What significance does this have for language education?
5. What issues are on the agenda and what are the problems which hinder the progress of language teaching? How can Arab language education be improved?

Since the subject of the research is complex and covers a broad area, we have used a number of research methods in order to gather the relevant data. These include:

1. *Examining teaching programs.* We examined study programs in the three main languages which are taught in the Arab schools. We made a comparison between the new programs and earlier ones.
2. *Examination of textbooks in the three principal languages.* We looked at contents, structure and style of earlier readers compared with those used now.
3. *Conducting interviews.* We interviewed the inspectors of the three principal languages and language teachers in elementary, junior high and high schools. The interviews examined the declared goals of the language education from the point of view of the planning level (the decision makers), the teachers' implementation, the current problems and possible solutions.
4. *Questionnaires.* We surveyed the attitudes and perceptions of high school and college students about the various languages and their speakers, and also the degree of fluency of the students in the languages, the way the language is used and interest in the communications media. The sample included 999 Arabs from all significant geographical areas in Israel: the Little Triangle, Galilee and Haifa District, the Negev, mixed cities, and Druze villages.
5. *Archives:* Since there is not much published literature on the subject, we used archives such as the Beit Berl Archives, and the State Archives in

Jerusalem. From this material we attempted to reconstruct the policy of teaching languages to Arabs before the establishment of Israel. The archives provided data about the debates between educators from both Arab and Jewish communities regarding the teaching programs and learning materials, and especially the decision on the matter of teaching Hebrew to Arabs.

The importance of the research reported in this book is not just theoretical but also practical. The proposed research is a pioneer study and the first of its kind in Israel both qualitatively and quantitatively. Comprehensive studies of the subject have not yet been carried out. The book comprises nine chapters:

Chapter 1 deals with the interfaces between language, identity, policy and education and their influence on language education among speakers of Arabic.

Chapter 2 describes and analyzes the sociopolitical circumstances over the last five decades which have influenced the shaping of Arab society in Israel. In order to understand the characteristics of this society and the collective identity of the Arabs in Israel we examine three interrelated issues: Israel and its policy towards the Arab minority, internal developments within Arab society and external developments and their effect on the Arabs in Israel.

In Chapter 3 we investigate the linguistic repertoire of the Arab population in Israel, with particular attention to sociolinguistic and political aspects of the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew.

Chapters 4-7 examine the policies teaching of Arabic, Hebrew, English and French in turn. We review the history of these languages from the Ottoman and British periods until today. Details are given on matters such as the number of teaching hours, reference books, evaluation and measurement.

Chapter 8 examines language attitudes and ideologies, making use of data gathered from students in high schools and in colleges from various regions in the country.

Chapter 9 gives a summary and conclusions.

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## Acknowledgements

We would like to seize this opportunity and thank those who contributed to the current study. First we would like to thank Professors Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy for their invaluable comments and suggestions on the first draft of the manuscript and their continuous encouragement. We also thank the anonymous reviewers whose useful and invaluable comments greatly contributed to improving the quality of the study. Special thanks are due to Professor Yasir Suleiman who revealed his identity as a reviewer; we found his fruitful comments and suggestions are extremely valuable for this study.

Special thanks are due to the hundreds of students, from various schools and colleges for answering the questionnaire patiently and honestly, and to teachers and headmasters of these schools who let us enter their schools with gracious hospitality and encouragement.

We would like to thank the two research assistants, Nihaya Marzouq and Amnah Mari, whose share in this book was greater than merely gathering data.

This is the place to acknowledge the assistance without which this book would have not been possible. The Research Committees at both Beit Berl College and Mofet Institute provided modest financial support to the project of “Language Education Policy in the Arab Sector in Israel.”

Last but not least, we would like to thank our wives Khitam and Amnah, who kept our spirits up through writing the whole book.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND POLICY

There is a close connection between language, identity and policy. Language is not only a means of communication but is also a system of signs and symbols. Language conveys content and at the same time is itself content. People transmit and express with their language not only thoughts, feelings, aspirations and expectations, but at the same time they express and define who they are and how they wish to be seen by others. To put it another way, language is not just a tool for transmitting values, norms and feelings, but is, in and of itself, a partner in this process. Language is an important means of socialization of the individual and the collective. Therefore, our view of language is broad, and we examine it as an open system which influences and is influenced by nonlinguistic factors. The use of one language or another can allude to differences which exist not only in the language but also in the social structure on the one hand, and our perception of others and ourselves on the other hand.

Spolsky and Shohamy (1999a: 41) propose a useful distinction between three things: language practices, language ideology and language policy.<sup>1</sup> Language practices are the actual use of the linguistic repertoire; that is to say the choices among language varieties and languages available to a community. Language ideology is expressed mainly in the perceptions concerning language and its use. Policy is the means by which the government or other public bodies seek to influence or to change elements in the language itself, in language use or in the

<sup>1</sup> The concept of language policy is relatively new. On its area and linkage to other areas see the finely detailed introduction by Spolsky and Shohamy (1999a). Spolsky and Shohamy examine the subject by using as a framework the question used by Cooper (1984) on the subject of language spread: "Who plans what for whom and why?"

status of a language. Language policy is thus the effort to change or influence language practices. Language policy tries to change the status of the language structure, its acquisition or its study within the country or its spread to other countries. Language policy can be expressed in official documents. For example, it could be anchored in the constitution, or in a language law, or in a government document or in an administrative regulation (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999b: 43).<sup>2</sup> In order to carry out the policy a body or several bodies are needed – whether it is the government, institutes, groups or individuals. In our case the Israeli establishment is the relevant and most influential body for setting language education policy in the Arab community in Israel.

There are various reasons for establishing a language policy. Spolsky and Shohamy (1999a: 52) say, “One seemingly simple approach to finding a rationale for a language policy might be to assert some absolute linguistic rights [of the various groups]...” Of course there are countries in the world which are more tolerant of diversity than others according to the point of view of the dominant group on the one hand and the point of view of the citizenry on the other. For example, Switzerland is a good example of a country which recognizes the language rights of four official languages (French, German, Italian and Romansh) which form the principal ethnic groups in the country. On the other hand, liberal France recognizes French as the only official language despite the fact that there are many groups living there who speak other languages (for example, the language of the periphery like Breton and Occitan and of the Arabic-speaking immigrants from North Africa who are citizens of France and who are estimated to number millions). Turkey is another example of a country which is seen by the world as oppressing the Kurdish people in all areas including language. The Kurdish population in Turkey is estimated to be about 15 million (almost 20% of the total population of Turkey) and their Kurdish language is not recognized as an official language in schools. From this we learn that language policy can express language ideology.

Another reason for a language policy is to enable access to information and to cultural knowledge. The study of English, and to a lesser extent, other world languages, is intended to provide access to knowledge, especially in technology and science.

An additional important reason for a language policy is economic. In the reality of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the economies of the world are connected to each other, and therefore there is motivation to learn the languages of countries economically powerful, especially English.<sup>3</sup> Language in this sense is perceived

<sup>2</sup> French is possibly the best example. See Ager (1999).

<sup>3</sup> Many studies show today the latent economic value in the fluency of immigrants in the language of their new country (for example: Arcand 1996; Chiswick and Miller 1994; Coulmas 1991).

as a national asset like the other assets and natural resources of the country (Brecht et al. 1995).

In addition to the reasons presented above, which are pragmatic and practical, there are reasons connected with symbols, or to be more exact, with identity. In this case the goal of the language policy is to gain greater prestige for the national language and to strengthen its linkage to the nation. In the case of liberation and nationalist movements, the flag and the language are the most useful symbols for emphasizing the linkage to the nation and the aspiration for independence (Fishman et al. 1968; Fishman et al. 1985).

Four examples will clarify this issue. After the defeat of Turkey in World War I, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk aspired to bring about far-reaching changes within the country in order to modernize it. The first aspects of the change were realized in language. First of all, the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Latin alphabet, sending a clear message of breaking with the East and joining the West. A second step was to purify Turkish from Arabic and Persian elements representing the Islamic world.

When the independence of Pakistan from India was decided in 1947, it was proclaimed that Urdu would be one of the main official languages of the country. In practice the linguistic differences between Urdu and Hindi were minimal. The Pakistanis use the Perso-Arabic alphabet and at the same time increased the use of Arabic and Persian elements in their language. In this way, a language change strengthened a political partition.

A third example is the Zionist Movement. Its motto was “Hebrew, speak Hebrew!” (Haramati, 1997). This expressed aspiration for a change from the old Diasporan identity. In this context Shohamy claims (1996, 250):

From the ideological point of view the Hebrew language fulfills a central function in the State of Israel as a result of its association with Zionism, the movement for the return of the Jews to their land and for the creation of a new and independent nation. With the return of the Jews to the Land of Israel, there was a strong movement for the revival of the Hebrew language and its establishment as a living language. The revival of the Hebrew language – its change from a written language which was used mainly for prayer, to a spoken language used in all areas of life – performed a central function in the creation of the new nation.

The final example is the Arab world. With the rise of national consciousness in the Arab world at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, two main language alternatives stood before the various states in the Arab world. One was that each country should raise its local vernacular into a standardized norm, and the other was to modernize the classical language. The first possibility signaled national separation and the development of new and different national entities. The second possibility would crystallize anew what was shared by the

Arab peoples (what was called Pan-Arabism). The second possibility won out over the first linguistically (Suleiman 1997), but the political issue remains open.

There is a close connection between the three components. The ideology of the state influences language ideology and thus language policy. In Israel, Jews are the dominant group. The definition and perception of Israel as a Jewish-Zionistic State finds expression in many areas of life, including language.<sup>4</sup> In the view of Shohamy (1996: 251) the language policy of the State of Israel is motivated more by ideology than by needs. Before the rise of the state, from an official point of view (on the level of policy) the three languages of Palestine were English, Arabic and Hebrew, listed in that order. In practice, Arabic was the most widespread, with English used for government and Hebrew used only within the Jewish community. After the establishment of Israel, the Jews sought to change the language dominance and practice. The first step that the new state took was the removing of English from the list of official languages. This theoretically left Hebrew and Arabic as the two official languages. However, as we will see later, Israeli law gives preference to Hebrew over Arabic.

## 2. THE LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY IN ISRAEL AND THE PLACE OF ARABIC

From the Arab conquest in the 7<sup>th</sup> century of the Common Era, Arabic became the dominant language in Palestine. At the same time other languages fulfilled important functions. In Ottoman Palestine Turkish was the official language of the government, and it was learned by local people who came in contact with the Turkish officials or who served as officials (Ayish et al. 1983). A not insignificant number of European languages (such as French, Italian, German, Russian, Greek) had a religious status and also other languages were studied in order to communicate with the Christian pilgrims (Gonzales, 1992). European missionaries set up schools in the large cities such as Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Nazareth and taught English, Italian, German, Spanish and Russian (Maoz, 1975). Multilingualism was especially common in these large cities. For example, in Jerusalem at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in addition to Arabic other languages used included Turkish, Greek, Yiddish, English, German, Latin and Aramaic. Many people, especially those living in cities, were bilingual or multilingual (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991).

The end of the Ottoman rule in Palestine in 1917 brought about far-reaching changes in all areas including language. The British Mandate<sup>5</sup> in Palestine

<sup>4</sup> This will be discussed at length in Chapter 2.

<sup>5</sup> Following the end of World War I, Palestine was placed for an interim period under the British Mandate, which formally began in 1922. The British Mandate was a turbulent

strengthened the status of Hebrew, by then established as the revived language of the Jewish community, and it became an official language alongside Arabic and English. In private schools Arabic, French and Italian were also taught.

During the British Mandatory period in Palestine English was the main language of government. However, in spite of the fact that the communities, Arab and Jewish, had separate school systems, there was language contact, generally with the Jews learning Arabic. English served both the Arab and Jewish communities as a language of wider communication.

However, after the establishment of Israel, the sociolinguistic landscape has changed tremendously. Spolsky and Shohamy (1999a: 5-6) describe in general the language practices in the Israel of today as follows:

Most Israelis understand and speak Hebrew. The exceptions are older Arabs and recent immigrants, and of course the tourists and foreign workers. Most Israeli Palestinian Arabs speak Arabic as their first language and use it at home and in their towns and villages, but they use Hebrew at work and in other settings. Recent immigrants still use their immigrant languages in the home and the immediate neighborhood. Many longer-settled immigrants speak their own languages occasionally in homes and the community settings. Code switching is common among all the groups. Among *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) Jews, Hasidim (members of sects, created originally in the late eighteenth century in Eastern Europe, who form tight enclaves around a prestigious religious leader or Rebbe) especially but also some Ashkenazim (Jews from Germany and Poland and their descendants) continue to use Yiddish in education and other settings. Tourists and foreign workers use their own languages and when they cannot use them or Hebrew, try English as a substitute. Most government business and economic life is conducted in Hebrew, except in some localities. Most schooling is conducted in Hebrew. The two exceptions are the Israeli schools in the Arab sector which use Arabic and the Hasidic *haredi* schools, which encourage their pupils to switch from Hebrew to Yiddish. Many people use English.

Hebrew is the dominant language in the country and Arabic is an important language only for the Arab minority and hardly plays any central role in the national public sphere. This was not the case before the establishment of the state. This change is correlated with the political and demographic change. The Jews became a majority and sovereign in the part of divided Palestine, and they sought to make the dominant identity of Israel, if not the sole one, a Jewish one, and Hebrew became a dominant language of the country.

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period marked by incessant violence between Palestinians and Jews both of whom opposed the Mandate. The Mandate on Palestine ended on May 15, 1948 and the establishment of Israel ensued.

Signs of this language change appeared half a century before the establishment of the State of Israel. The revival of Hebrew and its entrance into the arena was a major element in the change of the sociolinguistic landscape in Palestine. Its revival was connected with Jewish nationalists and the ideologues among them who sought to revive Hebrew language and identity in Palestine. This movement is known today as the Zionist Movement – a socialist and territorial movement – which strove to build the Jewish person anew. According to this perception, the new Hebrew person would speak Hebrew in the redeemed land (Har-Shav 1993). The revival of Hebrew was not easy or smooth, because it had to compete and battle against the dominant language of the Jews of the time, Yiddish. The battle between Hebrew and Yiddish began in Europe (Fishman 1991a, 1991b) and in Palestine (Pilowsky, 1985) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Hebrew came out of the struggle with the upper hand.

One can see the application of this ideology in practices of political authorities and individuals. Katz (1995) shows that in many cases the goal in naming of geographical sites was to strengthen the identity of the residents with the national symbols. In a study of the names of streets in 23 cities Bar-Gal (1989) shows that they are laden with ideology. These are the names of the Zionist fathers, military heroes, national poets, authors and famous rabbis. Stahl (1994) describes a policy of giving Hebrew names to new immigrants. This tendency has diminished since the 1980s. When Zionist ideology was stronger, personal names expressed ideals and aspirations such as *Eitan* (strong), *Geula* (salvation), *Tehiya* (revival). Later on, after the state was established and people wanted to express their affinity to the land, names were chosen such as *Tomer* (palm tree), *Vered* (rose) and *Zeev* (wolf).

Another subject which is worthy of attention is the Hebraization of place names. Since 1925 and until the establishment of the State there worked, alongside the Jewish National Fund, a “Committee for Settlement Names”, and it dealt with the giving of names to the new Jewish settlements. After the establishment of the State David Ben Gurion (July 7, 1949) set up the “Committee for Determining Names in the Negev”. This committee gave Hebrew names to places that for centuries had had Arabic names, some of them echoing Biblical or earlier place names. There are many examples (Ziv, 1998) such as: *Sha’ar Ha-Gai* (a translation of the Arabic name *Bab al-Wad*), *Nahal Poleg* (the Arabic name *Wadi al-Falk*), *Hamat Gader* (the Arabic name *Alhamma*), and so on. The institutionalization of settlement names continued in the territories occupied after 1967. The settlements that were set up next to Arab villages were given Hebrew versions of Arabic names. For example, next to the Arab village ‘*Anbata* in West Bank<sup>6</sup> was built the settlement ‘*Einav* and next to *Alhafsā* was built the settlement *Avnei Hefez*.

<sup>6</sup> The West Bank is the Western part of central Palestine has been known as the West Bank of the River Jordan since 1948 when it was annexed to Jordan following the 1948 War.

In order to realize the Jewish dream the Zionist Movement strove, among other things, to strengthen Hebrew as the Jewish language in the Jewish State.<sup>7</sup> Ben-Rafael (1994) suggests that in the first stage traditional Jewish multilingualism was replaced ideologically by Hebrew monolingualism. In the second stage (Fishman, 1977), in the 1970s, with the global spread of English a new type of Hebrew-English bilingualism began to develop.<sup>8</sup>

There are many Israelis today who are fearful of the threat of English to the hegemony of Hebrew in Israel. English gained users and uses in Israel in the 1970s just as in the rest of the world, a process referred to as the globalization of English. The need to use English increased over the years (Cooper, 1985). Today in the current Israeli reality English serves as the language of access to business, sciences, education and travel. In addition, English is one of the most important languages of Jews in the Diaspora (Spolsky 1996). It is sufficient to point out that in the Israeli education system 40% of English teachers are native speakers of the language, a situation that is unique in the world (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a: 3; 1999b).<sup>9</sup>

In Israel today Arabic does not pose a threat to Hebrew, and it is not perceived as such by the general public or among those who set policy. On the contrary, many complain about the low level of knowledge of Arabic among Jews, and would like the situation to change. Arabic in Israel is the language of an Arab minority, a minority which is marginal in all public spheres. According to Ben-Rafael (1994) Arabic in Israel is the language of the weak. Second, from its creation as a state, Israel has been in a state of war with the Arab states. The Arab-Israeli conflict raised fears concerning the very existence of the Jewish State and its Jewish identity. In a certain sense Arabic was perceived as the language of the enemy. This was reflected in the study of Arabic by Jews when

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Between 1948–1967 the West Bank formed a part of Jordan. Israel occupied the West Bank in the June War of 1967 till 1996 when Israel withdrew from Palestinian cities in 1996. Under the WYE Plantation Agreement of October 1998, Israel will withdraw from a further 13% of the West Bank. However, the future of the West Bank is clouded in the meanwhile by the continued political crisis in the aftermath of the second Palestinian Intifada.

<sup>7</sup> The UN Security Council Resolution No. 181 on November 29, 1947, called for the partition of Palestine and the establishment of two states, a Jewish State and an Arab State. The Jews agreed on this resolution but the Palestinians rejected it. Fighting ensued and by the end of the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, resulting in the defeat of the Arabs, the Jews established their Jewish State, called Israel, on more land than was allotted to it by the UN Resolution 181.

<sup>8</sup> In the legal field when various interpretations of a law are required in the three languages, Paragraph 32 of the law gives preference to Hebrew over Arabic and English.

<sup>9</sup> This apprehension is expressed by citizens who write letters to newspapers and express their fears, and of course the strong opposition of the Ministry of Education to make any serious reforms in the teaching of English whether by adding English class hours or by starting the teaching of English at a lower grade.



Arabic is emphasized as the language of security. Third, Arabic is the language of the Palestinian people of the West Bank and Gaza whom many Israelis associate with the Palestine National Movement which carried out violent acts to achieve its purposes (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999b). Despite the fact that security considerations play a central role in the perception of Arabic, these are not the only reasons for this image. Arabic in Israel has a low linguistic capital value. More than this, the Western cultural values, including the linguistic ones, are seen in a very positive light because of the perception of the country by many Jewish Israelis as a modern Western State. This can partially explain the very positive image of English and French in Israel (see Ben-Rafael, 1994).

What is the place of the Arabic language in the Hebrew State? As we have explained above, the most important focus in Zionist ideology was the creation of a new identity different from the Diaspora. In the new identity the Hebrew person will speak the Hebrew language and will work the Hebrew land. That is to say, by the change of identity a major change can occur in the person and in the land, when the revival of the Hebrew language (the person) and the values ascribed to Hebrew work (the land) constitute two principal motifs. Thus, the revival of the language constituted a vital component in the building of the new Jewish national identity. In the new Jewish identity, there is a place for only one language, Hebrew, and Arabs are outside the hegemony.

How is this situation reflected from the linguistic point of view? Paradoxically, the Hebrew State decided to remove English from the list of official languages and to leave Arabic in the list. The question is, why did the Jewish State, whose Zionist mission was to build a new Jewish identity in Israel with international legitimization, not cancel the status of Arabic as an official language? It is possible that such a step might have been accepted, though with protests from the local or international community at that time. One can suggest a number of speculations on the subject.

The new state had enough problems and challenges and did not want to be confronted with additional problems. There was a desire not to anger the world and not to give the international community justification for a claim that Zionism is a racist movement that wants, among other things, to eradicate the language of the local community. In the Jewish State there was no chance that Arabs, as non-Jews, would threaten the new hegemony. Furthermore, according to the Zionist-Jewish ideology it was in the interest of Israel to maintain the Arabic language as the language of the Arab minority in order to operate a clear distinction between the Jewish and the Arab people in Israel. For whatever reason Arabic remained an official language at least at the declarative level.<sup>10</sup>

Arabic today is the mother tongue and the main national language of the Arab citizens of Israel. Arabic is likewise a community language of a not insignificant percentage of Sephardic Jews. Arabic serves as the sole official

<sup>10</sup> For greater detail see below, Chapter 3.

language of the Arab countries neighboring Israel and benefits from a special prestige in the Islamic states. Arabic also enjoys special prestige in international organizations and in the world as one of the most spoken languages. Arabic in Israel is a unique case. It was the main language until the establishment of Israel and because of changing political circumstances became a secondary language. Despite Arabic being the second official language it is not a competing partner in a dyadic bilingual state according to the classification by Lambert (1999).

An examination of the *de facto* status of Arabic on the ground shows remarkable contradictions. Arabic is legally an official language. Is it so in reality? If Arabic is an official and legal language, then why do the courts in Israel ignore this fact? Why do they not rule for the benefit of the Arab petitioners that Arabic should be in practice an official language in public domains? On the other hand, English is not an official language, but paradoxically it is a quasi-official language. In almost every public sector one can find access to English. It is the language that every student in Israel studies as a required course. It appears in most of the signs before Arabic and the letters are larger. This leads us to examine in the next chapters whether the status and situation of Arabic in Israel is motivated by ideology, or practices or both practices and ideology.

Probably the most critical decision for Arabs and Arabic was the decision of the education committee of the Knesset to continue the British policy of allowing Arab schools to use Arabic as the language of instruction. The role of Arabic in the national public sphere is very limited, and the hegemony of Hebrew is almost total. Today when an Arab leaves his place of residence he is hardly able to function without Hebrew. Letting Arabic remain as the language of instruction is what has helped to keep Arabic in the Israeli sociolinguistic landscape as an important language, and the knowledge and use of Arabic is what has maintained more than anything else the national identity of the Arab in the Jewish State.

The perception of Arabic and its status as an additional language among the Jews of Israel points to a paradoxical fact. On one hand the status of the language is inferior and there are only minimal requirements to learn it, and on the other hand the study of Arabic is connected without doubt more than in any other area to the army and the intelligence service. That is to say, learning Arabic as a foreign language in Israel is to a certain extent influenced by the military needs of the state. More than once the military has given warning about the lack of graduates who are fluent in Arabic.

### 3. ARAB IDENTITY REPERTOIRE AND EDUCATION

This preliminary sketch of the linguistic hegemony of Hebrew and of the place of Arabic reveals the complexity of the Arab language situation and education in

Israel. Arab minority language education, the major concern of this study, is largely influenced by extra-linguistic factors. In the rest of this chapter we will attempt to identify and describe the uniqueness of Arab identity repertoire and education against Israel's ideology and policies.<sup>11</sup> Based on this we will launch our major assumptions concerning language education policies among the Arab Palestinian minority that will be tested in the next chapters.

After five decades of the existence of the State of Israel, the question of collective identity of various discrete groups, particularly the Arab minority, still plays a central role in Israel. It is likely that, today more than ever, we are facing a new period of defining the country's identity, as a result of the peace process with some of the Arab countries and the Palestinians. There is a growing awareness among the Arabs for achieving full egalitarian status with the Jewish majority, not only with regard to citizenship, but also on the national level. Add to this the need for certain circles among the Jews for reinforcement of and emphasis on Israeli identity as a way to bypass the inequities in certain sectors. In this new emerging reality the Arabs in Israel are struggling for that certain change in the country's identity which will result in a reasonable basis for creating a shared super-identity. Whether this is possible or not in the foreseeable future is a different matter. However, the certain fact is that the Arab identity repertoire is multiple, in which various identities play important roles, including the national, religious and civil.

The primary dilemma vis-a-vis the identity of the Arabs in Israel is between nationhood and nationality. Therefore, this issue of relations between the Jews and Arabs in Israel revolves around the fundamental problems relating to the identity of the State of Israel and the affinity of its citizenry with regard to self-identity (see, for instance, Lish, 1989; Kimmerling, 1993).

The identity of the Arabs in Israel has gone through many incarnations and far-reaching changes since the establishment of the country. This identity has been affected by many and varied factors, including some external to the community and some internal to it, deriving from economic and political changes Arab society has undergone since Israel was formed. These changes have resulted in a process of modernization and urbanization (Lehman-Wilzig, 1993) which contributed to the strengthening of certain components in their identity and weakening of others.

The various studies indicate changes in the order and significance of identities during different periods among the Arab minority in Israel.<sup>12</sup> This is briefly summarized as follows: During the first period, between 1948—1967,<sup>13</sup> most

<sup>11</sup> Chapter 2 provides greater details on the first source of explanations to language education, focusing on the political transformations of the Arab minority in Israel and their social reflections.

<sup>12</sup> For further details on identities by period, see Amara and Kabaha, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> This period is called by Amara (2000) "quest for security and accommodation."

studies establish that there was a delicate balance in the identity of the Arabs of Israel. This found expression in the development of systems for adapting and a desire to become part of the life of the country.<sup>14</sup> The Palestinian element in their individual and collective identity was extremely weak, due to the defeat during the war of 1948, the lack of political and cultural leadership, and as a result of the breaking of contact with the rest of the Palestinian people. While they were deep in the process of adapting to their new status as a minority, the process of coming to terms with the contradicting factors in their identity commenced, all the time hoping the condition was only temporary and fleeting. Arabs put emphasis on their Israeli identity more than any other. The reawakening of the Palestinian element in their identity began only after the Six-Day War<sup>15</sup> in 1967.

The second period is 1967—1973. As indicated by most studies, the Six-Day War – with the occupation of the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza Strip<sup>16</sup> and the military defeat of the Arab countries – amplified fear of Israel and hatred for it and strengthened identification with the Arab world. Renewed contact with the Palestinians of the occupied territories<sup>17</sup> put an end to the isolation and created direct contact with a population and leadership having a high sense of nationalist consciousness. These contacts awakened the Palestinian components in the identities of the Arabs in Israel, which connected, anew, with the consciousness of Palestinian suffering. During this period, strong emphasis was placed on pan-Arabism, the Palestinian component was reawakened, and the linkage to Israel and Israeli identity became looser.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Peres and Yuval-Davis (1969); Cohen (1989), Osacky-Lazar (1990), Bishara(1993).

<sup>15</sup> In April 1967 tensions increased between Syria and Israel. In May Egypt sent her army into Sinai to alleviate the pressure against Syria if a war erupted with Israel. The situation rapidly deteriorated with the evacuation of UN peacekeeping forces between Egypt and Israel and the closure of the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping. On June 5, 1967, Israel launched an air strike against the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian air forces. Then, in a blitz war, Israel occupied the West Bank including Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, the whole Sinai, and the Syrian Golan Heights.

<sup>16</sup> Gaza Strip is a narrow piece of coastal land on the south Mediterranean coast of Palestine. The Gaza Strip is 45 kilometers long and 5-12 kilometers wide. Its area is 365 **km<sup>2</sup>**. Following the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948, the Gaza Strip came under Egyptian rule from 1948 till 1967. From 1967 till 1994, the Gaza Strip was occupied by Israel. In July 1994, the PNA under PLO chairman Arafat was established first in Gaza Strip and Jericho following the Oslo 1993 Accords between Israel and the PLO. Gaza is the seat of the PNA and has been developing rapidly.

<sup>17</sup> This term refers to the lands occupied by Israel in the June War of 1967. These include Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Nowadays, the term Occupied Territories mainly refers to the West Bank and Gaza Strip which despite the Oslo Agreement of 1993 and the very recent Wye Plantation Agreement of October 24, 1998, are still mostly occupied by Israel.

<sup>18</sup> See Peres (1976); Reches (1981); Gabbai (1984); Shendahl (1989); Eisenstadt (1990).

The third period, from 1973 to the present, has been characterized by the salience of the Palestinian component and weakening of the Israeli and the Arab in their identities; or, more precisely, consolidation of the Palestinian identity as the most significant one in the repertoire of identities. This period, characterized by a reawakening of Islam, is reflected in the placement of great emphasis on the Islamic component in their identity; more than during any other period.<sup>19</sup>

What can be learned from the studies on the identity of the Arabs in Israel? On the basis of various studies, and in spite of the differing approaches of these studies, the main conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. Very few Arabs who are citizens of the State of Israel define themselves only as Israelis.
2. There is a constant growth in the tendency of the Arabs in Israel to describe their collective identity as Palestinian.
3. The national identity steadily remains central in private life.
4. Religious identity became a salient one.

With this brief background on the Arab identity repertoire in Israel, we need to examine the place of Arab education in Israel.

Education systems are not abstracted from socio-political realities within which they operate. They are affected by the educational and general policies and ideologies of the state on the one hand, and the identity repertoire of the various ethnic groups within the polity on the other. The state may use education systems for promoting acculturation or even assimilation, or on the contrary segregation and separation, depending on the state's ideology and policies. As Gavison contends (2000: 44): "In Israel, however, the educational system reflects the rifted nature of society, and in fact reinforces it." This rift is reflected in public as well as private education systems.<sup>20</sup> In the public education system, there are three branches: Arab, Jewish-general, and Jewish-religious. Arabic is the language of instruction in the Arab education system, whereas Hebrew is the one used in the Jewish branches of education.

Many researchers talk about three periods of the development of Arab education in Israel.<sup>21</sup> These periods reflect the educational and general policies of the state on the one hand, and the shaping of Arab identity and political awareness on the other. In the first period, from the establishment of the state until 1966, Arabs in Israel were under military rule- limiting their freedoms in all

<sup>19</sup> See Hoffman (1977); Tesler (1977); Lazerovitz (1978); Smootha (1992); Ramzi Suleiman (1983); Kimmerling (1993); Amara (1996).

<sup>20</sup> Private education is mainly of a religious nature in Israel. Among Jews, there is the *haredi* education system, financed by the state, but supervised by the *haredi* community. Arab private education is mainly Christian. They admit non-Christian Arabs, and these are different from other Arab public schools mainly in their language education policies. In addition to Arabic, Hebrew and English, they also teach European languages, mainly French.

<sup>21</sup> See for greater details Abu-Asba (1997).

domains of life- considering Arabs mainly as a potential security threat to the state, and all domains of their life were controlled by military rather than civil authorities. During this period there was no sensitivity to the special needs of the Arab minority in any components of education. On the other hand, the Arabs in this period were mainly preoccupied with their existence and survival in the State of Israel, and started to develop mechanisms for overcoming their psychological and political shocks following the Arab and Palestinian defeat in the 1948 war.<sup>22</sup> As a result, education was not the major concern of the Arabs in this period, and no serious initiatives, efforts or even pressures were practiced to influence the content of Arab education. The main model used by some researchers (e.g. Lustick, 1980) to describe this period is the "control model."<sup>23</sup> According to this model, all components of Arab education were politicized in order to control the Arab minority in Israel, and not allow them to become autonomous and act against the country. This was reflected in the contents of curricula of some subjects, e.g. history and civics, in order to educate for Israelization<sup>24</sup> rather than Arabization. According to this model, this was an attempt of de-Arabization (Al-Haj, 1996).

The second period is that of the 1970s and 1980s. The security issue was relaxed, and an Israel victorious in the Six-Day War with a flourishing economy was more confident in itself and its relationship with the Arab minority. Besides, the Arabs in general had been perceived by the establishment and the general Israeli public as non-militant and non-subversive towards Israel. At the same time major internal changes took place within the Arab community. Demographically, it became a considerable numerical minority, approximately fifth of the total population, and with increasing education in all stages, especially higher education, the emergence of young educated leadership, studying in Israeli universities and rejecting the methods and concepts used by the traditional leadership in dealing with the Israeli establishment, and the growing political awareness of their national identity. In this period, more attempts were made by the Arab population to look seriously into the Arab education system, considering their special needs and the content of their education. The Arabs in this stage paid most attention to education, considering

<sup>22</sup> 1948 War is the First Arab-Israeli War. Following UN Resolution 181 partitioning Palestine between the Jews and the Palestinians violence increased and the British withdrew from Palestine in May 1948. The Arab countries neighboring Palestine together with Iraq and Saudi Arabia sent their Armies to help the Palestinians in their war against the Jews. The war resulted in the defeat of the Arab armies. The Jews thus succeeded in establishing their Jewish State, Israel, on the major parts of Palestine.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Haj (1996) also uses this model to explain educational policies in the Arab society in Israel.

<sup>24</sup> Israelization is the moving towards integration into Israeli society, perceiving oneself as a citizen of Israel. The struggle is for a state of normal coexistence with civil rights and full equality.

it the major source for mobilizing the Arab minority. Arab leaders started exercising pressure on the establishment in order to engender considerable changes both in the education system and in the education content. This period witnessed considerable changes in comparison with the previous. The general goals of public education considered for the first time seriously the Arab needs and aspiration.<sup>25</sup> More efforts were made to bridge the gap in budgetary allocations and in achievements between the Jewish and Arab education systems. The focus was also on the quality of education received by Arab children. In this period considerable changes occurred in the content of education in the various subjects, but the Arabs believed that a lot of emphasis was put on Jewish themes and less attention was paid to Palestinian and religious issues related to the minority.

The third period is that of the 1990s. Until the 1980s the Israeli system was highly centralized, and almost all components of education were controlled by the Ministry of Education. This trend changed in the 1990s in a direction of increasing decentralization. This new policy, together with many Arabs occupying high positions in Arab education, was hoped to change the quality of Arab education and achieve equality with the Jewish education systems (Gavison, 2000: 46). In spite of this new policy, the major problems in the Arab education system remained. These may be summarized as follows: First, though major changes both qualitative and quantitative have occurred in the Arab education, the gap between the Arab and Jewish pupils is still sharp. Second, there are considerable problems related to issues of ideology, culture and narratives. The Arab education system operates within a country which is defined as a Jewish-Zionist State. This ideological fact is reflected in the curricula. Arab pupils are required to learn Hebrew, Jewish history, and Zionist literature, and to “celebrate”, for instance, Memorial Day and Independence Day. Jewish pupils on the other hand do not learn about Arab culture, Islam or Christianity (Gavison, 2000: 47).

#### 4. ASSUMPTIONS

How, then, is the unique situation of the Arab minority in Israel reflected in their language education? We may raise here the following assumptions.

1. Language education policies of the Arab minority in Israel are closely related to Israel's ideology and policies towards the Arab minority on

<sup>25</sup> In comparison, the goals in the pervious period ignored totally Arab needs. 1953 Public Education Law illustrates this well. Section 2 of this law defines the goals of public education in terms of loyalty to the Jewish people and its aspirations. The unique national existence of the Arabs is not treated at all.

the one hand, and the configuration of the Arab identity repertoire and Arab political awareness and activism on the other.

2. We expect to find two major language education policies in the Arab population: In the first period, the teaching of languages focused on technical issues, ignored the need to foster relation of language identity and culture of the Arab minority, as reflected mainly in Arabic education. The policies also aimed at promoting loyalty to Israeli identity and culture. In the second stage, starting in the seventies, teaching language was not only technical, but some connection with the Palestinian and Arab cultures and identities was made, and the Jewish themes were, for instance, reduced in Hebrew teaching.
3. However, though considerable changes and accomplishments occurred in the recent Arab language education policies, as reflected in educational goals, curricula and textbooks, we expect to find clear reflection of the tension and even some contradictions between the ideology of Israel as an ethnic nation-state (Zionistic-Jewish) with an ethnic democracy, and the place of the Palestinians in Israel, only recognized as an ethno-religious minority rather than a national one.

The next chapters will test these assumptions.



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## CHAPTER 2

### THE ARABS IN ISRAEL:

#### *Internal and Regional Developments*

The point of departure here is the impact of non-linguistic forces on Arab language education. A first source of explanation is the political transformations and their impacts on the Arabs in Israel. Language education policies will be understood against this background. In this chapter we will examine the socio-political circumstances over the last five decades which have influenced the Arab society in Israel. An understanding of the characteristics of Arab society in general and the collective identity of Arabs as citizens of the State of Israel in particular requires an examination of three related subjects: Israel and its policy towards the Arab minority, internal developments in the Arab society itself and regional developments and their influence on the Arabs in Israel.

#### 1. THE JEWISH STATE AND THE ARAB MINORITY

The Israeli-Arab/Palestinian conflict and the concept of the State of Israel and its definition as a Jewish-Zionist State constitute two important components that determine the character of the relations between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority in the State of Israel. These relations are wrapped in tension and persistent friction.

A concern for security resulting from the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict was decisive in setting the relations between the two peoples. The foundation laid after the establishment of the state was that, since the Arabs in Israel are a national minority belonging to the Arab world with which they identify emotionally and physically, they constitute a security risk to Israel. As long as no

solution to this conflict is found they will continue to be a security risk (Reiter, 1996). In the light of this conception, Arabs are perceived as citizens whose loyalty to the state is “questionable and a factor with a latent potential of danger to its Zionist character (in the best case) or to its very existence (in the worst case)” (Benziman & Mansur, 1992: 211).

Security arguments brought about the relief of Arabs<sup>1</sup> in Israel from the obligation to do military service and strengthened the notion of “conflict of loyalties” (Reiter, 1996) or “dual loyalty” (Landau, 1971). According to these assumptions the loyalty of Arabs in Israel leans more to the Arab people. Though the question of loyalty exempted the Arabs from serving in the Israeli Defense Forces, it at the same time justified the authorities in discriminating against them, for there are many benefits that are granted only to those who have served in the army. Arabs are not eligible for these benefits.

The security issue was not the factor which fixed the position and set the status of the Arabs in Israel, but it was an important support. An even more fundamental component is built into the definition of Israel as a Jewish State, as expressly declared in the Declaration of Independence. Many laws have been passed in order to strengthen the concept and definition of Israel as a State of the Jewish people.

Without doubt the intensive concern with the constant security problems prevented a deep and genuine discussion of the substance and identity of Israel, and relegated the relations between the minority and the majority into a secondary concern. Decision makers in Israel did not expressly set a policy to be taken towards the Arabs in Israel, neither for the medium range nor for the long range. Decisions were made under the pressure of events (Benziman & Mansur, 1992). But these events were isolated and scattered. Therefore there was no active pressure on decision makers to take a definitive stance on the subject. In general, solutions were *ad hoc*. For example, after strikes or violent demonstrations, and especially after the first Land Day in 1976,<sup>2</sup> decisions were taken concerning the expropriation of lands.

Landau (1993) points to this lack of a general policy. The government of the day postponed the confrontation with the problems of the minority because of the ongoing conflict and because of the increasing internal tensions among Jews. Nissan (1986) goes even further in his arguments and claims that the policy of the various governments in Israel bypassed “the Arab problem” and did not deal

<sup>1</sup> The exceptions are Druze Arabs whose service in the Israeli army is compulsory, and some Bedouin Arabs who serve on a voluntary basis.

<sup>2</sup> The Israeli policy of confiscating Arab Lands in the Galilee prompted the Palestinians in Israel to protest against this policy. On March 30, 1976 violent clashes took place between Palestinians in Israel and the Israeli police, following an official declaration that the government intends to confiscate Arab lands for establishing Jewish settlements. Six Palestinians were killed and several were wounded. This day came to be known as the Land Day, which is remembered and celebrated annually by the Palestinians in Israel.

with it directly. The main purpose in bypassing it was to reduce the points of friction with the population, and this, according to Nissan, even “necessarily reduces ‘the full and complete realization of Zionism’ as Ben-Gurion demanded in his time” (ibid. 164).

It should not be understood from what has been said above that no improvement has occurred or that changes have not been brought about in the situation of the Arabs in the State of Israel in the course of time. In the past decade in particular, a substantial change has occurred in the awareness of the leaders in Israel of the need to reduce the gaps between the minority and the majority. This has found expression in the change of policies and in the taking of tangible steps to reduce social and economic gaps.<sup>3</sup> The changes that were made were modest and limited to certain areas, and there has been no substantial change in the status of Arabs in Israel. Israeli Jews continue to take precedence over Arabs in the various areas of life.

Many researchers speak of the intensive processes of democratization that Israeli society has undergone and is undergoing constantly. When they speak of democratization, do they refer only to equality in concrete material things (such as financial allocations and economic resources)? Or to broader principal requirements such as symbols? A state which defines itself as the state of a single ethnic group surely violates the basic principles of democracy and equality for all, as is reflected openly in the exclusive immigration laws (e.g. the Law of Return) and the goals for use of the country’s land. Equality would seem to be impossible in principle as long as the State does not modify its character as a Jewish State.

Israel is not the only country in the world that has a conflict like this, but the security problem adds uniqueness to the case. In this context Rouhana says (1997: 56) “When strict security measures are to be taken by any state, it is likely that some of the measures will violate democratic values and the rule of law.” Israel used military government<sup>4</sup> law as a means to control the Arab population (Lustick, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> A number of examples can give an indication of the changes which have occurred: The interruption of the expropriation of lands (mainly in the Little Triangle and in the Galilee); relaxation of the legitimacy of many buildings built illegally; decrease in the gaps between local authorities; cancellation of the discrimination against Arabs in children’s allowances; integration of Arab academics in the government service; allocation of budgets in a meaningful way for education and health, roads, building and housing; establishment of funds for prizes granted to Arab writers for creativity and the awarding of the Israel Prize to Arabs. On the political level the Arabs served as a key bloc in Rabin’s second term of office, and political agreements were even signed with the two Arab parties.

<sup>4</sup> Israeli Military Government (1948-1966) was assigned to base the land area of Israel in the territories that had an Arab majority in the years 1948-1949, to thwart the possibility that local Arabs would assist military activity prompted by the neighboring Arab states, to

Security provided an excuse for many things. One was expropriation of Arab land, and the eviction of villages and towns of all their people. Another is discrimination against Arabs in the allocation of resources and payments such as National Insurance for children (until recently) and tuition in institutions of higher education.

## 2. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

Having examined central matters in the policy of Israel towards the Arab minority, we will examine the internal developments that occurred in the Arab population itself. Changes occurred mainly in three areas: demography, socio-economy and education. We will attempt in the following to show how Israeli policy influenced the developments in these areas.

### *2.1 Demography*

On 29 November 1947 the United Nations Assembly decided to divide Mandatory Palestine into two states: one Jewish and the other, Arab. The population within the boundaries of the designated Jewish State was estimated at 866,000: 514,000 Jews and almost 352,000 Arabs. Towards the end of 1947 in Mandatory Palestine there were 1,970,000 people, two thirds Arab and one third Jewish (Cohen 1948; Gilbert 1989; Kaiman 1984).

With the intensity of battles between the Jews on one side and the Palestinians and Arab armies on the other, many Palestinians were driven out or escaped with their lives from their homes, a large part to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the rest to neighboring Arab countries, mainly Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (Nazzal et. al, 1974).

Jewish policy was a major contributor to the fleeing of the Palestinian population (Morris, 1991). Towards the end of the war of 1948 only 156,000 Palestinians remained in the Jewish State (Al-Haj & Rosenfeld 1990). Those who stayed were for the most part villagers. Some 80% lived in villages in three principal areas: Galilee, the Little Triangle<sup>5</sup> and the Negev (Kanaana 1975). As a result of the 1948 war the urban Palestinian population had (about 200,000)

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oversee the movements of Arabs in sensitive regions, to restrain any hostile nationalist Arab organization, and to see to the rapid and effective punishment of security offenders.

<sup>5</sup> The Little Triangle is a geographic term and reality that was coined only after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. It is located between the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Coast region. In the cease-fire of Rhodes Agreement, Jordan handed over the area to Israel. Its borders were dictated by military events and political agreements. The population of the Little Triangle is about 200,000, about 20% of the total population of Palestinians in Israel.

almost disappeared and only 6% remained (Lustick, 1980). In addition, about 20% became “internal refugees”<sup>6</sup> after they were forced by Israeli authorities to move to other settlements in Israel because of the destruction of their villages during and after the war (Al-Haj 1988a). Evacuees were not permitted to return because their villages and towns were taken over by Jewish settlers (Ozacky-Lazar 1993).<sup>7</sup> Mustafa Kabaha and Barazilai (1996) report that the third generation of internal refugees is integrating well in the new places of living, despite the fact that they express a desire to return to their original villages.

In addition to this Israel has confiscated much land from the Palestinians since the establishment of the state, and especially in the 1950s. This influenced the employment structure of the Palestinians, as we shall discuss below.

Except for the results of the war and the confiscation of the lands of the Palestinians in Israel, especially in the 1950s, particularly in the Little Triangle and Galilee, the Arabs in those regions in Israel have not undergone any drastic demographic changes since then. However, considerable changes are occurring in the demography of the Bedouins in the Negev. Continuing a policy that began in Ottoman times of moving Bedouin from nomadic to sedentary living, Israel has expropriated lands that belong to them in an attempt to settle them in permanent settlements (Alafenish 1987; Falah, 1989). The struggle between the Bedouins and the government continues to this day.

The Arabs in Israel constitute 16 percent of the total population, numbering approximately 1,038,400<sup>8</sup> (Israeli Statistical Almanac, 1999). The increase in the population is a result of the birth rate, which was on the average 4.4% per year from 1948 to 1988 (Israeli Statistical Almanac, 1989: 39). Beginning with the 1960s until today there has been a gradual and continuing decline in the birth

<sup>6</sup> These are Palestinians who remained in Israel and were forced by Israeli authorities to move to new settlements in Israel since most of their villages were demolished during and immediately after the war, or the Israeli authorities evacuated them for security considerations and promised to allow them to return back. However, the evacuees were not allowed to come back, since their settlements were occupied by Israeli Jewish settlers.

<sup>7</sup> The well-known cases are the villages Ikrit and Bar'am. These villages, next to the Lebanese border, were evacuated in the middle of the 1948 war by the Israeli army. The Israeli authorities promised to let them return when the war was over. However, until today the villagers have not been permitted to return, and for about 50 years they have been waging a public and legal struggle for their return to their villages, but so far in vain.

<sup>8</sup> In Israeli statistics East Jerusalem is included as part of the Arab population in the State of Israel. The Arab population of East Jerusalem, which includes the Old City and the inhabited areas outside it, numbers 180,00 people. East Jerusalem is not included in describing Arab language education, not only for political reasons, but because linguistically and in terms of language education it has more to do with the West Bank than the Arabs in Israel.

rate as a result of family planning (Al-Haj 1987b). The highest birth rate is among Muslims, then the Druze, and lowest among Christians.<sup>9</sup>

The high population increase among the Palestinians in Israel is a direct result of the drastic decline in the death rate, especially infant mortality (Gilbert 1989). As a result of this, the Arab population is particularly young. In 1955 the average age was 17.4 among Muslims, 17.2 among the Druze, and 20.8 among the Christians. In comparison, the average age among the Jewish population was 25.8. In 1990 the average changed among the Christians but was preserved among Muslims and Druze (Muslims 17.6, Druze 18.8, Christians 26.1) (Al-Haj, 1996).

Associated with the rise in the young age group was an increase in the percentage of children of school age. About 38% of the Arab population are children aged 5-19 who are going to school, in comparison with 28% among Jews (Al-Haj, 1996: 17). If we add to the above data the children aged 3-4 who attend pre-kindergarten nurseries, a non-formal school framework, which constitutes about 12% of the general Arab population, we find that 50% of the Arab population are of school age.

After 1948 the Palestinian minority was different in almost everything from the Jewish majority— language, religion, nationality, orientations, feelings and aspirations. They could not and did not want to assimilate into the Jewish majority. From this point of view, they are different from other minorities (such as the Italians in the United States, or the Welsh in Britain), who tend to integrate into the broad community while preserving their particular identity. Even if the Arabs wanted to assimilate, it would be impossible because of the definition of Israel and its perception as a Jewish State. That is to say, there is no common supra-identity for Jews and Arabs. In addition, the Palestinian minority is tied to the Arab world by family, cultural, linguistic, historical, religious and national relationships. More than this, Israel has been involved in wars with Arab countries. This conflict does not contribute to the creation of normal relations between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority.

In recent years peace agreements have been signed with Egypt in 1979 and with Jordan in 1994, and intermediate agreements with the Palestinians in Oslo<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For example, in 1990 the birth rate among Muslims was 4.7; among the Druze 4.05; and among the Christians 2.57. For comparison, the birth rate among Jews was 2.31 (Israeli Statistical Almanac, 1991: 130).

<sup>10</sup> The Oslo Agreement is also known as “The Declaration of Principles”. This is the first official written agreement between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, signed in Washington between the parties on September 13, 1993. This is an interim agreement whose main purpose is to create trust between Israelis and Palestinians and pave the road for negotiations in an attempt to reach a final peace agreement on disputed issues such as the Palestinian refugees, the Palestinian State, and the future of Jerusalem. According to the agreement, Palestinians will self-rule the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

A in 1993, in Oslo B in 1995, and in Wye in 1998. Despite these agreements, Israel is still in a state of war with most of the Arab states, and the relations with Egypt and Jordan are not normal in the full meaning of the term because of the disagreement concerning the future of the settlements in the West Bank and Jerusalem. The Arabs in Israel are a sociological minority because of the fact that they are not represented in the political, economic and military elites in accordance with their percentage in the population. They therefore feel discriminated against in comparison with the dominant Jewish majority. The Arabs are a heterogeneous minority, with 77% Muslims, 13% Christian and 10% Druze. The Bedouins are considered a separate group, who lead a unique way of life despite the fact that they are Palestinians in their nationality and Muslim in their religion (Neuberger 1991).

Another division of the Arab population focuses on their dwelling. The basic distinction is traditionally between urban, rural and nomadic. The urban population constitutes 35% of the Palestinian population in Israel and is divided into residents of Arab cities (e.g., Nazareth, Shefaram, Um el-Fahm, Taybeh, Tirah, Sakhnin, Tamra, and Baaqa el-Ghrabiya) and mixed Arab-Jewish cities (such as: Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Haifa, Lydda, and Ramla). Another division is from a demographic point of view: most of the Palestinian population lives in the Galilee and the Haifa region (73.1%), in the Center and Tel Aviv area (13.2%), in the South (11.3%), and in the environs of Jerusalem (1.7%) (Israeli Statistical Almanac, 1998). All the population of the Little Triangle and the Negev are Muslims. On the other hand, in the Galilee Muslims, Christians and Druze live together (Neuberger 1991; Yiftachel 1993).

In sum, the demography of the Palestinians in Israel was immediately influenced by the political changes after the establishment of the State of Israel. First, many were forced by Israeli authorities to leave their villages, and become what we called 'internal refugees' in other villages and cities. Second, the enormous confiscation of land by Israeli authorities turned many Palestinians in Israel to workers in the Jewish sector. Third, Palestinians in Israel live mainly in villages. Most of the villages are nowadays semi-urban centers. However, major changes are taking place among the Bedouins in the Negev, Israeli authorities confiscate their land in an attempt to settle them in permanent villages and towns. Many Bedouins live in such places of living nowadays.

## *2.2 Socio-Economic Reflections*

Political and demographic changes among the Palestinians in Israel have been associated with considerable economic changes. The Israeli policy of

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expropriating lands caused the loss of agricultural lands,<sup>11</sup> and many Palestinians moved from being peasants to being paid workers in Jewish-owned agriculture or industry. Gradually the Palestinians became dependent on the Jewish economy (Rosenfeld, 1978).

The expropriation of most of the agricultural lands along with other economic and social processes brought about drastic changes in the Arab economy in Israel that led to the absolute dependency of the Arabs on the Jewish economy. Table 2.1 below describes the transformation in professions according to the category of employment:

*Table 2.1. Professions of Palestinians in Israel  
above age 14, 1967-1994, in percentages.<sup>12</sup>*

<i>Category of Employment</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1973</i>	<i>1994</i>
Agriculture, manufacture, fishing	41.2	17.4	4.3
Industry, labor, sales	15.7	15.2	23.3
Construction	15.6	25.5	19.4
Electricity, water, sanitary services	2.2	0.7	0.5
Commerce, banking, insurance	8.2	14.8	13.6
Transport and storage	5.6	6.5	5.3
Public and community services	8.3	15.3	25.1
Private services and recreation	3.2	4.6	8.5
Total	100	100	100

The above table indicates the great change that occurred in the Arab economy, the transfer from agricultural work to paid jobs in the Israeli economy. Ben-Porat (1966: 41) comments on this: "One of the interesting changes in Arab employment structure is the integration of Arabs into the Israeli economy and the relative decrease in the importance of the Arab sector as an employer of the labor force."

The Arab worker came in at the bottom of the labor force hierarchy: He was employed in services, construction, random unskilled jobs, and in industry (Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov, 1986: 350). From an economic point of view, the

<sup>11</sup> Private lands which were owned by Arabs during the British Mandate were reduced to a third as a result of the expropriations (Abu-Kishk, 1981). Most of the lands were expropriated in the first ten years of the State of Israel because of the rigid control of the military rule over them. In addition, the government passed laws and manipulated laws and regulations from the British Mandate period or even Ottoman laws in order to expropriate Arab lands. One of the laws, called "the law of absentee property", passed in 1950, allowed the expropriation of lands of Palestinian refugees, and those who remained in Israel were known as "present-absentees" (Cohen, 1989).

<sup>12</sup> The data for the years 1967 and 1973 in the table are based on Harari (1974: 19). The data for 1994 were taken for the Statistical Almanac of Israel 1995, No.46, Tables 12.11 and Table 12.20 (see also Faris, 1996).

Arab minority was considered an undeveloped group (Ben-Shahar et al., 1972: 11), and individual income was very low.

Over the course of the years no local economic base developed in the Arab sector that would serve as a substitute for agriculture. In 1988 it was reported that there were 400 manufacturing units, most of them at a low technological level. Most of these manufacturing units were small factories (such as textile plants or hardware stores), all of them employing 6% of the Arab work force (Jubran, 1988: 30).

In the estimate of Al-Haj (1996: 20):

These changes were limited to the personal-local area and found no similar expression in the nationwide collective-institutional area. Education is considered one of the principal achievements of the Arab citizens, and yet the return of education was relatively low. The Arab intelligentsia was not absorbed in the senior government positions nor in the private Jewish sector.

Despite the relative upward mobility in the Israeli labor market, the gap between the Arab and Jewish populations was deep (Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov 1986). The Arabs became dependent on the Jewish majority that dominated the economy and the array of national opportunities (Rosenfeld, 1978).

As in demography and economy, the political changes were reflected also in the social structure. Two principal processes are going on among the Palestinians in Israel: Modernization and changes in family patterns.

The contact with the Jewish population, which is the most important agent for modernization of the Palestinians in Israel, has become stronger over the years. At the same time Palestinians are going through a process of developing Arabic-Hebrew bilingualism and biculturalism (familiarity with the Jewish culture). This process is connected with the exposure to the mass media both in Arabic (from the Arab world) and Hebrew (Smootha 1989; Al-Haj, 1996: 25).

This individual modernization has brought a revolution in private needs and in the private sector, though in general no substantial change has occurred in political and social institutions. These have remained highly conservative, which has not contributed to the integration of the Arabs in the life of the state.

The outstanding change has been revealed in the patterns of Arab family life. The shift from peasantry to work in the general labor market has brought about a weakening of the extended family, privacy (in the nuclear family) has become stronger and patriarchal rule has been weakened (Al-Haj, 1996: 23-25). A few decades ago the influence of the Hamula<sup>13</sup> and the extended families<sup>14</sup> on their

<sup>13</sup> Families connected by a common ancestor and having the same family name.

<sup>14</sup> Extended families include at least three generations in the same household, and they are: the family head, his wife, children, unmarried members, married sons and their wives.

members was great in all areas of life. The normal pattern of marriage, for example, was with a cousin (son of the brother on the father's side).<sup>15</sup> The Hamula and the extended families also played an important role in politics. The Hamula supported its members in a family list for local councils or committees (Al-Haj 1984), and in many cases the members followed the Hamula leader in elections to the Knesset. In short, the Hamula and the extended families had a powerful control over its members from a social, economic (especially in the extended family) and political point of view. Any step initiated by a member of the family was in coordination with the extended family, and in certain cases with the Hamula.

Political and economic factors (Al-Haj 1987a; Ginat 1980; Rosenfeld 1964, 1968) brought about the weakening of the Hamulas and extended families and at the same time strengthened the nuclear families. A number of researchers point out that the preference for a cousin in marriage disappeared as a first choice (Ginat 1978; Daher 1977). One of the results of the contact with the Israeli society was Arab-Jewish marriages, and very often an Arab man gets married with a Jewish woman.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, we find rapid changes that occurred in politics. For example, everyone chose to vote according to his or her inclination without consulting with the Hamula leader.

The economic change also brought about considerable changes in the class differences in the Arab population. As Al-Haj (1996: 21) explains:

The transfer of the economic dependency center from the local to the national level meant a diminution of the class structure of the Arab population including a blurring of the class differences between the Hamulas and within them. As a result, Hamulas whose importance in the past was minor because of their inferior economic status are starting today to compete for control of the local centers of power.

From this we see that the economic situation changed the hierarchical structure of the society. The socio-economic status of the individual was weakened and in its place the "achievement factor" became more important (Rosenfeld, 1980).

Arab society in Israel also went through a broad process of politicization, connected to a deep change in the identity repertoire, from a traditional local identity (village and Hamula) to a national identity (Palestinian and Arab). People became more aware of their status and their being a national minority in Israel (Mi'ari 1987; Amara & Kabaha 1996). In many places the traditional

<sup>15</sup> A considerable number of studies confirmed that the cousin (son of the brother) had the moral right to marry the cousin (daughter of the brother on the father's side) (See Balensperger 1900; Granqvist 1931; Patai 1955).

<sup>16</sup> In Ginat's estimate (1978) 406 instances of mixed marriage occurred between the years 1948 and 1974.

leadership was replaced by a young and educated leadership (Rouhana 1989; Al-Haj 1996).

The social change strengthened the aspiration for socio-economic mobility (Al-Haj 1996). However, ethnic stratification in Israel places limits on the mobility of the Arabs in Israel (Lewin-Epstein & Semyonov 1986). This can be explained mainly by the concept of Israel as a Jewish State, which gives preference to Jews over others. Despite the fact that over the years there has been an increase in the standard of living of the Arabs, this has not brought a closing of the gap between the Arab population and the Jewish one. The gap between the two communities has not disappeared in any area of life (Al-Haj & Rosenfeld 1990; Haider 1991). Arabs have not been widely accepted into the existing national institutions, whether for security or other reasons.

### *2.3 Education as an Agent for Change*

There are differences of opinion among scholars about the influence of formal education on social change in developing societies. There are those who emphasize the important role of education in the penetration of modern values and new ideas concerning the individual (Anderson, 1966; Armer & Youtz, 1971; Inkeles and Smith, 1974). Others claim that the influence of education is marginal and that it can even be an obstacle to change and development. For example, Leschinsky (1988) points to the conservatism of the formal education system. He claims that dominant groups use the education system as a tool to rule over material and cultural resources. Apple (1988) agrees, seeing the goals and content of the education system as the result of a continuing struggle within and among dominant and secondary groups. He points out that education creates manpower which is characterized by hierarchical organization, based on the interests of the dominant groups. Hornstein (1985) says that education strives for conformity and preservation of the social order and the socio-economic status quo. Meyer (1977) claims that the schools are important agents for legitimizing the ruling group. A ruling group has a strong interest in controlling the schools and the study programs.

In this section we will examine the education system among the Arabs in Israel. We will start from the assumption that there is a mutual influence between formal education and the society that an education system serves. The society has influence on the type of education system, and in a parallel way the education system aids in preserving the existing social systems. Any change in one of the systems will be directly reflected in the other.

Benor, the supervisor of Arab education in Israel in the 1950's set out the policy towards Arab education (Benor, 1951: 8).

When we began to organize the Arab education we set for ourselves three rules: A. We must give to the Arabs all that is due them as citizens with

equal rights; B. We must cancel or reduce as much as possible the differences, and first and foremost the artificial differences, between the Arab education and the Hebrew education and to move the Arab school on to the course of the Hebrew school; C. State security comes before everything else.

When we examine the educational doctrine of Benor fifty years after the establishment of the state, we see that equality has not been realized, the gap remains sharp between the Jewish and Arab education systems, and security still serves as an excuse, though to a lesser extent, for the lack of resources of Arab education.

The Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for all government schools in Israel. It approves textbooks and reference books and pays teachers' salaries. The laws of the state and the regulations of the Ministry of Education apply also to the Arab sector, which is managed according to the model of the Jewish education system, with no formal separation between the two (Gazal & Elazar, 1993). However, even though there is no official policy of separation between Jews and Arabs, geographical, communal and religious differences prevent any real union. In education there are many reasons for perpetuating the separation. During the period of the British Mandate the Arabs and Jews lived in separate villages and towns, and the separation strengthened the ethnic, religious and cultural differences existing between them, and gave preference to setting up separate schools (Reshef & Dror, 1999).<sup>17</sup> The laws of the country do not distinguish between Jewish children and Arab children with respect to attending educational institutions, but the language of instruction preserves the separation between them. Jewish children attend schools in which the language of instruction is Hebrew, and Arab children study in educational institutions in which the language of instruction is Arabic (Avidor, 1958: 30).<sup>18</sup> Sarsur (1985) suggests that the democratic approach of the Israeli government shows sensitivity to the special needs of the Arab minority. This claim is not convincing. The separation is the simplest solution in a complicated reality. Undoubtedly there were objective difficulties that the policy designers did not know how to contend with. If, for example, there were common schools, which language would be the language of instruction in these schools? If they chose Hebrew, would the Arabs accept it? Would this be considered discrimination?

<sup>17</sup> All the attempts of the British government to set up common schools for Arabs and Jews using the English language failed because of the opposition by both populations. "Even the attempt to set up a government Hebrew high school was severely opposed, and thus towards the end of 1931 an Arab agricultural school was set up in Tulkarm and a parallel Jewish one near Kefar Tavor" (Reshef & Dror, 1999: 153)

<sup>18</sup> It should be pointed out that there are three distinct educational systems controlling Jewish schools: a general secular system, a government-religious system, and an independent ultra-Orthodox system.

There are a few private Arab schools, most of them connected to churches, which receive some government support.<sup>19</sup> Private schools contributed to the revitalization of Literary Arabic during the Ottoman period (Al-Husri (1946). In all periods (during the Ottoman period, the British Mandate, and in Israel) private schools ran multilingual education: Arabic language as a mother tongue, the language of the regime (e.g. Turkish in the Ottoman period, English during the British Mandate, and today they teach Hebrew), English, and the language of the country which sponsors the school.

The budget for the Arab sector is not independent, and their funding comes from the various branches of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Gazal & Elazar, 1993; Sarsur, 1985). Until the 1960's the Arab schools received less support than the Jewish ones. Arabs were not included in the special programs for education development (Shprinzak et al., 1991).

When the state was established, the education system in the Arab sector lagged behind the Jewish system in all areas, and this gap has been maintained over the years. Only compulsory kindergartens are supported by government funds; nurseries and pre-compulsory kindergartens depend on fees or support of private bodies. While two-thirds of Jewish two-year old children go to nursery school, very few Arab children do. Only 20% of 3-year olds go to pre-compulsory kindergartens, in contrast to 92% in the Jewish sector. Only 40% of Arabs go to kindergartens, while 99% in the Jewish sector do (Al-Haj, 1991: 50).

The differences between the two sectors are salient in the field of special education. In 1981, 3.9% in Jewish schools enjoyed this special education, while only 2% received this education in the Arab schools (Shprinzak et al, 1991). The Arab children who suffer from social and psychological problems receive very limited professional assistance. Only 1.4% of all the educational psychologists (6 out of 424) work in Arab schools (Report of the State Comptroller, 1992).

At the same time, there was a qualitative and quantitative progress in the Arab education system, such as, for example, in curricula, in textbooks, in educational television, and in the increase of the level of services in the schools. However, in comparison to the Jewish sector, the Arab sector still lags behind (Follow-up Report of the Committee for Arab Education, 1992). The report of the State Comptroller in 1992 points out the clear discrimination between the two sectors. The report notes the inequality in budget allocations: While the Ministry of Education invests 308 shekels for each Jewish child, it invests only 168 shekels for each Arab child.

<sup>19</sup> Al-Haj explains (1996) that the establishment of the State of Israel caused a sharp drop in the status of private schools among the Arabs. A number of reasons contributed to this: 1. The sudden drop in the number of urban Arab residents. 2. The nullification of the Muslim Waqf as an independent institution. 3. The decline in European involvement in running Christian schools.

According to this report there exist inequality and systematic gaps in elementary and high school education. There is a shortage of classrooms, textbooks, reference works in the scientific courses, and also a shortage of teaching hours, mainly in Arabic language and literature and in Islamic and cultural studies in the elementary schools. The high rate of Arab dropouts presents a serious problem. A fifth of Arab students drop out before they reach 8<sup>th</sup> grade (*Ha'aretz*, 13.7.92). Only 64% finish high school in comparison with 82% in the Jewish sector (Report of the State Comptroller 1992).

Another facet of the asymmetry between the two sectors is expressed in the formulation of the Arab and Jewish educational goals,<sup>20</sup> which are reflected in specific subjects which are linked to the shaping of identity, culture, and the orientation of the students such as in the history courses, the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew, and religion. The social, educational, psychological and medical services in the Arab schools are very deficient. While the Jewish schools are offering a wide variety of activities in the areas of society, culture and education, the Arab schools offer only limited programs as part of the program of studies (Al-Haj, 1991: 66).

Differences also exist within the Arab education system. Geographically the Arabs live in three regions: the north, the Little Triangle and the south. The most difficult education situation is in the region of the south. One of the teachers who taught in the region described the education system in these words:

The environmental conditions are very difficult. The buildings are ramshackle; there is no electricity in most of the schools; the parents are indifferent; the students come to school without books, the level of achievements is inferior and some of the students do not know how to read and write. (Interviewee #1)<sup>21</sup>

To sum up, since 1948, quantitative and qualitative changes have occurred in the Arab education system in Israel. Literacy rose, the physical situation of the schools improved, more qualified teachers entered the system, teachers' salaries became equal to those in the Jewish system, different topics and tracks were offered to the pupils, and the level of educational achievement has improved. However, the Arab schools still lag behind the Jewish ones in all educational domains. The schools in the Arab sector have played a major role in the Westernization (and Israelization) of their pupils, but have left values for the maintenance of traditional values. These are not revolutionary institutions, but their very existence appears to have contributed to a revolution.

<sup>20</sup> The educational goals of the Arab sector are derived from the general educational goals legislated in 1953. These goals did not consider at all the feelings of the Arab students. There was a demand on the part of Arabs and Jews to dedicate specific goals for Arabs. Such an attempt was made in 1976, but there are still no clear goals for Arab education (Sarsur, 1985; Al-Haj, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> The interview was carried out in April 1998 by Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i.

### 3. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

In this section we will examine the most outstanding external developments which had an influence on the Arabs in Israel. Similarly, we will try to show to what extent the Arabs reacted to these developments and to the external events which had a connection with the policy of Israel on the one hand, and to the internal changes which occurred among them on the other hand.

After the establishment of the State the Arabs lived in Israel as an isolated minority, cut off physically, socially and culturally from the surrounding Arab world. This had an influence on Arab national and collective identity. The historical and political situation in which the Arab minority found itself made the formation of the ethnic identity of the individual a problem of balance between contradictory forces. On the one hand, Arabs in Israel remained emotionally attached to the Arab world, and on the other hand they became citizens of the State of Israel. This paradox was embedded in the heart of every Arab, who tried to deal with it in daily life.

One can divide developments into five periods:

#### *3.1 Pan-Arabism and the Concept of the Impermanence of Israel (1948 to 1967)*

To start with, Palestinians, wherever they were, believed that the Palestinian problem was a general Arab problem. That is to say, they believed that the arrangements with Israel were temporary and that the Arabs would soon destroy the Jewish State and restore Arab sovereignty over Palestine.

For almost two decades Arabs in Israel saw in the Arab nationalist movement the main support in their war against the Israeli conqueror. All sides involved in the conflict during this period saw it as a national conflict between Jews and Arabs. Many Palestinians, like most of the rest of the Arabs, admired very much the president of Egypt, Gamal Abd el-Nasser, who was seen by them as an Arab nationalist leader.

However, despite the rise in Pan-Arabism during this period, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the rights of the Palestinians who left Palestine or who were expelled from it became the main focus of the Arab nationalist movement, and the attitude toward them was not translated, in practice, into a serious plan to absorb them in their states and rehabilitate them. Similarly, Arabs from Arab countries who met Arabs from Israel in various places displayed a cool and reserved attitude (Peres & Yuval-Davis, 1969). The Arabs' relationship, as citizens of Israel, to Arab countries was ambivalent, as it was to the State of Israel.



During this period Arabs in Israel looked for a way to adapt themselves to the new situation. Among them a messianic concept<sup>22</sup> developed which was shattered by political and military events. The Sinai War<sup>23</sup> 1956 undermined the messianic concept. The overwhelming victory of the Israel Defense Forces in this war strengthened among the Arabs in Israel the feeling that Israel was a very strong country. This reinforced a rational outlook, and the hope for the transience of the State of Israel weakened.

Ra'anan Cohen (1989) claims that up to 1967, especially after the Sinai War, there existed a delicate balance in the complex of loyalties of the Arabs in Israel. The Sinai War turned the State of Israel into an accomplished and unshakable fact, and it brought about a change in the conception and attitude of the Arab population. Yisraeli (1981) claimed that a process of Israelization had begun among the Arabs in Israel, partly out of despair. Ozacky-Lazar (1990) claims that since 1949 the Arabs in Israel have been struggling for a civil status in the State of Israel from various motives: realism, fear, acceptance of their situation, disappointment with Arab States and a desire to improve their position.

Bishara (1993) believes that the Arabs in Israel, as the defeated remnant of a defeated society, strove for security and not equality. Until the end of the military rule in 1966 most of the relations between the Arab population and the state existed through the General Security Services and the security branches. In his opinion the dual identity of the Arabs in Israel is a severe contradiction between their Palestinianism and their Israeli characteristics.

One can summarize this period as follows: The Palestinians in Israel were immersed in a national and psychological shock, and they were anxious to remain in their dwelling places; the absence of the leadership did not contribute to the uniting of the ranks; the rigid military rule which was placed on the population did not make it possible for them to reorganize; the hope that the Arab states would bring an end to the State of Israel, in other words, relying on an external factor, did not come true; their remaining in the Jewish State after its establishment was, among other things, dependent on their behavior: violent activity might bring about transfer as had happened before and after the establishment of the state.

<sup>22</sup> According this concept, the State of Israel is a temporary and transient phenomenon, and the immediate adaptation of the Arabs in Israel was perceived by them as temporary. On the other hand, the Jewish population developed expectations to the integration, or at least, accommodation or even acceptance of the Arabs to new situation in the country.

<sup>23</sup> Retaliating for guerrilla activities against Israel from Gaza, Israel joined England and France in a campaign against Egypt, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by the late president, Gamal Abd-el-Nasser, and occupied the Sinai in October 1956. With the intervention of the USSR and USA Israel was forced to evacuate Sinai in March 1957 and UN peace-keeping forces were placed at Sharm al-Sheikh and on the borders between Egypt and Israel.

### *3.2 The 1967 War and its Implications*

The Six-Day War, many argue, was a turning point in the relationship of the Arabs in Israel to the State and the establishment. This war accelerated the Palestinization<sup>24</sup> process. The removal of the barriers between them and the population of the occupied territories exposed Arabs in Israel to the influences of the Palestinian population, which had strong national awareness. The occupation of the territories and the military humiliation deepened the hatred of Israel and strengthened identification with the Arab world (Peres, 1976). The intensive and diverse contact with the population of the occupied territories awakened the “dormant” Palestinian component in the identity repertoire of the Arabs in Israel.

During this period there was an appearance of divided loyalty,<sup>25</sup> as defined by Landau (1971). On the one hand, Arabs in Israel recognized the existence of the State of Israel and benefited from some rights as citizens of the state, so that in the 1960s they began to integrate more than in the past. On the other hand, they faced a difficult dilemma concerning their loyalty to Israel, and their loyalty to their Arabism. After the War the feeling of alienation and internal conflict among Arabs in Israel increased. For the first time since the establishment of the state, they were confronted by concrete decisions on the question of loyalty. The Palestinian struggle was stepped up, the Arabs in Israel were asked by Palestinian organizations outside the country to give assistance to their members, to spy, to protest and demonstrate; encourage students to go on strike and to conduct nationalist campaigns in the schools and the universities (Landau, 1971).

### *3.3 Accelerated Palestinization (1973-1987)*

The October War<sup>26</sup> in 1973 caused a rise in the exaltation of the spirit and national pride among the Arabs in Israel (Lin, 1980) and created a dual value conception. On one side, the feeling of the Arabs in Israel of belonging to the Arab world increased, and on the other side, the feeling increased of alienation from Israeli society (Cohen, 1989). Arab countries proved for the first time that

<sup>24</sup> Unlike Israelization, Israeli Arabs identify with Palestinians in the territories not only in politics, but also in culture. In this view, the reunification of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Palestinians in Israel since 1969 has accelerated the Palestinization process and alienation of Israeli Arabs.

<sup>25</sup> The mourning processions that the Arabs in Israel arranged in the cities and villages in the Galilee and the Little Triangle after the death of the Egyptian president, Gamal Abd el Nasser in September 1970 exhibited the “divided loyalty” (Landau, 1971) and the complexity and contradiction in their collective identity.

<sup>26</sup> It broke out on October 6, 1973 when Egypt and Syria suddenly attacked Israel. This war was launched by the Arab forces in order to return the lands occupied by Israel in the Six-Day War.

they were capable of forming a united front against Israel. A belief in the victory of the Arab countries increased the self-confidence among the Arabs in Israel, and they began to understand that it was possible to defeat Israel.

The pride and the feeling of confidence of the Arab citizens of Israel as a result of the October War and the deepening of the Arab component in their identity began to weaken slowly when the Palestinization process accelerated among them because of the weakening of their linkage to Arab countries as a result of the ambivalent attitude to the Palestinian people and its national movement. This attitude was expressed in verbal support of the Palestinian cause on the one hand and in the suppression and murder of Palestinians on the other hand.<sup>27</sup> As a result of all the disappointment, Arabs in Israel felt more Palestinian than Arab.

This period is characterized by the strengthening of the Palestinian component, the weakening of the Israeli component and the reawakening of the Islamic identity as a strong component in the collective identity of the Arabs in Israel (Meyer 1988; Amara 1996).

Israeli sociologists (e.g. Lin, 1980; Eisenstadt, 1990; Kimmerling, 1993) are of the opinion that in the 1970s, especially following the first Land Day in 1976 a significant political change occurred in the positions of the Arabs in Israel towards the state as a result of the strengthening of the Palestinization process among them. The political change is reflected in the number of voters in the elections, in participation in political demonstrations, strikes, and protests, particularly in the universities. The change was expressed in the elections to the Knesset in 1977 and in the results of the elections to the local government, in which the New Communist Party amassed power. This change revolved around Palestinian identity and its possible political expressions alongside the great influence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).<sup>28</sup> The opposition of the Arabs to the State sharpened following daily meeting with the Arabs of the West Bank.

The Palestinization of the Arabs in Israel was reflected also in the establishment of national political organizations in the middle of 1970s. These organizations appeared in almost every region, with the formation of committees

<sup>27</sup> As for example the Black September, Camp Tel-al-Za'tar, Egypt's signing of the Camp David agreements, the Lebanon War, the expulsion of the Palestinians from Beirut, and finally the Intifada.

<sup>28</sup> Established in May 1964 in Jerusalem. In 1969, the PLO was taken over by Fatah with Yassir Arafat as chairman. In 1970, the PLO fought a bloody war with Jordan and went to Lebanon. In 1974 the PLO gained the status of observership in the UN General Assembly. In 1974 the PLO was recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the Arab Rabat Summit. In 1982 the PLO was evacuated from Lebanon following the Israeli invasion and Tunis became its base. The PLO is the political umbrella for the Palestinian self-rule areas in the West Bank and Gaza following the Oslo Accord of 1993 and the subsequent agreements.

that dealt with matters of land, education, local rule, welfare and health. The reaction of the Israeli establishment was to delegitimize them, by not recognizing them legally and not speaking with them directly.<sup>29</sup>

### *3.4 The Palestinian Intifada (1987-1991)*

The Palestinian Intifada was one of the most important events in the history of the Palestinian people on the West Bank and in Gaza over the last three decades. The ramifications of the Intifada were far-reaching for all sides involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: on the Palestinian people in general, on the Palestinians in the occupied territories, on the international community and on Israel itself.

The Intifada was a national struggle against Israeli conquest; it sharpened the communal strife between the Palestinians and the Israelis. It became a daily routine among the Palestinians; it brought about the acceleration of the renewed shaping of Palestinian culture and identity and transformed the areas of culture, economics, psychology, nationalism and politics.

The Intifada was considered a popular uprising against the Israeli occupation, but it also accelerated the change within the Palestine people. It sharpened the antagonisms in Palestine society, because it shaped, defined and renewed its values and norms, and it also gave them various meanings (Kuttab, 1992: 125).

The signs of identification of the Arabs in Israel with the Palestinian Intifada have occupied many politicians and intellectuals in the Israeli society. They focused on the central dilemma which was connected to the position of the Arabs of Israel towards the Intifada: Was the Green Line<sup>30</sup> smashed, cracked or strengthened? Have the Palestinians in Israel strengthened their identity with the Intifada? Arabs in Israel expressed their identification and their solidarity with the Palestinians in the occupied territories from the beginning of the Intifada and until its end both from a moral and a material point of view.

The identity of the Arabs in Israel has been a subject of continuing debate. One group of scholars (Ganem & Ozacky-Lazar 1990; Ginat 1989; Lehman-

<sup>29</sup> Al-Haj and Rosenfeld (1991) claim that the Israeli establishment encouraged the setting up of the national committee for the heads of local Arab authorities. These organizations included the national committee of the heads of local Arab councils, the Supreme Tracking Committee, student committees in universities, high school student committees, the committee for the defense of lands, committees for supporting the Intifada, and others.

<sup>30</sup> The armistice demarcation line between the newly established State of Israel and the Jordanian controlled West Bank in 1948 came to be known as the Green Line. Although the Green Line practically disappeared with the occupation of the West Bank in 1967, the continuous closure of the West Bank resurrects it.

Wilzig 1993; Smooha 1989, 1992; and to a certain extent Al-Haj 1989) claims that the Arab minority is undergoing a process of Israelization. In their opinion, Arabs in Israel are moving in the direction of integration into Israeli society, and perceive themselves as citizens of Israel. Their struggle is for a state of normal co-existence with full civil rights and equality. The very fact that Arabs in Israel limited their support of the Intifada, just from the moral and financial point of view, lends support, according to the supporters of this approach, which is known as the Israelization approach. As against this, the other group (Landau, 1984, 1989; Lustick 1980; Cohen 1989; Regev 1989; Reches 1989; Sofer 1986, 1989) claims that the Arabs in Israel identify with the Palestinians in the territories not only in politics but also in culture. According to this approach, the reunion of the Palestinians on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip with the Palestinians since 1967 prodded the process of alienation of the Arabs in Israel. This approach is called Palestinization.

Amara and Kabaha (1996) suggest an integrated approach. They claim that the dichotomous choice is too simplistic. Paradoxically, the Intifada strengthened two concepts: Palestinian and Israeli identities. The principal source for modernization and urbanization for Israeli Arabs is Israeli society. At the same time Palestinization represents their desire to maintain their identity. While the rapprochement to Israeli society allows them to achieve part of their aspirations in daily life as citizens with considerable civil rights, the attachment to the culture of their Palestinian brothers grants them satisfaction for the desires of a national identity and cultural unity.

### *3.5 The Peace Agreements (1993 to the Present)*

The Madrid Conference in October 1991 came immediately after the Gulf War<sup>31</sup> and the support of several Arab countries to the American campaign against Iraq. The Americans exploited the window of opportunity which was opened and set in motion extensive diplomatic involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The basic principle which guides the Arabs in Israel towards the peace process with the Palestinians is that whatever is acceptable to the Palestinian National Movement is acceptable to most of the Arab parties even if it comes at their expense (Rouhana, 1997: 77). The support for Palestinians in the peace agreements was almost automatic.

The peace process with the Palestinians is a sort of relief for Arabs in Israel, since they have seen for the first time that there can be a possibility of solution to the Palestine problem. Most of the polls carried out after the Oslo accord showed

<sup>31</sup> Following the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in August 1990, the United States, some European countries, and some Arab countries launched a war against Iraq to liberate Kuwait in January 1991. This resulted in the defeat of Iraq and its withdrawal from Kuwait.

clearly that a decisive majority supported the agreement (Ozacky-Lazar & Ganem, 1993).

During this period, Arabs in Israel identified with the State of Israel more than in any other period.<sup>32</sup> This has become possible following the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, and in light of some improvement in the civil status of the Arabs during the Rabin government (Amara, 1997).<sup>33</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that peace will reduce the Israeli security concern. Therefore it will have a deep influence on the dynamics of the internal-Israeli political framework since the contradiction between democracy and security will weaken and the contradiction between a democratic and Jewish State will rise above the surface as the most cardinal contradiction in the relationships between Arabs and Jews (Rouhana 1997: 78).

This section cannot be concluded without two more remarks. First, the violent demonstrations among the Arabs in Israel last October 2000, which ended in the killing of 13 Arab demonstrators, shocked the Arab community in Israel. Following these events Arabs in Israel started questioning their identification with their civil identity as Israelis. Second, the political discourse is dominated today by the Islamic movement<sup>34</sup> and the National Democratic Party (a secular-national party, mainly led by the Knesset member Azmi Bishara). They aspire either to transform Israel into a democratic non-Zionist state or to recognize the rights of the Arabs in Israel as a national minority. Both groups challenge the basic structure of the Israeli State and the repertoire of identities crystallized among the Arabs over the last few decades.

We can summarize the principal changes which occurred among the Arabs in Israel since the establishment of the State until today as follows:<sup>35</sup>

1. An accelerated process of modernization in which Israel is an important part, including a rise in the standard of living.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, the supplements of *As-Sinnara* (7.11.1995) and of *Kul-al-Arab* (11.11.1995) on the furious reactions, on the mourning and pain of the Arabs over the assassination of Rabin.

<sup>33</sup> It is reasonable to say that the relationship of Israel governments with the Arabs is the barometer which sets the character of their relationship to the state. It is possible to strengthen this thesis by a comparison between two periods of government: The period of the rule of the Labor Party headed by Rabin and Peres (1992-1996) in which the Arabs identified with the state as against the period of the rule of the Likud headed by Netanyahu (1996-1999). In this period the peace process was stranded and the economic situation of the Arabs worsened as a result of allocation of fewer resources in the various areas.

<sup>34</sup> Islamic fundamental movements gathered steam since the mid-1970s in the Greater Middle East. Their major aim is to solve social and political problems in the Muslim countries. They aspire to establish a 'true Islamic state' based on Islamic laws. The slogan "Islam is the solution" and the associated religious values seem attractive to many Muslims in the Greater Middle East (other related terms Islamization and political Islam).

<sup>35</sup> See Amara (1999b: 87-88).

2. A transition from agriculture to work in the Israeli-Jewish sector especially as salaried and less independent workers.

3. Parallel processes of Israelization and Palestinization with the spiritual tie with the Palestinians becoming stronger over the years.

4. Strengthening of the desire for civil equality and co-existence in Israel

5. A high level of organization and standing on political rights.

6. Since the 1980s the Arabs have been in a process of Islamization, returning to religion, strengthening with this the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Israel.

To conclude, Israel's policies towards the Arab minority together with developments in both the internal and regional environments contributed to the development of its current texture. Though the Arabs in Israel share with other Arabs and Palestinians, for instance, culture, history and collective memory, their situation is unique in that Israel provides a major source of their modernization and Israeli identity forms a part of their identity repertoire.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE:

#### *Sociolinguistic and Political Aspects*

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1914 there were 600,000 Palestinians in Palestine and in 1947, towards the end of the British Mandate, the estimate was 1,294,00 (Gilbert, 1989: 3). The growth of the Palestinian population was accompanied by the impressive progress of their educational system. In the beginning of the 1920s, there were 30,681 Palestinian students in all stages of education. During the next 27 years their number increased by 500% and reached 150,000 students (Al-Haj, 1996). The drastic growth in the number of students in the Palestinian education system enhanced the status of Arabic among the Arabs, since the literate people in the language increased tremendously.

In 1922 the British Mandate recognized three official languages in Mandatory Palestine: English, Arabic and Hebrew in that order.

English was extensively taught in Palestinian schools and in colleges for teachers' training, and sometimes more hours were assigned to English than to Arabic. English served as the main means of communication between the local population and the officials of the British Mandate. Learning English sprang mainly from instrumental considerations. As to Hebrew, the Palestinians did not learn Hebrew during the British mandate, in contrast to Jews who studied some Arabic in their schools since the 19th century.

In addition to English (taught both in public and private schools), the private schools taught other European languages such as French, German, and Spanish.

When the State of Israel was established in 1948, the linguistic repertoire of the Palestinian citizens of Israel became progressively more complex and diverse, and the status of the languages in it changed. Hebrew and Arabic



became the two official languages of the state, and English took on the status of a foreign language (see Table 3.1).

*Table 3.1. Hebrew, Arabic and English as reported by people over age 15. (Source: Resident Census 1983).*

<i>Language</i>	<i>Mono-Linguals</i>	<i>First language</i>	<i>Second</i>	<i>Total</i>
Hebrew	945,450	931,445	312,080	2,188,975
Arabic	242,325	155,075	270,410	667,810
English	6,530	28,150	165,100	199,780

The last time that data were collected concerning language was in the Resident Census taken in 1983 (Central Office for Statistics, 1985). Despite the great changes which have occurred since then (over a million Russian and Ethiopian immigrants have entered) and the limitations of the census, it can be seen clearly that Hebrew is in first place, with Arabic in second place and English in third place.

Spolsky and Shohamy (1999b) estimate that two million people in Israel have functional competence in Arabic. Arabic is the mother tongue of a million Arabs in Israel and the mother tongue of tens of thousands of Mizrahi Jews who emigrated from Arab-speaking countries in the early years of the State. In addition, a number of Israeli Jews studied Arabic in formal frameworks (school or army) or picked it up at home.

From 1948, Palestinian Arab school pupils in Israel studied the Hebrew language as a required course, starting from third grade. Benor (1950), the first director of Arab education in the Ministry of Education, claimed that "Hebrew has been brought into the program of study not by an order from above but by the firm demand of the Arabs themselves." In fact, the teaching of Hebrew to Arab-speaking pupils was a decision of the committee that decided to maintain Arabic as language of instruction. It was a vital interest of the Israeli government that Arab students should learn Hebrew and that they should be exposed to the culture and heritage of the Jewish people in order that they might exercise the Israeli citizenship they had received (Al-Haj, 1996).

Arabic remained an official language of the State of Israel just as it had been an official language under the British Mandate. Koplewitz (1992: 32) points out that the State of Israel removed English from the list of official languages, but it did not change the status of Arabic. But the domains of official use are limited, just as they were limited in the original King's-Order-in-Council of the British Mandatory Government. Arabic is used in a number of official areas. Coins, paper money and postage stamps use both Hebrew and Arabic. It is possible to use Arabic in the courts, and the laws legislated by the Knesset are published in Hebrew, and later in Arabic. Arab members of the Knesset may speak in Arabic, provided they advise the Speaker in time to arrange for interpretation. All Arab

schools use Arabic as the language of instruction. In addition, the Israel Broadcasting Service maintains a radio program in Arabic in addition to Hebrew and other foreign languages throughout most of the day (Network D) and broadcasts one and a half hours (on the average) of television in Arabic every day.

In 1952, there was an attempt to make Hebrew the exclusive language of the state; but this proposal was rejected by a majority of the members of the Knesset (Koplewitz (1992). In the debate in the Knesset, the Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, said:

We negate the assumption that one must forbid the Arab citizens the use of the Arabic language if they wish to use it anywhere, including the Knesset. The clear policy of Israel is to teach and impart knowledge of Hebrew to all the inhabitants, including the Arab minority. The Arab children want to learn Hebrew, but we will not forbid them the use of their language in any way, even not in the Knesset. . . . Yet the State must see to it that Hebrew be not only an official language, but must provide the means for imparting the knowledge of Hebrew to immigrants and to all residents of Israel, without depriving the Arab minority of the right to its own language (Proceedings of the Knesset, 1952, vol. 12: 2550; quoted in Fisherman (1972: 9-10).

This was not the last attempt. A similar move in the Knesset in 1980 failed. The idea of making Hebrew the sole official language is put forward from time to time. In 1998 Knesset member Michael Kleiner (previously of the Geshar faction in the Likud, and today of the United National Party) brought up the idea in the media.

However, despite the fact that Arabic enjoys the status of an official language, Hebrew is clearly the preferred language in Israel. One can see this in two laws: The citizenship law of 1951 (Paragraph 5a) requires "some knowledge of the Hebrew language" as a condition for acquiring citizenship, while no such requirement is made for "some knowledge of Arabic." (Ben-Rafael, 1994; Hallel & Spolsky, 1993); The Chamber of Advocates Law of 1961 (Paragraph 26 [3]) requires "sufficient knowledge of Hebrew" in order to be registered as a law clerk (Ben-Rafael, 1994; Koplewitz, 1992). De facto, Hebrew is without doubt the dominant language in most public domains.

Thus, while Arabic is the medium of instruction in the Arab schools in Israel, other languages have important places. Arabic is the medium of instruction in all courses, the mother tongue of students and teachers alike, and the principal literacy and literary goal. Hebrew is studied as a second language from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on, recognized as the language of the state (Winter, 1981), and studied for instrumental purposes. English, as a major international language, is taught as a foreign language from 4<sup>th</sup> grade on, and earlier where the school accedes to parental pressures. In addition, French is studied in a number of private religious schools as a second foreign language.

## 2. ARABIC

### *2.1 Arabic in the World*

A review of the general status of the Arabic language will help understand the place of Arabic in Israel.

For the most part Arabic dialects are classified according to geographical area: North African countries, Egypt, Persian Gulf States and the Middle East countries (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine) (Ferguson, 1959). There is also a division according to demographic groups and settlement types – urban versus rural, sedentary versus nomads (Bedouins) (Al-Husri, 1976: 42f.). The various dialects used in Arab countries serve not only for communication, but carry a high degree of sociolinguistic weight, for the dialect characteristic of a specific population shares its social, political and economic status and emphasizes its uniqueness and emotional attachment.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect — which has within it groups of sub-dialects (Galilee, Little Triangle and Negev). While related to the dialects of surrounding countries, it is different from them and even more different from the dialects of Egypt and North Africa.

In twenty-three countries of the Middle East (all except Turkey and Iran) and North Africa in the Arab league for whom Arabic is an official language (Suleiman, 1999). In four countries (Israel, Chad, Somalia, and Djibouti), Arabic is an official language alongside other languages. Beyond this, Arabic has a special status in Islamic countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia as the language of the Koran.

Arabic serves as a language of communication in a large number of Arab and Muslim countries, and it is also recognized as an official language in international organizations such as the Arab League, the African Unity Organization, the Islamic Congress, the Muslim Organization for Education, and Science and Culture (Hijazi, 1992: 102f.) In 1970 Arabic was recognized as an official language in UNESCO and afterwards in the United Nations, and in the International Food and Agriculture Organization. The penetration of Arabic into these organizations has contributed directly to the strengthening of its status as an important language in the international community alongside the European languages.

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian and Syrian dialects, for example, enjoy prestige in the Arab world today, among other reasons because of the special political and historical backgrounds of the two countries.

## 2.2 *Diglossia in Arabic*

Arabic is considered an archetype of the linguistic situation known as diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). There exist simultaneously two linguistic systems, a written language and a spoken language (Brosh, 1996: 64) showing great differences both in form and symbolic values. Understanding a piece of literature requires a large and different vocabulary from that of the spoken variety. It is common to define the Arabic language as two languages – literary and spoken, but a division into three is also sustainable<sup>3</sup> (Blau, 1976; Brosh, 1996: 65):

1. *Standard Arabic*. This variety is used in formal settings, at school, on television, and for university lectures, to mention just a few examples. In terms of phonology, this variety should not, at least in principle, depart from Classical Arabic. However, since this variety is learned through schooling as a second language and not acquired naturally through use at home, traces of the mother dialect are discernible when it is spoken. In phonology, it is quite similar to Classical Arabic, except for the lack of inflectional systems in nouns and verbs, which makes a difference in pronouncing the end of words. In terms of syntax, there is no difference between Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic except the lack of an inflectional system. Its lexical items are drawn from Classical Arabic, but it attempts to avoid archaic forms and to use items which are shared by the Spoken Variety and Educated Spoken Arabic. The use of foreign items in this variety is rare; they are used only where there is no alternative. However, there is no use of expressions, sentences, or segments of foreign languages as is the case in the Spoken Variety and Educated Spoken Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> The spoken language and the written language are distinct in three main features: In dependence on context, in stability and in the degree of linguistic control (Schlesinger, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Meiseles (1975) suggested another division of Arabic into four linguistic variants:

a. Standard Arabic, i.e., the classic literary language.

b. Sub-standard Arabic – the linguistic type of contemporary Arabic which characterizes the ambition of speakers or writers in general to restore the literary language. However, for whatever reasons, mostly non-linguistic (such as spontaneous speaking or writing, lack of sufficient knowledge of the norms of literary Arabic, pressure from native dialects or foreign languages, speaking or writing in less formal situations, convenience or negligence, etc.) deviations from the norms of literary Arabic have appeared and a mixture of dialect bases to a great extent.

c. The superior spoken Arabic – described by Cadore (Cadore, 1975: 134) as the semi-formal Arabic which is the common spoken language of the learned.

d. The local Arabic dialects – a regional language, and every region develops local dialects of its own.

2. *Educated Spoken Arabic*. Speakers of this variety avoid some vernacular features and borrow features from Standard Arabic. Educated Spoken Arabic is used by highly educated people in normal daily conversations, and it serves as a means of communication with speakers of other local dialects (Mitchell, 1986). One of its phonological characteristics is, for instance, the use of [k] instead of [č], which is the variant of the vernacular. In pronunciation, it uses some features of spoken variety and some of Standard Arabic. For example, the word thousand is [‘alif] as in spoken variety or [‘alf] as in Standard Arabic. For lexical items, the spoken variety is the base. However, there is an extensive use of loan words from Standard Arabic, which indicates higher education and which are a source of prestige. The syntactic structure of Educated Spoken Arabic is quite similar to the spoken variety with occasional borrowing of word order from Standard Arabic. In other words, this variety shares phonological, lexical, and to a lesser extent syntactic features with Standard Arabic on the one hand and with spoken variety on the other. There is also extensive use of foreign words and expressions or even entire segments as a sign of education. However, in other cases the opposite is true; speakers of Educated Spoken Arabic may use specific Arabic forms because they are more prestigious than foreign ones.

3. *The Local Dialect*. We may call the local dialect the common and authentic spoken variety. This variety is used in daily life by the majority of speakers in informal settings. Phonological differences between this variety and other varieties are considerable. The sound [č], for instance, replaces Standard [k], while [k] replaces [q]. There are many lexical items in this variety which do not exist in Standard Arabic or even in Educated Spoken Arabic, such as *maššaay* (shoes), *xušum* or *munxaar* (nose) in other vernaculars, and *sb taar* (hospital). Syntactic differences between this variety and Standard Arabic are considerable and significant. The inflection system, for example, is absent. Moreover, there are differences in the use of introductory and communicative particles (Ferguson, 1959). Syntactic differences between this variety and Educated Spoken Arabic are minor. In addition, borrowing lexical items from other languages is widespread. Palestinian Arabic, for example, uses Hebrew and English loan words extensively (Amara and Spolsky 1986), though to a varying degree; Palestinian Arabic in Israel borrows extensively from Hebrew.

However, some researchers prefer the term multiglossia, contending that it describes more accurately the linguistic situation in the Arab world (e.g. Badawi, 1973; Hary, 1996). Hary (1996) even goes further and places multiglossia on a continuum “where the speakers and writers constantly shift between different lects.” (69). Whether we talk about two or more divergent varieties in Arabic, today in the Arab world there is a glossic situation where speakers often use one language variety in one kind of circumstance and other varieties under other circumstances and conditions.

The existence of diglossia/multiglossia creates many stumbling blocks for the Arab students since they speak the spoken language, but when they come to read or write they are forced to use the standard language. They first begin to contend with this problem when they enter 1<sup>st</sup> grade, and in fact they begin to learn a new language through which they acquire language skill.

### *2.3 Policy towards Arabic in the Arab World*

In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a debate among scholars in the Arab world concerning the use of the Arabic language. The issue was whether the Standard Arabic or a variety based on the local dialect should become the official language. There were those who claimed that the spoken language was a living language, one that educated scholars as well as children all spoke. The standard variety was a dead language whose rules and words were studied in the school, just as mathematics or another science was studied, as the Egyptian author Salama Musa put it (1928) as one learns a foreign language (Suleiman 1996). At the Congress of Orientalists in Leiden in 1931, the Egyptian author Mahmud Taymur lectured on this question and said, "Without doubt the current spoken language in Egypt will become the official language of the country both in speaking and in writing, while the literary language will remain a written language common to all Arabic speaking peoples." (Quoted by Goitein, 1961: 14). His talk was angrily rebutted by others who demanded a decision in favor of the literary language. After debate, the literary language confirmed the official written language throughout the Arab world while the spoken language was the oral form (Amara & Abu Akel, 1998).

There were two main factors which contributed to the establishment of literary Arabic as the standard language for Arabic-speaking countries. The first was religion. Classical Arabic is a sacred language, in which the Koran is written, and which serves as a constant source for the maintenance of the Islamic heritage and Arabic culture through generations (Blau, 1976). The second factor was political. The spoken language is influenced by the local environment, and every group (or country) develops new words which are not used in other dialects. Thus, spoken Arabic is seen as a force of disintegration, dividing the Arab people into separate nations, and so working against Pan-Arab national identity and cultural heritage. Vernacular Arabic stresses the local identity of the individual. Classical Arabic is seen as uniting all native speakers of Arabic.

Vernacular Arabic is considered, very often, inferior to the standard language because it is the language of illiterates, it expresses regionalism and because it weakens Pan-Arabic supranational connections (Piamenta, 1983: 134f.).

The majority of Arab linguists and writers have generally come to accept the importance of teaching Classical Arabic. However they disagree about the goal of teaching and the ways to achieve it. Over a period of time, three main trends have crystallized, summarized by Shalmon (1968: 699) as follows:

1. *The Conservative Trend* – stands for the study of Classical Arabic and broadening of Muslim religious and theological literature. In order to realize this goal the young must be distanced from any influence of the spoken language and become committed to classical phraseology and the exact spoken literary form. Composition and traditional grammar must be taught at all stages from elementary school to the universities (e.g. Sayyid, 1980).

2. *The Reform Trend* – claims that the classical language is awkward and likely to drive away the young from their native language. To remedy this the literary language must be brought closer to the vernacular and made simple and comprehensible to all in order that it can be used as a practical and cultural means of communication for everybody. Substantial changes in the language are called for: coinage of new words and terms, borrowing of foreign words, the study of modern in place of Classical texts, and teaching grammar functionally (e.g. Furayha, 1955; Hari, 1996).

3. *The Moderate Trend* – A third group takes a compromise position. In practice, this means reducing classical vocabulary, integration of modern texts, more effective ways of teaching phraseology and grammar, teaching general courses in simpler Arabic and reducing the gap between the spoken and written language (Abou Seida, 1972; Elgibali, 1988).

The compromise position probably best characterizes current teaching in the Arab countries.

## 2.4 *Arabic among the Arabs in the State of Israel*

### 2.4.1 *Israeli Palestinian-Arabic*

As stated earlier, the Arabic language is the mother tongue and the principal national language of the Arabs in Israel, who constitute about a fifth of its total population. In the days immediately before the ending of the British Mandate, the education committee of the planned State of Israel decided that the medium of instruction in the schools of the new state should be the mother tongue of the majority of children in each school (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a: 108). All Arab schools therefore continued to offer Arabic medium instruction after 1948 at all levels up to the end of secondary school. Arabic is a medium of instruction also in institutions for teacher training such as the Arabic department in Kay College in Beersheba, the Institute for Arab Teacher Training in Beit Berl College, in the College for Education in Israel in Haifa, and in the Al-Sharia College for Studies in Islam in Baaqa al-Gharbiyya. Landau (1993: 48) believes

this decision was made so that “Arabic culture would be central in its scholastic importance, so as to enable Arabs to maintain their religious, historical and literary values.”

Within Arab society in Israel, the Arabic language is in use in all areas of life: at home, in school, in daily life, in commerce and in journalism. It is the language of daily communication in places of work, although many words from Hebrew have taken root as a result of the daily contact with the Jewish society, in education, especially higher education, in commercial matters and in public services.

#### *2.4.2 Characteristics of developing Palestinian Arabic in Israel*

The Palestinians in Israel are exposed to the Arabic media, especially television and radio, which contribute to the strengthening of Standard Arabic. Over the last half-century, there has been a major improvement in education among speakers of Arabic. One important effect of this has been a corresponding increase in knowledge and use of Standard Arabic (the literary form), and especially in the words and rich expressions in this language. A not insignificant number of words from Standard Arabic have replaced words which were common in the local dialect. Modern Standard Arabic has had influence even on those in the population with a low level of education. Features from non-Palestinian Arabic dialects (spread mainly by television) have entered the local dialect. There has also been an important influence from English and Hebrew (Amara, 1986; Koplewitz, 1992).

Another noteworthy change has been the introduction of more prestigious urban forms into village speech. Besides the cultural and economic changes that have occurred in the villages there have, of course, also been changes in the structure of the Arab community itself. The first villagers who finished high school education in the cities near their villages brought back with them new cultural values and new patterns of behavior which were accepted without question by the villagers as indicators of status and prestige. Some of these patterns are linguistic (Amara, 1986).<sup>4</sup>

Besides education, commerce also played a role. The villagers often traveled to the city in order to buy things that were not available in the village. Loss of land by Palestinians in Israel after 1948 and the drop in prestige of agriculture intensified external contact. Many villagers traveled to work in neighboring cities, a not insignificant percentage staying away from home for a week or two. There have also been intermarriages of villagers with urban women.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For example, the replacement [k] for the village variant [ʕ].

<sup>5</sup> In a study that was done in the village of Zalafa by Muhammad Amara (Amara, 1985), it was found that in the previous four decades almost thirty urban women who had married villagers had come to live in the village, which numbered only 3000 people. Most



In the past the only contact with other Palestinian dialects was through trade, mainly by merchants, and in a very limited measure by social activities. Today there is intensive daily contact between urbanites and villagers in the areas of education, trade, and social activities.

In the past there were few contacts with other Arabic dialects. But here too, in recent years there have been immense changes in the exposure to different dialects of Arabic as a result of contacts with Arab countries after the peace treaties with some of them. Television has been the most important source for borrowing from non-Palestinian Arabic dialects. Amara (1986) showed that many words entered the Israeli Palestinian dialect from Egyptian Arabic. The influence of television can be seen in many linguistic areas, mainly in the borrowing of lexical items. Aside from this, limited numbers may also visit Saudi Arabia to fulfill the requirement of *Haj*<sup>6</sup> (pilgrimage). They have been allowed without limit to perform '*al-umra*' (lesser pilgrimage). Since the signing of the peace agreement with Jordan in 1994, Palestinian citizens of Israel go there regularly.

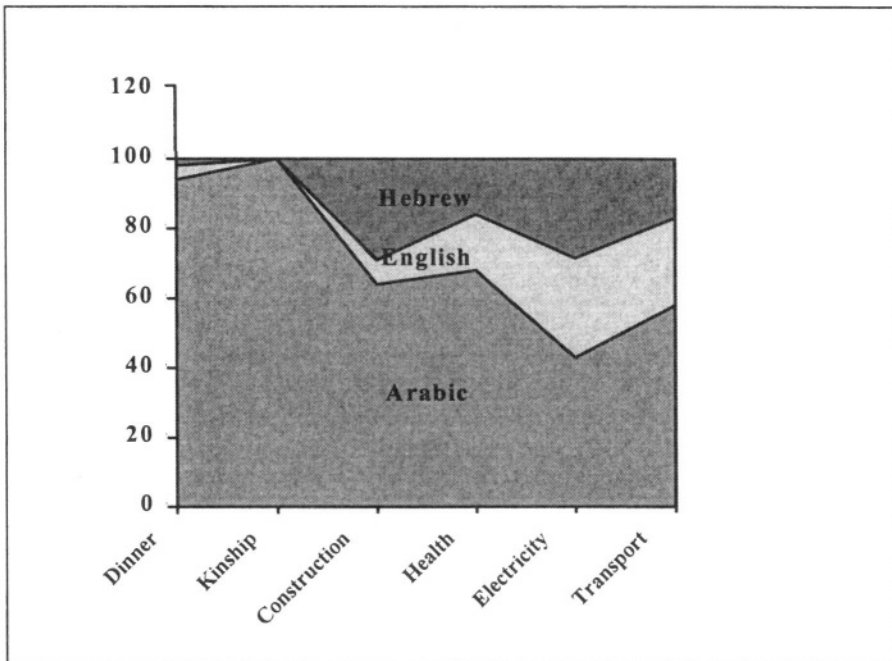
There are also significant external influences on Palestinian Arabic in Israel, mainly from Hebrew and English. To illustrate these influences, I confine my description to two aspects: integration of lexical items and language landscape as reflected on signs.

There is extensive borrowing of Hebrew and English items into Palestinian Arabic in Israel (see figure 3.1).

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of the urban women did not give up their dialect because of its high prestige and status. As a result, all the children of these families adopted the dialect of their mothers until age 4 – 5. When the children of these intermarriages reached maturity the sons tended to adopt the village language, with remnants of the mothers' dialect, and the daughters tended to use their mothers' dialect partially or completely. The most important fact about these intermarriages was that the women brought new linguistic features from their urban dialects, especially in phonology and morphology, despite the fact that their influence was limited because of their small number in comparison to the size of the village population.

<sup>6</sup> Haj (pilgrimage) is one of the major pillars of Islam. According to *Haj*, grown-up Muslims must visit -if capable physically, mentally and financially- the religious holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia at least once in their lives.



*Figure 3.1. Integration by traditional, mixed and modern domains (%).*

Traditional= kinship and dinner  
 Mixed= construction and health  
 Modern= electricity and transport

The above figure shows that the levels of diffusion and integration of Hebrew and English items differs according to domain: In the traditional domains there is little influence from other cultures. In modern domains there is extensive borrowing from English and, especially, Hebrew. Mixed domains, which existed before contact with these two languages, but in which change has occurred as a result of this contact, shows appropriate intermediate levels of integration of English and Hebrew items.

Based on various studies carried out by Amara (1986, 1991, 1995, 1999) on lexical integration, I have arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The extent of diffusion of English innovation is related mainly to the status of English as the language of modernism and its association with the British

Mandatory Government. Domains vary, but speaker characteristics are unimportant.

2. The domains influenced by English are already well established, and ongoing acculturation is slow.

3. Hebrew is now the main source of innovation, not just for Hebrew words but also for originally English words.

4. The variations in Hebrew innovation accounted for by social characteristics provide a picture of the ongoing process of lexical diffusion and integration.

The extensive use of Hebrew and English (mainly Hebrew) is also witnessed on both private and public signs in the language landscape of the Arab villages and cities. Language landscape (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) refers to all linguistic objects which mark the public arena, including road signs, names of sites, streets, buildings, places and institutions as well as advertising billboards, commercials and even personal visit cards. Some of these items are imposed by state agencies, others by local communities and still others by firms, associations and individuals. The language landscape of a country, region or urban setting provides a distinctive marker of a territory inhabited by given language communities.

A quick look at the Palestinian language landscape in Israel shows the following.<sup>7</sup> The majority of the signs are bilingual (more than 60%), usually Arabic-Hebrew or Hebrew-Arabic, about sixth of the signs are trilingual, very often Arab-Hebrew-English. Hebrew does not exist only in bilingual signs, but also it appears as the only language in more than 20% of the signs, equivalent to Arabic. The significant use of the Hebrew language on signs of the language landscape of the Arab village and cities is more than providing information to the presumed readers. In many cases, the target audience are only Arabs, and in spite of this there is extensive use of Hebrew. Hebrew also fulfils a symbolic function reflected in a number of senses. First, it indicates in the very fact of its use as one of the agents to modernization in the Arab society. Second, its use symbolizes prestige to the objects it represents. Third, it symbolizes the willingness of the Arabs to open a window to the Israeli society.

#### *2.4.3 The Status of Arabic in Israel and Policy Issues*

Despite the declaration that Arabic is an official language along with Hebrew, in fact the use of the language in public domains is limited and it is treated as a secondary language. Prime television viewing time is given to programs in Hebrew, and programs in Arabic are given less time. Government laws are first published in Hebrew, and representation in the courts is in Hebrew, though a

<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, together with Shohamy and Ben-Rafael, we are carrying an extensive study on the language landscape of both Arab and Jewish cities in Israel.

lawyer has the right to plead in Arabic and to be granted translation services from Arabic to Hebrew and vice versa. Hebrew is the normal language of conversation between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

Most of the government offices and public foundations publish their material in Hebrew. Publications in Arabic are issued according to need, such as official documents relating to income tax, national insurance and the courts.

There are in Israel eight television channels, but there is not even one which broadcasts continuously in Arabic. On the first channel (general and educational television) the range of programs in Arabic is one and a half hours daily on the average. Foreign films and documentaries are subtitled in Hebrew and Arabic. Recently there have been special broadcasts in Arabic on the second channel. However, their range is quite limited. On the radio the situation is different because Network D ("Voice of Israel" in Arabic) broadcasts Arabic news, entertainment programs and current events from six o'clock in the morning until midnight.

The study of Arabic was not required in the Jewish schools until 1996, but there was a choice between French and Arabic. That is to say, Arabic is considered a second or third foreign language. Arabic is regarded by a not insignificant group of the Jewish population as a language without prestige since it is the language of a population with a backward culture (Brosh & Ben-Rafael, 1994). As a result of this situation "the number of those [among Israeli Jews] in the country who know Arabic is declining, and there is real trouble in locating quality manpower for the courses in the Army Intelligence Branch" according to Lieutenant Colonel Avner, who is in charge of professional training of Arabic speakers in the training base of the Intelligence Branch (Bamahane, 1994: 6-7).

In several of the kindergartens in Jaffa, Arab and Jewish children learn in a mixed educational framework. The teaching is conducted in Hebrew, which for the Arab pupils is a second language, at a time when they still have not mastered their mother tongue. Also the announcements which are posted on the walls of the mixed kindergartens are only in Hebrew, except for one in which there is a translation into Arabic. The shortage of suitable teaching material in Arabic causes difficulty in the work of the Arab kindergarten teachers. They are compelled to translate and match material from Hebrew.<sup>8</sup>

The position of Arabic in government offices is not strong. *Panorama* (27.7.96, p. 10) reports a case in point. The health department in the municipality of Nazareth submitted requests to the Ministry of Health in order to obtain license for two businesses in the city. The requests were written in Arabic. The clerks in the Nazareth branch office returned the two requests with the excuse "that they cannot deal with requests written in Arabic". The deputy mayor of

<sup>8</sup> Even in a place like Neve Shalom, in which Jews and Arabs live together and the children go to the same school and are taught both languages in it, Hebrew is more dominant at all levels and areas. For greater details see Feuerverger (2001).

Nazareth firmly rejected this excuse and argued “that such behavior is illegal, apparently, because Arabic is an official language of the state, and we will continue to submit requests in Arabic”.

Also in the institutions of higher education representatives of the Arab public are required, on many occasions, to speak Hebrew before Arab students. Two cases which were reported in the Arabic press in which Jewish representatives of institutions of higher education were strongly against the Arabs speaking Arabic can reliably reflect the lack of importance of Arabic in these institutions.<sup>9</sup>

The teaching of Arabic in the colleges and universities is not at the same level at which Hebrew and English are taught. In Israeli Jewish universities and colleges Arabic is studied in Hebrew. One can explain the phenomenon with two arguments: The first is that the teachers and the students are not fluent enough in Arabic. Therefore Hebrew is used as a tool to overcome the problem. The second is that it points directly to the inferior status of Arabic among the Jews and the negative attitude towards it.

#### *2.4.4 The Struggle to Improve the Status of Arabic in Israel*

As a result of the peace process, there are higher expectations for increasing the teaching of Arabic (in the number of hours, the number of students, and the number of qualified teachers in the system) in the Jewish schools, especially after the signing of the Gaza-Jericho agreement in 1993 (known as Oslo I)

<sup>9</sup> One case was in the Western Galilee College. 20% of all the students in the college are Arabs. In a ceremony of granting scholarships to Arab students in the college which was held on May 14, 1996 (AS-Sinnara, 17.5.96) the mayor of Sakhnin was invited to participate as a representative of the Arab council heads. All the speakers on the platform of honor gave their speeches in Hebrew, while the mayor saw it correct to speak in Arabic since most of those participating in the ceremony were Arabs. After the speech was finished the head of the college expressed resentment and bitterness towards the mayor and said to him, “The College is a Jewish institution, and you must speak in Hebrew.” Following these words heated arguments were carried on between the two. It is worth pointing out that the college receives contributions from abroad for its being an institution which works for the advancement of the co-existence between Jews and Arabs in the country.

The second case occurred in the Technion in Haifa. On May 22, 1996, the Arab students invited the candidate of Balad (Democratic National Movement) for the Knesset, Dr. Azmi Bishara to lecture before the Arab students (Al-Manar, 24.5.96). When Dr. Bishara arrived at the lecture hall, representatives of the Jewish Technion students’ union approached him with a request to speak in Hebrew. Dr. Bishara was surprised and asked those who spoke to him if their appeal was a request or a condition. The members of the union stood by their opinion that the lecture should be given only in Hebrew. Following this a heated argument broke out between the members of the students’ union and the Arab students about changing the decision. The union members continued to stand by their opinion, and Dr. Bishara refused to give in and as a protest he canceled his lecture.

(*Davar* 3.10.93; *Al Hamishmar* 29.9.93). There are those who believe that the peace process which was devised between Israelis and Palestinians will change the status of the teaching of Arabic in Israel, and the Jews will refer to Arabic as the language of neighbors. A number of steps have been taken in favor of improving the status of Arabic:

The demand to require the teaching of Arabic in the Jewish schools continues, and there are those who want all students to do a matriculation examination in Arabic. Such can be seen from a letter that was published in *Ma'ariv* (26.5.97):

We have forgotten the urgent need to teach the Arabic language and to require it in the matriculation exams. A tie with neighbors can only be when the language is known on all sides. It is not possible that the representatives of the Palestinians will be interviewed in the media in our language while we do not know their language. It is absurd that the senior representatives of the establishment cannot speak with the parallel authorities in their language.

The Hebrew language appears on official signs on the roads, in swimming pools in public and private institutions, at tourist sites, and other such places. Even in Arab villages and towns one frequently finds signs in Hebrew without Arabic, and if Arabic is added it appears after the Hebrew and for the most part with spelling mistakes. In many cases English, which is not an official language, appears on signs and not Arabic.<sup>10</sup>

The struggle to improve the status of Arabic in Israel is reflected also in the signs, and it sometimes reaches the courts and in certain cases bears fruit. Hebrew has a certain preference over Arabic, as is conventional in most Jewish towns and cities of Israel (Friendlier, 1986: 4). Recently a change has occurred in the subject of signs, and we will provide three examples:

A. In January 1989 the central committee of the Histadrut<sup>11</sup> (Federation of Labor) discussed the use of Arabic, and the director-general, Israel Keisar, declared that in the future all signs of the Histadrut in Arab villages and towns and in mixed Arab-Jewish ones will be written in Arabic and Hebrew (*Ha'aretz*, 30.1.89; Landau, 1993: 65).

<sup>10</sup> It should be pointed out that the lack of signs in Arabic sometimes causes troubles for the speakers of this language. For example, it was published in the newspaper *Ha'aretz* that two sisters drowned in the Sea of Galilee, on an undeclared beach, without lifesaving services (*Ha'aretz* 13.7.97). It also said, "On the beach where the two drowned there were signs in Hebrew warning that bathing without a lifeguard is the responsibility of the bathers alone. Yet there were no warning signs on the beach in English or Arabic."

<sup>11</sup> Histadrut is the Israeli Labor Federation of Unions. It is an extremely important institution economically and politically and can paralyze the whole country by declaring strikes.

B. In January 1992 an Arab engineering firm in Nazareth appealed to the Supreme Court after the regional court rejected its suit against the Upper Nazareth municipality for advertising signs in Arabic (Landau, *ibid.*).

C. The Haifa municipality committed itself to include Arabic in all the street signs throughout the city. This was the result of a petition by the Association for Citizens' Rights submitted to the Supreme Court together with the Society for Social Advancement in Haifa. The petition was submitted following appeals to the Society by Arab drivers from the Galilee concerning the non-use of Arabic in Haifa and the difficulty in reading signs written only in Hebrew (Bulletin of the Association for Citizens' Rights, quoted in the Teachers' Journal, No. 18, 1995: 8).

The struggle over the status of Arabic is more symbolic than functional. Most of the Arabs know Hebrew and can get along, but most of them would like their language to appear alongside Hebrew in public places. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 27) explain that "the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape is most likely to be salient in settings where language has emerged as the most important dimension of ethnic identity."

The Association for Citizens' Rights works vigorously for tenders published in the Government Service to be translated to Arabic. In the Bulletin of the Association which came out in April, 1994, it was said (quoted in the Teachers' Journal, *ibid.*):

The committee of ministers for coordination and administration has decided that every tender published in the Government Service will be translated into Arabic. In turning to the commissionership we complained that tenders are not published in the Arabic press, and thus Arabs are prevented from submitting their candidacy, and this harms their professional freedom. We claimed that the Arabic language is an official one in the state, along with Hebrew, and the authorities are obligated to publish every government act also in Arabic. As mentioned, we were informed that from now on every tender of the Government Service will be translated into Arabic, and all that is left is to see how and where it will be published.

From our examination of the application of the decision in the Arabic press it is clear that it is being carried out partially since only part of Government tenders, such as the Electric Company, Bezek, and the postal service, are being translated into Arabic and published in the Arabic newspapers.

### 3. HEBREW

Having examined the salient sociolinguistic and political aspects of Arabic among the Palestinians in Israel, we will now examine these aspects with respect

to Hebrew. Hebrew is a significant language in the trilingual repertoire (Arabic-Hebrew-English) of the Arabs in Israel, because it is the language of the dominant culture in Israel, and it is mainly needed by the Arabs for pragmatic reasons. However, the contact of the Arabs with Hebrew is influenced by the socio-political environment in which both Palestinians and Jews live and interact with each other: (1) the Israeli-Arab conflict; (2) the definition of Israel as a Jewish state; and (3) the physical separation of Palestinians and Jews in patterns of settlement. One of the results of this state of affairs is the emblematic existence of Arabic as a symbol of identity for Palestinians and the inability of borrowed Hebrew lexical items in this language to exercise a subtractive role on its function as an identity-bearing symbol. (Amara, 1999a: 86)

### *3.1 Hebrew as the Dominant National Language*

An important and central subject in the Zionist ideology was the creation of a new identity. This was well expressed, as mentioned, by slogans such as “The Hebrew person speaks Hebrew” and “He will work the Hebrew ground”. Indeed, one of the great achievements of the State of Israel is the spread of the Hebrew language among citizens, immigrants and Arabs as one. Of this M. Avidor says (Avidor, 1958: 5):

Ten years have passed, and not only have the apprehensions been proven false, the position of the Hebrew language has become more and more established in the country. Immigrant children in school, who need a common language with their friends, have found in Hebrew the only tie between them and have acquired for themselves the use of the language with astonishing speed. From kindergarten and school the children bring the Hebrew language to the homes of their parents. To this was added the courses and lessons in Hebrew for adults during the day and in the evening, and on top of all this – the widespread and blessed activity of the Israel Defense Forces which has bestowed the knowledge of the language on all the new immigrants who serve in its ranks. Indeed, great importance has been imparted to the revival of the language – it is one of the cultural wonders of recent generations – and to its rapid development in Israel in the process of the crystallization and strengthening of the nation and the state.

Israeli leaders saw the teaching of the Hebrew language to the citizens as a national mission of first rank, and everyone in his field was harnessed to the nurturing of the language and its teaching in order to turn it the dominant language of the country. Also the teachers’ union in Israel engraved on its banner as a national goal to teach the Hebrew language to the citizens of the state as indicated in the fifth goal “Fostering the teaching of the Hebrew language and culture in all the ranks of the society” (*Hed Ha-Hinukh*, 1995: 14). The teachers union, which unites within itself both Jewish and Arab education workers in



Israel, did not refer at all in its goal to the importance of Arabic but set for itself one goal, and that was the teaching of Hebrew to the public, including the Arab public. Even filing a candidacy for the position of principal in Arab schools requires knowledge of Hebrew as specified in Paragraph 5 “skill in written and oral expression in Hebrew.” In schools where the language of instruction is not Hebrew – also skill in expression in that language (Director-General Circular, 1992, from 1.3.92, Paragraph 320) is required.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the state Nissim Mishal detailed the moves and changes which took place in Israeli society, among which he referred to the question of the language, saying:

And the country became more varied in its vistas, more divided in its opinions, more polarized in its positions, more pluralistic in its melodies, more impulsive in its language, more daring in its styles, richer in its foods and more delicate in its tastes. The younger generation is growing to a height – and Hebrew takes on a more personal hue, more matter-of-fact, sometimes nasalized and sometimes parched (Mishal, 1998; 11).

The Jewish character of the state has brought about a strengthening of the status of Hebrew, and Hebrew has become the Zionist symbol for the unification of the Jewish people and their survival in the country. Despite the fact that Israeli society is diverse and there are many groups in the country who are interested in preserving their mother tongues, the policy which prevails in the country raises the banner of turning Israel into a monolingual country and not a multilingual one (Shohamy, 1996). The ultimate goal is that every citizen of the state will achieve a high linguistic competence in spoken and written Hebrew (Mar'i, 1998).

Two groups were given the possibility to preserve their language, the one being the Arabs in Israel, who were allowed to make use of Arabic as their main language, and the other was the ultra-Orthodox Jews, who were allowed to preserve their Yiddish. Common to the two groups was the fact that neither of them was a part of the Zionist consensus (Shohamy, 1996: 251). The people of the State government did not relate to the two groups equally in general and to the educational system in particular – the ultra-Orthodox lead an autonomous life and at the same time do not hold high appreciation to the civil laws of the state. On the other hand, the government strengthens the supervision of Arabic education and stresses the character of the state as a Jewish State by teaching Hebrew and Israeli culture.

### *3.2 Knowledge and Use of Hebrew*

Though the Arabs in Palestine began their contact with the Jews very early, even before the establishment of Israel, the extensive contacts started following the establishment of Israel in 1948. Between 1948 and 1966 the encounter was

limited to young men because the main contact between the two populations was in work. The military government which was placed over the Arabs in those days reduced the direct contact with the Jewish population not just in work places but also in other areas. Today in Israel there is intensive contact with Jews almost daily in all areas of life: at work, in institutions of higher education, in government offices, in health institutions, and to a very exceedingly small measure in social relations. Without taking into account age, gender or education, most of the Palestinians in Israel know and use Hebrew. Modern Israeli Hebrew has become an important language in the linguistic repertoire of the Palestinians in Israel.

While the purpose of teaching Hebrew to Jewish immigrants is to replace their original languages with Hebrew, the purpose of teaching Hebrew to Arabs is supplementary. That is to say, teaching Hebrew as an additional language. For most of the Arabs Hebrew is considered the more important second language, more than English, and at times more so than Arabic (Shohamy & Donitsa-Schmidt, 1998). Not knowing Hebrew places serious limitations for the Arab in Israel, especially in the government offices, in employment and in higher education.

Hebrew is studied formally and informally. Since Hebrew is one of the official languages of the state, the Palestinians in Israel learn it as the language of the state (Winter, 1981; Hallel & Spolsky, 1993). Indeed, Hebrew is studied in school from the third grade,<sup>12</sup> but the influences of the non-formal studies and the external contacts are much greater (Reves, 1983) thanks to the ceaseless contact with the Israeli Jews. All the age groups maintain contact with the Israeli Jews at different levels and degrees. Therefore, the use of Hebrew words, phrases and even expressions is profuse among the Palestinians in Israel. The extent of this use reflects the level of familiarity of the Palestinian in Israel with Jewish culture (Amara 1986, 1995b; Amara & Spolsky 1986, 1996; Spolsky & Amara 1995, 1997).

Immediately after the establishment of the State the demand on the part of the Arabs for the teaching of Hebrew was very great (Benor, 1951: 6). The Arabs learn Hebrew for pragmatic reasons – for work, communication in daily matters, receiving services from government and private institutions and for continuation of studies in institutions of higher education. From this we see that Hebrew is a vital tool for every Arab in the State of Israel since it enables him to have an

<sup>12</sup> For the Arabs Arabic is the mother tongue while Hebrew is not a foreign language in the accepted sense (such as English), but is a second language alongside the mother tongue. That is to say, besides the framework of the language lesson there exists the possibility that the learner will go out into the neighborhood and use it immediately. However, it should be pointed out that during the period of studies in school this circumstance is rare and exists with much greater frequency when the students finish school and go out to work in the Jewish sector. Arabs living in Jewish-Arab cities are an exception because they have extensive contact at all ages.

active life in all areas (Amara, 1986, 1995b; & Spolsky, 1986). This requires a diversity in subjects of study in the schools and the acquisition of linguistic skills in speaking and listening, in reading and writing in many and varied subjects.

Hebrew for the Arabs in Israel is getting stronger and stronger both at the qualitative level– higher levels of knowledge of the various varieties of Hebrew– and the quantitative level – the number of speakers and the frequency of speaking it.

### *3.3 The Degree of Influence of Hebrew on the Arabs*

As stated above, the Arab society in Israel lives amidst the Jewish society and is influenced by it in many areas. One of the important areas of influence is the linguistic one (Amara, 1999b). The Arabic spoken in Israel absorbs constantly words from Hebrew and especially words from daily life (Dana, 1995; Abd-Al-Rahman Mar'i, 1997: 73).

Among the Arab population there is an increasing trend to borrow words from Hebrew and integrate them into the current speech in Arabic. This phenomenon is not specific to a particular level in the Arab society, but is spread throughout all levels and ages and is especially salient among the academics. Integrating Hebrew words into Arabic is not considered alien but constitutes an integral part of the spoken language.

The level of free control in speaking is the result of the extent and efficacy of the connection with the Jewish society. For example, the Arabs in the cities (such as Haifa, Jaffa, Ramla, and Lydda) and also the Druze Arabs (Abu Rabi'a, 1996: 7) and the Bedouins who serve in the army have a better command of Hebrew than other Arabs.

### *3.4 The Importance of Teaching Hebrew*

The teaching of Hebrew to Arab children serves as an auxiliary tool for spreading knowledge about the Jews and Jewish life in Israel, about the history of Israel and about Israeli citizenship. Hebrew teaching, thus, contributes to understanding between the cultures of the two peoples and the strengthening of the economic situation of the Arab population. The Hebrew language is the language of communication with the establishment and with the Jewish environment, and thus it fills a central function in intra-national communication. On the other hand, English, which is studied by Arabic-speaking students as a foreign language fulfils communication functions for academic advancement and international communication. It can thus be understood that Hebrew is more important than English from an immediate communication standpoint for the Arabic-speaking student, who needs Hebrew more than English (Badeir, 1990: 1).

The Hebrew language is one of the problems that the young Arab comes up against, including the student at the university. The Arab learns Hebrew in school only as a second language and sometimes does not reach the desired skill in reading and understanding the Hebrew text which is essential for rapid and exact learning. This has caused an increase in the importance of Hebrew in the eyes of Arabs in Israel, and it has become an important means in the improvement of the economic condition of the Arab community (Sami Mar'i, 1974; Amara, 1986). As is known, in the Arab villages and towns there are no economic resources or developed industrial areas which can attract the young to work in them, and therefore they are forced to work in the Jewish labor market, and knowing Hebrew is an important element in being absorbed into work. This brings about directly the improvement of the economic situation and the rise in the standard of living of the individual.

#### 4. ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

Though Arabic (the mother tongue and the national language of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel) and Hebrew (the dominant language of the country) are the most significant languages in their linguistic repertoire, other languages have unique positions.

English is the third significant language. Today, English is taught in Palestinian Arab schools in Israel from the fourth grade on.<sup>13</sup> In other words, it is learned formally. Outside contact is very slight because there is no direct contact between the Arabs in Israel and an English-speaking community. However, English is important because of its role as the international language of science, technology and commerce, the popularity of American culture, and the close relationship between the USA and Israel.

French is taught in several Arab private schools, the historical heritage of mandatory Palestine. These schools do not give high priorities to French teaching. Most of these schools require French at the elementary level, while at the senior high school level it is optional, and the number of students taking the matriculation examination is quite small.

The above four languages are the only languages learnt in both public and private Arab schools in Israel. However, the multilingualism of the Arab population is much more complex and rich. Over the years thousands of Israeli Palestinians studied in European universities, especially in East Europe, mainly Russia, Romania, and Bulgaria. A significant number, hundreds of students, also studied in Italy. In addition to the linguistic competence these thousands of people obtained in the above mentioned countries, many of them married

<sup>13</sup> Schools are given the choice to start even earlier.

European women, thus increasing the number of Palestinians knowing these languages as mother tongues.<sup>14</sup>

## 5. SUMMARY

This chapter has shown the sociolinguistic reflexes in the Palestinian dynamic language repertoire in Israel as the result of political transformations.

In the British Mandate period the Palestinian linguistic repertoire was simple and to a certain extent uniform since the majority were villagers. Education was not within the reach of everyone, and contact with the outside world was quite meager since the Palestinian society was overwhelmingly agricultural. Most of the Palestinians knew and spoke the Palestinian dialect, and a small proportion of the population knew literary Arabic and English. Very few knew and used Hebrew.

With the establishment of the State of Israel the linguistic repertoire of Israeli Palestinians gradually became complex and diverse, and the status of the languages changed. The two languages, Hebrew and Arabic, became the two official languages of the State, and English received the status of a foreign language. Today the linguistic repertoire of the Arabs is not static and is changing rapidly. These changes have been created as a result of the contact with other Arabic dialects and with Hebrew and English.

Four languages are studied today in the Arab schools in Israel. Standard Arabic is the language of instruction in all the courses. Hebrew is studied as a second language from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on, and there are those who prefer to call it the "State language" since Hebrew is learned also for integrative purposes. English is studied as a foreign language beginning from 4<sup>th</sup> grade onwards. French is studied in a number of private community schools as a second foreign language.

In the following chapters we will deal with the policies and teaching of Arabic as a mother tongue, Hebrew as the dominant national language, English as an international language and French as a second foreign language in a number of private schools. We will trace the development of the curricula in these languages over the last half-century (since the establishment the State of Israel), attempting to understand the emerging language policies toward Arab minority language education in Israel.

<sup>14</sup> Gross estimates indicate hundreds of cases of intermarriage.

## CHAPTER 4

# POLICY AND TEACHING ARABIC AS A MOTHER TONGUE

### 1. A HISTORICAL REVIEW

#### *1.1 The Ottoman Period<sup>1</sup> until 1917*

Teaching of Classical Arabic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was limited. Robinson (1841) estimated that no more than 3% of the Arab population was literate. There were in Jerusalem in 1846 seven Muslim *maktab* (elementary schools attached to mosques) and a secondary *madrasa* adjoining *Al-Haram Al-Sharif* (Noble Sanctuary) (Spolsky and Cooper 1991:42). In the late 1870s, there were reported to be 341 pupils in Muslim schools. The schools started by the various Christian churches generally taught Classical Arabic alongside their favored metropolitan language.

Government teaching of Arabic in Palestine started in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Ottoman government passed a law for elementary and high school education (Yousuf, 1956: 93). Study in the elementary schools lasted four years. The language of instruction for the Muslim population was Turkish, the

<sup>1</sup> The Ottoman period in the Arab countries began in 1518 when the Turkish Ottoman under the Sultan Selim I conquered all the Arab countries. During the Ottoman period Palestine was the southern part of the province of Syria. The Ottoman period in the Arab countries was characterized by stagnation, ignorance, and backwardness. The Ottoman period lasted four centuries till 1918 with the defeat of the Ottoman Turkish Empire at the hands of the Allies in the First World War. Palestine then was put under the British Mandate.

student's second language (Al-'Amaira, 1976; Al-Amir 1997: 46).<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Arab intellectuals in the country protested against this policy and demanded that Arabic be taught. After demonstrations and strikes, the government agreed in 1913 to make substantial changes in the program in the elementary schools. The principal change was to make Arabic the language of instruction on condition that Turkish would remain the second language (Al-Haj, 1996: 31). It was agreed to set up new high schools in which the language of instruction was Arabic. Turkish remained as the official language (Al-Haj, *ibid.*). To do this, textbooks had to be translated from Turkish to Arabic, or imported.

Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire had a status of protected minorities (*ahl al-dhimah*), and were permitted to establish private schools, and choose their own language of instruction. Almost none of them used Turkish (Al-Husri, 1946: 13). The Jewish schools taught originally in Yiddish and later some started to teach in Hebrew. Many Christian schools taught in Arabic, and a good proportion of their pupils were Muslims. The institutions that taught Arabic made an important contribution to the revitalization of Arabic and to the maintenance of its existence during the period of Ottoman rule in the country.

In Ottoman Palestine in 1914 Tibawi (1956: 235) reports that there were three types of schools. There were 95 Government schools in which the language of instruction was Turkish and study was free of charge. There were 379 Muslim Arab schools in which the teaching was done in Arabic but for which parents had to pay tuition. Many of the 170 foreign missionary schools also taught Arabic as well as using it as medium of instruction.

In the four hundred years of Turkish rule in the country, the policy pursued had the effect of turning Arabic into a marginal language. This policy was disastrous for Arabic, and it reached in this period the lowest point ever known in the history of the Arabs. Many words of Turkish origin entered Arabic and the vast majority of the people were illiterate (Al-Amir, 1997: 45).

### *1.2 The Mandate Period (1917-1948)*

When the British established Mandatory rule in Palestine, its educational policy was dominated by two principles. First, it wished to make the Mandate self-funding, and keep expenditure on matters such as education to a minimum. Second, it accepted the language policy laid down by the League of Nations whereby English, Arabic and Hebrew were recognized as official languages.

<sup>2</sup>Al-'Amaira (*Ibid.*) points out that in 1869 the Ottoman government passed the law of education with the following principal articles: Turkish is the official language of instruction in the government schools; high school students are required to study French; the educational council is responsible for examining the competence of the teachers.

With the paucity of Government support for Arab schools (there was no secondary education in the villages, and few girls were educated), the position of Arabic improved considerably during the period of British rule. Applying a policy used in other colonies, the British were satisfied with primary education in the local language, only expecting the elite who reached secondary education to gain enough English to serve as junior government officials. The Mandatory establishment did not relate to education as a means for social and political change. Its policy was based on maintaining the status quo (Al-Haj 1996: 38). The British were satisfied that education for the Arab population stressed religious studies and universal values as long as it avoided any nationalism (Miller, 1985: 93).

The study of Arabic during the period of the Mandate was similar to the study of Arabic in neighboring Arab countries. The principle that guided the teachers in teaching it was that Arabic is a diglossic language and requires as many lessons as possible (Al-'Amaira, 1976: 24.) The teaching did not focus on reading books and newspapers or on writing letters, but rather on the teaching of calligraphic writing, learned expression and rhetoric. In this view the classical language is an ornament to be proud of and not an effective tool for communication between people.

The teachers of Arabic were for the most part men of religion or pupils in the conservative religious school, forbidden to stray from the ways of teaching accepted since the Middle Ages. There was no balance in the program between the literary courses and modern secular studies (Shaimon, 1968: 703).

From an examination of the textbooks up till the 1920s it appears that readings were based on classical literary texts in which rhetoric and elaborate style were dominant. Other books dealt with the teaching of the composition and grammar. Special attention was given to studying the Koran and to memorizing chapters from it.

After the 1920s, textbooks started to show Western influence. A reader *Al-Jadid* (The New) was published which included, among other things, pieces that were light in content and suitable for students at the various levels from the linguistic point of view. For literature in the elementary school, schools used books that were published in Egypt and included in addition to classical literature, modern literature, Arab history, and selections from the fields of science and theology.<sup>3</sup> In the high schools the students used a reader *Al-Wasit* (The Mediator) that included an abridged history of Arabic literature and selections of poetry and prose.

In the final years of the Mandate, a group of Palestinian teachers wrote a series of readers for the elementary school under the title *Mukhtarat Al-Nusus Al-'Arabiyya* (A Selection of Arabic Texts) that contained poetry and prose of all the periods. The linguistic material is simple and graded, the poems included in

<sup>3</sup> For example, the series *Al-Mutala'a Al-'Arabiyya* (The Arabic Reader).



it are written in a language suitable to the ages of the children. The prose is phrased in the ordinary modern language, which does not require excessive explanations.<sup>4</sup>

In the high schools the teachers used texts from the reader *Mukhtarat al-Nusus al-‘Arabiyya* (a selection of Arabic texts) designated for high school students and in which a clear preference was given to prose over poetry; it also includes academic texts. Another popular book was the Egyptian anthology *Al-Muntakhab min Adab al-‘Arab* (a selection from Arabic literature), edited by two preeminent Arab authors Taha Hussein and Ahmad Amin with an emphasis on poetry.

Most of the textbooks of teaching Arabic used during the period were conservative, focusing on the classical language, with little regards for the needs of modern life and the problems of diglossia.

## 2. AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL

In a memorandum that was sent by the education department to the Jewish Agency and to the National Council the problem of organizing education in the Arab sector during the transition period was raised. The memorandum summarizes debate in the years 1944-1946, presents issues to be discussed at a committee meeting on the problems of education in the anticipated State on January 5, 1948 (Labor Party Archives, 1948). Two central issues concerned language policy. It was proposed that the language of instruction in the Arab primary school would be Arabic, and permission would be given to each school to add one more language, either Hebrew or English. In Arab high schools and in Arab teacher training institutes the language of instruction would be Arabic, and in addition to this written Arabic and English would be studied in them. A second question was about the expression of nationalist and anti-Jewish sentiment in the textbooks (mainly Arabic and history). The memorandum said that despite the desire not to touch the existing situation nor to introduce radical changes in the transition period, it was unthinkable that in the Jewish state there would be textbooks written in an anti-Jewish sentiment. The common textbooks must therefore be checked immediately. To do this, it was appropriate that Jewish educators supervise the Arab education during the transition period in order to remove any anti-state elements. Jewish inspectors were to be brought

<sup>4</sup> In addition to this reader the teachers had available readers from Egypt and Lebanon, considerable parts of which were devoted to a description of the homeland and encouraging pride in the Arab nation. These readers described life in the city and village which is not relevant to the conventional patterns of life in Palestine.

into the Arab schools and the Arabic elements that are close to Jews were to be strengthened.

In the session of the committee for education problems of January 26, 1948 the language of instruction in schools was discussed again (Labor Party Archives, 1948: 31-33). The following policy was passed: "In every school in which the majority of the children are Arab the language of instruction will be Arabic. And vice versa- in every school in which the majority of the children are Jewish the language of instruction will be Hebrew. One of the two languages is a required course."

In another session of the committee on February 2, 1948 (ibid. 34), an alternative formulation was proposed: "The right of Arabic as the language of instruction will be assured in schools in which the Arab parents call for it." In this session the following decision was passed: "In every school in which the majority of the children are Arab the language of instruction is Arabic, and there is a requirement to study Hebrew, which is the language of the State and vice versa, wherever the majority of the children are Jewish and the language of instruction is Hebrew, there is a requirement to study Arabic." There is no reference to the concept of mother tongue in the discussions of the committee.

The final version of the policy was adopted a day before the establishment of the State. The agreed language, submitted by Y. Gurfinkel, chairman of the committee for education problems, on May 13, 1948 (ibid. 36) was as follows:

The government will guarantee sufficient primary and high school education for the Arab minorities and the Jews (in the Jewish and Arab State – Y. Gurfinkel) to everyone in his language and in accordance with his cultural tradition. The right of every minority to maintain its schools for the study of its language, while fulfilling the requirements for general education as would be set by the government, without being negated or cancelled; foreign educational institutions would continue in their activities on the basis of existing rights.

These decisions assured the right of the mother tongue of every minority to serve in instruction in the schools. At its moment of birth, then, the Jewish State proclaimed the right of the Arabic-speaking minorities to education in its own language.

The rest of this chapter traces the development of the Arabic curriculum over the next half-century.

### *2.1 The Old Curriculum (1948-1967)*

After the establishment of Israel in 1948 there was no new curriculum or textbooks for teaching Arabic to Arab students for at least two years, and teachers continued to teach using the textbooks from the Mandate period (Shalmon, 1968: 720; Al-Haj 1996: 100f.). In January 1949 the Ministry of

Education and Culture set up a committee whose function was to deal with the curriculum for Arab schools. In 1952 the Ministry of Education completed the preparation of a curriculum for teaching Arabic as a mother tongue in grades 1-2, with the other grades continuing to learn according to the old curriculum. In 1957 the curriculum for grades 1-4 was completed, and in 1959 the curriculum for grades 5-8 was completed (Al-Haj, 1996: 101). For the high schools the Ministry of Education began in 1954 to prepare readers with poetry and prose as required material for the matriculation examinations. This curriculum was completed only in 1967 (Jiryis, 1976: 206).

Shemuel Shalmon, the director of the branch for education and culture for Arabs in the 1950s (Shalmon, 1957: 93), summarizes the difficulties of the work:

Over the years we made various attempts to replace from the pedagogical point of view the obsolete and defective curriculum from the Mandate period in the form of individual temporary programs for courses or classes. All of these curricula were temporary, with the aim of testing their practical realization and to learn from experience which of our school courses are suitable also for the Arab school and what we have to put into all those courses which cannot at all be copied from the Hebrew school. One of the courses with which we had the most difficulty was the Arabic language, because the study of the mother tongue is the main channel of national education, and what was acceptable in the Arab school in Mandatory Palestine or in the neighboring countries does not suit our needs, neither from the content nor the methodological point of view.

The Ministry of Education banned during the 1950s many books which expressed national symbols. Among these books was *Al-Mushawwiq* (The Spellbinder), a reader for teaching Arabic which was brought from Lebanon and in which were interlaced Lebanese and other Arabic national symbols (Al-Haj 1996: 100). The removal of nationalist content distressed Arab educators, and in a letter which the culture committee in the Association of Christian Brothers in Haifa sent to the Ministry of Education on June 15, 1956, they complained about the situation in these words:

Proper attention is not being paid to the teaching of the Arabic language. Arabic literature is being taught without books in a distorted form for which the students cannot realize the nature of the rich heritage of their people. In addition to this, large portions of the literature of the national liberation are deleted, and this is in accord with the pressure policy and the attempt to suppress the national honor among them. (State Archives 1616/1351/c quoted in Al-Haj, 1996: 102).

The question of the national education of the Arab youth is not new, its roots having been struck in the Mandate period, when the curriculum deliberately ignored integrating texts with a nationalist tendency. Arab educators insisted on the importance of education for the Palestinian national movement and

demanded that the authorities encourage this direction. The issue arose again more intensely with the establishment of the State of Israel. Benor (1951: 7) asked: "How can we stimulate an Israeli Arabness which is faithful to Israel without requiring the negation of Arab longings on the one hand and without permitting the nurturing of Arab nationalism of the hostile kind on the other hand."

The officially endorsed goals of teaching Arabic during this period were intended to realize the following (State Archives 1292/145/gl, quoted by Peres et al. 1968 and also by Al-Haj, 1996):

1. Correct reading and comprehension of the written and spoken language.
2. Clear, exact and logical formulation of ideas and feelings, orally and in writing.
3. The ability to understand and evaluate good literature.
4. Opening gates to the cultural and literary consciousness in the past and in the present.

In Shalmon's opinion (1957: 95) the goals of teaching Arabic to Arabs are identical to the goals that guide the teaching of the mother tongue for children of every nation. The first goal is to put into the hands of the child a comfortable and effective tool for self-expression. Shalmon's view empties language teaching of its cultural content. Compare the goals of teaching Hebrew as a mother tongue, the first of which is (Ministry of Education, 1967):

To impart to the student the love of the ideals, the view of the world and the historical endeavor of the nation in various periods of its history, and also the awareness of the unshaken historical connection between the nation and its land and culture. Special attention will be given to the struggles and achievements of our generation and of previous generations in everything connected to the national and cultural revival and the social restoration.

The fraught position of an Arab minority in a Jewish State is unmistakably revealed in this contrast of curricular aims: in the mother tongue curriculum for Arabic, the goal is technical competence in reading and writing, while in the Hebrew mother tongue curriculum it is national and cultural pride.

On a practical level, too, there were pedagogical problems: *The problem of the literary and spoken language* – the emphasis on the study of the material in the literary language. This decision is tied in with many difficulties because of diglossia.

*Textbooks*– most of the books from the Mandate period were banned, and no immediate substitutes were available. The teachers taught without books. To deal with this, the Histadrut (Israeli Trade Union Movement) together with the Ministry of Education established in 1950 an Arabic Book Fund, which, within

the next three years, managed to publish only two books and one novel translated from Hebrew.

*Teaching methods*– the dominant teaching method accepted during the Mandate period was that of repetition and oral memorization, approaches which do not foster understanding and self-expression.

*Teaching reading and writing to beginners according to the phonetic method*– No attempts were made to teach globally.

*Reading supplementary material*– the textbook was the primary source with which the student learned, and there were no additional reference books that the student could use.

*Teaching the Koran*– during the Mandate period five weekly hours had been assigned to learning the Koran on the assumption that it would be impossible to be fluent in Arabic without this. This was reduced to two weekly hours.

*A lack of trained teachers*–following the 1948 war most of the Palestinian elites left or were expelled, including teachers.

## 2.2 The Improved Curriculum (1968-1980)

After 1968, new curricular materials were developed, with new elementary and intermediate level textbooks written by Arab teachers and inspectors. For the 1<sup>st</sup> grade there were a number of readers, with teachers free to choose among them. Passages from the Koran were included in the literature textbook. Study was focused principally on a literary point of view, concentrated on matters of language and phraseology and influences on Arabic literature.

During this period, a reform program was activated in the Israeli education system, and comprehensive schools were being established. According to the standard of the reform the students studied Arabic in groupings which were divided into three ability streams. Each group was to learn with a reader according to its level. However, no specific books were available for the weak students, and they continued to learn with the same books that were designated for all the students.

The teaching of Arabic in this period continued in the traditional form. Emphasis was on technical and traditional matters in teaching grammar and rhetoric, and even the contents of the literature program did not inspire the students to study their own literature. The inspector of teaching Arabic to Arabs, Mahmud Abu Fani, pointed out this problem at a seminar for the Arabic language course organizers on February 4, 1982 (Abu Fani, Teacher's Guide – Junior High School, 1990: 8-11): Over-emphasis on the teaching of Classical

Arabic literature. Two thirds of the curriculum is allocated to classical literature and only a third to modern literature; a quarter of the curriculum concentrates on the history of the literature and the biographies of writers of the classical period; the subjects in the program are conventional ones taken from ancient Arab life and irrelevant to modern life. They are distant from the world of the student and do not arouse any emotional connection; modern genres such as essay, fiction, novel and play, were under-represented; there are very few translations from world literature (comparative literature).

The dominant teaching method is frontal – the lecture focuses on commentary and the interpretation of central ideas. This method puts the teacher in the center of the learning activity. That is to say, he sends messages and the student records. This method does not give the student satisfactory skills in criticism or development of an esthetic sense.

### *2.3 The New Curricula (1981-1995)*

There was much criticism of the curriculum for Arabs, especially in the courses in Arabic, Hebrew, history, civics and religion. These subjects are sensitive because there is a linkage to the individual's nationalist education. There was a demand from Jewish and Arab educators for changes in these programs to make them suitable for the Arab student (Koplewitz, 1973; Sarsur, 1985; Al-Haj, 1996). A committee was set up to formulate the educational goals for the Arab sector. On the basis of the recommendations of the committee new educational programs were drawn up.

The Ministry of Education and Culture set up a committee under the pedagogical secretariat and the inspectorate to deal with teaching Arabic in the Arab schools, and its function was to prepare a curriculum for teaching Arabic and its literature from 1<sup>st</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grades. This committee was subdivided into subcommittees to deal with the levels of study: a committee for the high schools, one for the junior high schools, one for the elementary schools, and one for general literature for the high schools.<sup>5</sup> Each subcommittee had to formulate goals, write a curriculum, and prepare readers and a teacher's guide.

#### *2.3.1 High School Curriculum (1981)*

The Arabic literature curriculum for the high schools (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>) was published in 1981 (Ministry of Education, Pedagogical Secretariat, 1981). The goals of Arabic language and literature study were described as follows.

<sup>5</sup> The members of the committee are: The inspector for teaching Arabic, academic experts in Arabic and education, experts in study programs, teachers' representatives from the field who serve as active teachers of Arabic.

The student should take pride in Arabic as his national language, which constitutes an important element in the forming of his personality. The literary language should be emphasized, because it is the one through which the student will gain his education, acquire moral and human values found in Arabic and world culture, fostering of the ability for scientific thinking, research and criticism in all the educational activities and cultivating originality and creativity in the learner. The student will get to recognize human culture and will learn the modern literary trends while strengthening the connection between the student and the works of art that are learnt, encouraging the ability to listen, developing the ability of silent reading such that the student will understand the material that is read and will cultivate critical reading, encouragement of outside reading, enlarging the vocabulary of the student so that he will be able to express his thoughts and feelings without limitations, developing the creative and functional skills of expression such as presentation of ideas, description of feelings, giving a speech, writing reports and summarizing in a proper and clear style, correct writing and clear handwriting, encouragement of the student to use the resources and to be assisted in literature.

There is clearly an advance in the twelve goals which refer to pedagogical and sociolinguistic aspects in teaching Arabic as a mother tongue. But there is still a lack in the area of the function of the language in the national and cultural education of the Arab youth. Only two goals refer to this subject.

In the new curriculum, the study of Arabic in high school is divided into three main parts, Arabic literature, general literature and Arabic grammar. Arabic literature is further divided into classical literature (poetry, prose, religion); modern literature (poetry, essays, short stories, novels, plays) and history of the literature and literary criticism.

In 1978 an experimental edition was published of a curriculum general or world literature in the Arab high schools. The curriculum with a 90-hour scope (one study unit) was written by a committee of Arab inspectors, principals, and teachers assisted by people who had written the general literature curriculum for the schools in the Jewish sector. There was a great similarity between the two programs, such as the formulation of the educational goals and the works studied.

In 1990 a new curriculum was published for teaching general literature in the Arabic sector. This program was based on a survey made by Mahmud Abu Fani and Khalid Azayza (Abu Fani & Azayza: 1988) of teachers comments on the experimental curriculum. New works which were not relevant to the Arab student were removed. A glossary of literary concepts, an updated bibliographical list and reference books for teachers, and a teacher's guide were added.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ministry of Education, A Guide for the Teaching of General Literature in the Arab High Schools. Didactic Considerations and Adaptations, Jerusalem, 1996a.

As to grammar, in the old curriculum the students learned Arabic grammar from grammar books written in Arab countries, and teaching methods based on memorization. A sub-committee therefore was given the task of writing a new curriculum and new textbooks. In all the new grammar books a uniform method was applied, proceeding from the easy to the difficult, teaching functional grammar in context. The examples in the book are topical ones taken from the world of the Arab student. The grammar rules in the books are formulated according to the deductive teaching method going from the general to the specific, presenting a number of questions which guide the student to deduce the general rule by himself.

### *2.3.2 Curriculum for the Junior High Schools (1985)*

In the Arabic literature curriculum for grades 7-9 in the Arab schools in Israel (Ministry of Education, 1985) the basic assumptions and goals for teaching Arabic and its literature were the same as those designated for the high schools, making no effort to specialize goals to match the age of the students.

The study of Arabic in the junior high schools includes three parts: literature, grammar and expression, and understanding.

In the old curriculum, Arabic literature was prepared twenty years earlier. It was not based on empirical research in the field, and in most of the cases the works that were selected for study did not answer to the needs of the students. Moreover, the program was the fruit of imitation and translation that were done for other fields. In addition, no teacher's guide was prepared for the textbooks, and the teachers were not trained sufficiently to apply the program.

The new curriculum is different in structure, character and content. Teaching materials were chosen to be close to the world of the student. A wide variety of literary genres are included: proverbs and sayings, anecdotes and legends, stories and plays, advices and speeches, biographies and travels, poems and essays and also religious texts. The texts were accompanied by illustrations and appropriate pictures, all attractively printed. Attached to the texts were also explanations of new words and unclear combinations and a short biography of the authors.

The grammar books in the junior high schools are built on the same format as those in the high schools both from the structural and the pedagogical viewpoints. In fact, it is the same sequence of readers which complement one another, with each reader dealing with a particular aspect of Arabic grammar, and all the readers combined expanding the knowledge of the learner and providing him with control of the fundamental points of the grammar.

In the rationale of the 1990 curriculum<sup>7</sup> it is stated that the old reader was built on the deductive method. To start, the teacher explained the rule with

<sup>7</sup> Arabic Language Study Program for Junior and Senior High Schools, First Edition, Jerusalem, 1990.



examples and afterwards applies it in isolated sentences. This method is built on memorization of the rule and is difficult for students, and the hidden danger is that the student will forget the rule after a time.

The new curriculum for teaching grammar is different. The starting point of teaching grammar is to help the student read and comprehend the text. The grammar program in the high schools consists of two units, the second is optional for the advanced students. Emphasis is placed on functional grammar. The teaching is by the inductive method -the student derives the rule from the examples. The drills are intended to arouse the curiosity of the student since they are taken from his or her world and educational environment. Teaching proceeds from the easy to the difficult and material is organized to match. The exercises are mainly based on texts from Arabic literature. The layout and printing are attractive using color. There are optional exercises for good students.

The curriculum emphasizes the importance of vocalization for pronunciation as well as grammar.

In Israel, many of these tasks must be carried out in Hebrew, such as letters, documents, interview for a job, so that there is a lack of motivation for improving expression in Arabic. However, this lack of motivation may well help account for the fact that many Arab students and adults find it difficult to express their views and thoughts clearly and comprehensibly in their mother tongue. This underlies the effort of those developing the curriculum for expression in Arabic, first published in 1995.

Already a first book has been written for grade 7, and it is planned to complete the series of readers for the higher grades up to 12<sup>th</sup> grade.<sup>8</sup>

The approach which the Ministry of Education espouses in language education is a holistic approach to language teaching, that is to say, learning the skills in the framework of a general lesson and not by assigning separate lessons for each subject. In practice this approach exists only in the lower grades. In the higher classes each subject –literature, grammar, expression - is learned separately.

### 2.3.3 *The Curriculum for the Elementary School (1989)*

In the curriculum for teaching Arabic and its literature in the Arab elementary school in grades 1-6 (1989) goals for teaching the language now relate partially to the national education of the students in the elementary level “strengthening his ties and his belonging to his Arab nation.” This is of course a considerable change in comparison with the old curriculum. The other goals are general, and are very similar to the high school goals.

<sup>8</sup> Ministry of Education, *Al-Jadid fi al-Ta 'abir wal-Faham* (The New in Expression and Comprehension for Grade 7). Jerusalem, 1996b.

The curriculum for the elementary school is composed of two parts, the first part assigned to the first grade. A panel was set up which focused on the preparation of a specific reader for 1<sup>st</sup> grade. This reader is called *Al-Ra'id* (The Pioneer, The Trailblazer). The teaching method in this book is the global method. That is to say, learning is contextualized- the full sentence is the first unit in learning to read. Unlike the structural method where isolated language features are learnt first.

Arabic diglossia influences the learning process for children since the child uses the spoken language at home and in the street while the textbooks are based on the literary language. From this it can be said that the Arab student begins to learn it as a new language and not as a mother tongue. In addition to this the diglossic situation in Israel is more complex than in Arab countries because of the political influence. The use of Standard Arabic is extremely limited in the public sphere in Israel since Hebrew is the dominant language: In the Knesset, in the media, in institutions for higher education, on street signs etc. (Amara & Mari', 1999). This situation creates serious difficulties in controlling literary Arabic properly.

As a first step in composing a suitable reader for the 1<sup>st</sup> grade students, the authors were influenced by developments in neighboring Arab countries. The method was to teach in the first stages only words which are identical in their structure and pronunciation in the spoken and in the literary language. According to the research done by the Egyptian scholar Muhammad Radwaan on teaching Arabic as a mother tongue presented in his book "Ways to Teach Arabic to Beginners", out of 372 words that are frequent in the speech of small children there are 193 words that are common to both the spoken and the literary (Guide to *Al-Ra'id*, 1990). Likewise the authors turned to teachers who taught in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade and asked them to examine the frequency of the words (and including verbs in certain conjugations and nouns in certain plural forms). On the basis of the readers in the Arab countries and on the study which was done in Israel, a list was compiled which includes 369 words common to both the spoken and the written language. From this selection the members of the committee put together the book for the 1<sup>st</sup> grade.

The second part of the curriculum deals with grades 2-6, and it is divided into two:

*A. The Literary Dimension* – The texts studied in the elementary school are intended to provide reading in its various types; literal, interpretive, applied, and also according to the taxonomy of Bloom: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation.<sup>9</sup>

Many texts in the readers are taken from books published in Israel and from readers in Arab countries, and they are intended to develop in the student

<sup>9</sup> In grades 2-3 20 texts are presented, in grades 4-6, 27 are presented.

linguistic skills and various values (psychological and educational) so that he will be able to reach a level of understanding, analysis, synthesis and evaluation.

*B. The Linguistic Dimension* – The goal is for the student to use the language in a standard and correct way, in sentence structure, vocalization, correct spelling and handwriting. Syntax is not taught in the elementary school. The student learns the parts of speech, and the emphasis is on acquisition of the Standard language cultivating expression in writing and speaking. The goal is to improve the level of speaking in the Standard language and to encourage free reading.

The main reader used by the students in the elementary school, from grade 1 to grade 6 is *Al-Ra'id*. The *Al-Ra'id* books for grades 2-6 include only the study texts, each book contains about 60 texts which are diverse in their contents and are demonstrated by illustrations or relevant pictures in color. In addition to each book there is a cassette and a workbook (except for grade 6).

Recently the staff has begun to prepare a textbook *Al-Mawrid* (The Source), and it is devoted to the teaching of language skills.

## 2.4 An Evaluation of the New Curriculum

The new curriculum constitutes an important step in the advancement of the teaching of Arabic and its literature, but at the same time there remain shortcomings and technical difficulties. It has been noted that the curriculum was prepared and published in a reverse chronological order. At first the curriculum for high school was prepared and afterwards the preparation of the programs for elementary schools began. In the opinion of Boulus (1991: 89), this procedure is flawed from the pedagogical point of view because the natural process is to develop programs first for the elementary stage, then for post-elementary.

The number of texts studied has been increased in comparison with the old curriculum, however following the reform the number of teaching hours in Arabic has been reduced from 6 per week to 4 per week (in the best case 5 hours per week): 1 hour language (grammar), 1 hour of expression (composition) and 2 hours of literature. It must be kept in mind that in the Arab sector three languages are studied as a requirement and in the Jewish sector two languages are studied as a requirement and they receive the same number of hours. This, as noted, comes at the expense of the mother tongue (less than 8% of teaching hours are assigned to Arabic).

### 2.4.1 The Relationship to Arab Culture and National Identity

The relationship of Israel to the culture and identity of the Arabs in Israel is related to Israel's policies and ideology towards them. Smootha (1992: 121)

discusses the contradictions between the Zionist ideology on the one hand and its democracy on the other hand and their impacts on the Arab population.<sup>10</sup>

In the opinion of Benziman and Mansur (1992: 152f.) the teaching of Arabic in the Arab schools according to the old curriculum was cut off from historical, cultural and national contexts. "This tendency found expression in the emptying of the courses such as literature and history from national contents. In the Arab sector the declared goals of Arabic language and literature for the Arab child are solely pragmatic." From this it can be deduced that the language is passed on at its most superficial level, as a communication tool with which the student can express himself in daily life. On the other hand, and for the first time, there is in the new Arabic curriculum a clear reference to the importance of Arabic in crystallizing the personality of the student and in acquisition of knowledge about his national heritage, that is, the strengthening of the student's pride in the Arabic language as a national language and as an important component in his personality (Al-Haj, 1996:120). Moreover, in the new program many works are brought from Arabic literature in its periods. But at the same time there are a not insignificant number of important authors, poets and critics whose works were not included in the program, not to mention the fact that there are many poems that do not reflect the current situation in the Arab world (Boulus, 1991: 96f.).

#### *2.4.2 Palestinian Literature*

In the program are included works by Palestinian authors and poets as required study material for the matriculation examination. This step is very important, though there remains room for improvement. Not enough time is given to this (Boulus, 1989). In the course of three years the student studies from four to seven poems by Palestinian poets. Nor do the works that are studied reflect the national spirit professed in the goals (Al-Haj, 1991: 120f.). The committee that prepared the study program selected poems and novels which encourage this approach (Abu Hanna, 1988), but they were censored (Habib-Allah, 1991: 153). There is not appropriate representation for the teaching of literary works which were written by poets native to the country. These are the poets whose works were included in the program: Ibrahim Tuqaan, Abu Salma, Mahmud Darwish, Samih Al-Qasim, Habib Shuweiri, Hanna Abu Hanna, Faruq Mawasi, Fahd Abu Khadra and Misheil Haddad. But the works chosen from these poets do not faithfully represent their poetry, and they cannot provide information on the character and on the ways of development of local Palestinian poetry. It is pertinent to point out that famous poets such as Mutlaq 'Abd al-Kahliq, Salim Jubran, Tawfiq Ziad, Mu'in Bseisu, Ahmad Dahbur and Iz-addin Almanasra and others (Boulus, 1991: 92f.) do not appear at all in the program because their poetry is identified as clearly national poetry. The negative attitude to these poets

<sup>10</sup> For more details see above, Chapter 2.

has no reasonable explanation; and it is not in line with the two declared goals which deal with the national education in the teaching of Arabic.

Until 1980 the teaching goals were shrouded in mystery, without any clear definitions. Moreover, the formulators of the Arabic teaching policy did not relate to it as a national mother tongue but as a language that the Arab student should learn just as he learns English or some other language, detached from all cultural or social ties. In addition to this the students did not have suitable textbooks, and for the existing textbooks there were no teachers' guides.

In the new curriculum, the declared goals are formulated in a detailed and relevant form, and for the first time specific attention has been devoted to the importance of Arabic as a language that shapes the personality of the learner, and there is an emphasis on the ways and methods for imparting teaching skills.

A first serious attempt has been made to introduce Palestinian literature into the curriculum, though this attempt is a first step and a partial one which requires re-examination.

### *2.5 The New Policy towards the Teaching of Arabic*

In the 1995-96 special circular – copy/ 31, which was published on April 15, 1996, the principles of the Ministry of Education language policy in Israel were laid down.

*The Arabic Mother Tongue* – The students must reach the highest level of literacy in the mother tongue. In the programs for development of linguistic ability and literacy and the use of the language and its application in various styles and registers will be emphasized

*Teaching hours* – In the kindergartens – there will not be any allotment of specific hours. The learning by tender age children is characterized by their learning at all times and in all places.

*In elementary education*– A new proposal is currently being shaped for the structure of the studies in the elementary school, and special emphasis will be put on the development of literacy. The number of hours has not yet been finally fixed.

*In the junior high schools*– It has been recommended to allot 4 weekly hours for each academic year.

*In the senior high schools*– It has been recommended to allot 4 weekly hours for each academic year.

The new policy does not herald any substantial change. Arabic is not related to as a national language or as a regional language. In addition the teaching hours are not at all sufficient. Thus, the situation remains as it was in the previous curricula, and we do not see in the new policy any practical solution for the improvement of the status of Arabic as a mother tongue.

### 3. THE TEACHING OF ARABIC IN THE SCHOOLS

#### 3.1 The Number of Teaching Hours

The study of Arabic begins in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade and continues through the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. In kindergarten the children learn songs by heart, but they do not do actual reading and writing. There are kindergarten teachers who teach the writing of individual words, but this is not a requirement.

The number of hours devoted to the teaching of Arabic has changed over the years as detailed in the following table:

*Table 4.1: Number of weekly hours in the study of religion and Arabic language during the Mandate period and in 1950 and 1990. (Data on the Mandate period and 1950 are taken from Shalmon, 1968: 710)*

	Mandate Period		1950		1990	
Grade	Religion	Arabic	Religion	Arabic	Religion	Arabic
1	5	14	2	8	2	8
2	5	11	2	7	2	7
3	5	12	2	7	2	6
4	4	8	2	8	2	6
5	4	8	2	7	2	6
6	3	8	2	2	2	6

During the Mandate period many lessons were given in religion and language.<sup>11</sup> After the establishment of the State of Israel the range of hours for religion was reduced to 2 weekly hours, and the language hours were also reduced. This tendency continues. In the junior high school, the students learn 4-5 hours per week, while in the senior high school they learn on the average of 4-6 hours per week before the reform, and after the reform the number of hours remained at 4 per week.

<sup>11</sup> This shows the importance of teaching the language and especially the literary texts in Arab education. This concept was not unique just to Mandatory Palestine but was common in all the Arab countries of the period. Likewise lessons in religion were reinforced since the Arabs saw in the study of religion a strengthening of the Arabic language.

### *3.2 Evaluation and Measurement*

#### *3.2.1 Feedback Tests in the Elementary School and in the Junior High School*

The inspectorate of the teaching of Arabic carried out twice (1994 and 1996) a national feedback test in Arabic as a mother tongue in the elementary schools and in the junior high schools in cooperation with the National Center for Testing and Evaluation. The aim of the test was to examine the achievements of the students in Arabic at a national level.<sup>12</sup> The test examined the subjects learnt at school and the level of knowledge achieved on the basis of the official curriculum of the Ministry of Education. The results of the test were intended to serve as a tool for the supervisory in locating types of principal errors, to compare the achievements with those of students in other courses and to learn from experience. The achievement questionnaire was based on the curriculum, and it was put together by a professional committee which specializes in drafting questionnaires. Therefore, the test was representative of all the students. The members of the committee even set the criteria for examining and evaluating the test.

In the academic year 1995-96 the National Center for Tests ran a feedback test in Arabic for 4<sup>th</sup> grade. The length of the test was 90 minutes. Its purpose was to examine the reading and writing skills (Ministry of Education, Achievement Questionnaire in Arabic for 4<sup>th</sup> Grade, June 1996c):

A. Writing – In this part three tasks were presented, such as an assignment to write a composition on a particular subject, an official letter or a theoretical text.

B. Reading – The purpose of this part is to examine the comprehension in reading texts which were not studied in class. Ten questions were included, some of them closed questions and some open-ended.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The goals of the national feedback were formulated by the Ministry of Education and were published in the circular of the director-general (Special Circular D, November 1995a) which was devoted to the subject of the tests in the educational system, and these are: 1. Information gathering at the national level of the Ministry of Education on the achievement and the output of the official study program and a follow-up of changes in achievements over a period of time. 2. Giving credible and current information on the educational system in general to the education committee of the Knesset, the administration of the ministry, to the regions, to schools and to the general public. 3. Focusing public attention and that of the educational system on the study program and its continual improvement.

<sup>13</sup> As for the types of texts, they were varied in their purposes: Scientific text – informative, academic selection from the encyclopedia, argumentation text – an article from the newspaper and a short story – narrative. Three questions were also given on language: Masculine-feminine, singular-plural and adjectives.

C. An integrated text which examines the two skills, reading and writing together. The assignments are mainly open-ended questions in which the student is asked to show proficiency in the learned material and in the creative works.

In the same year at the same time (June 1996) a feedback test was arranged for 8<sup>th</sup> grade. The length of the test was 90 minutes. Most of the questions were open-ended questions and some were closed questions. This test was also composed of these three parts (Ministry of Education, Questionnaire, achievements in Arabic by 8<sup>th</sup> grade, June 1996c):

A. Literature – According to a text about one and a half pages long, the following skills were examined: Content of the work, its structure, language, style, and personal evaluation.

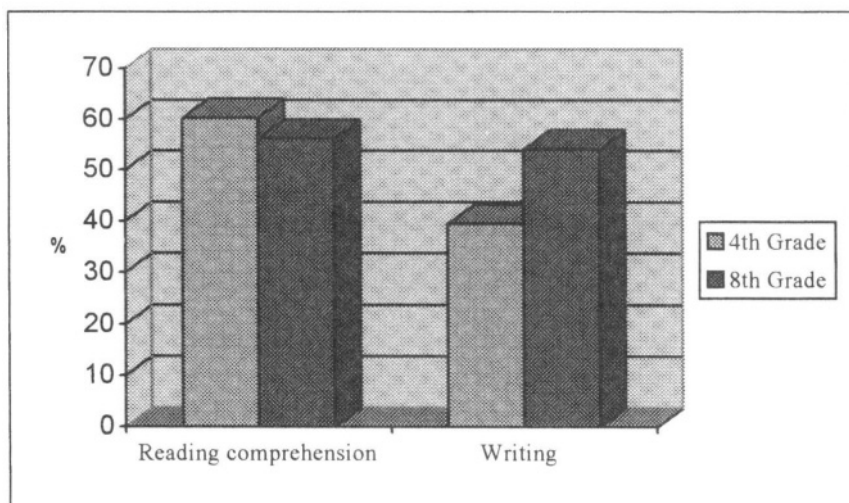
B. Expression in writing – Identification of the type of writing (literary, functional and persuasive), relationship to the content, the structure and the linguistic level.

C. Reading comprehension and grammar – comprehension was examined at the literal level and at the interpretive level; in grammar phonological and morphological features were examined.

In brief, the feedback tests in the elementary and junior high schools examined all the components of the teaching skills. Therefore the results reflect the level of each and every student. This enables us to understand the quality of the teaching and the ways to improve it.

The results of the achievement test in the Arabic mother tongue for students in grades 4 and 8 point to low achievements in most of the assignments that were examined in the test at the various levels as detailed in the following diagram:





*Figure 4.1. Average achievements in reading comprehension and writing in Arabic as a mother tongue according to grade.*

The findings show that the difficulty in expression in writing is mainly in the formation of ideas, in the organization of text and in performing writing tasks which require logical thinking.

The findings show clearly a difficulty in understanding texts, especially informative texts (Average 55.5%) in comparison to narrative texts (average 66.5%). This difficulty could be attributed to two main factors. The first factor is related to the nature of the Arab text, including frequently long and complex sentences. The second factor is related to the methods of teaching, where no sufficient attention is given to both drilling and text analysis. Teaching reading comprehension emphasizes mainly the main message of the text, especially at the literary-semantic level. Here the achievements are relatively high. Low achievements were obtained in questions which examined analysis and understanding of details included in the text (what is called "local understanding").

A comparison of the achievement in Arabic as a mother tongue with Hebrew as a mother tongue among Jews on the basis of the feedback tests shows a tremendous gap, 33% more on behalf of the Jewish students (Ministry of Education, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d).

The achievements in the written proficiency, especially those sections which examined content and the structure of the language, are very low (average 39.5%). This shows that the majority of Arab students do not reach the satisfactory level determined by the Ministry of Education in this skill. Possibly

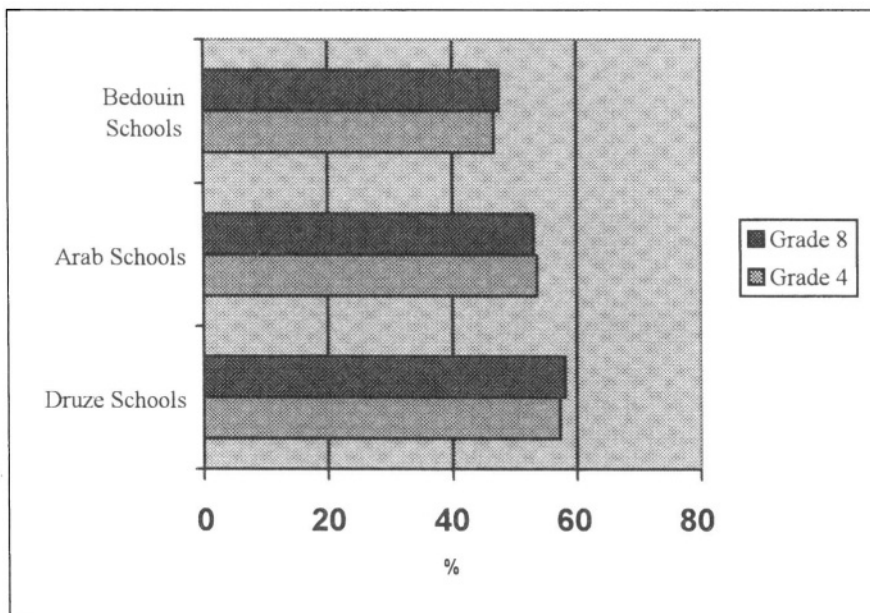
the methods of teaching and the diglossic situation are the two major factors accounting for the low achievements in writing.

In addition to this there is a difference in the distribution of the achievements in the test for the 4<sup>th</sup> grade in Arab, Druze and Bedouin schools, and the worst situation can be seen in the Bedouin schools as shown in the following table and displayed in figure 4.2:

*Table 4.2: Average achievements, standard deviation and number of students who were sampled in the mother tongue according to sector (in percentages).*

School	Moslems and Christians	Druze	Bedouin	Total
Average	53.6	57.3	46.7	52.4
SD	21.6	18.9	21.9	21.4
Total number of students	1384	528	743	2655

(Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport and the National Center for Testing and Evaluation 1998a, 1998b)



*Figure 4.2. Average achievements in Arabic as a mother tongue according to grade and sector*

From the point of view of the feedback test (1996) it appears that the achievements of the students in Arabic and their positions with respect to the language are not satisfactory, as determined by Mahmud Abu Fani, the inspector for teaching Arabic in the Arab sector (Abu Fani 1995: 4), and he explains

There are students in the elementary school who do not control reading sufficiently and encounter many difficulties in reading comprehension. This problem exists also in the junior high and senior high schools at various levels. There is a weakness in reading comprehension, in expression and in motivation to read books and stories outside the walls of the school.

The lack of control in Arabic is particularly salient in the Bedouin schools. In an interview with one of the teachers who teaches in the Negev he claimed:

In addition to the general problems of the teaching of Arabic, there are in the Negev two aspects which harm the language teaching process: The first is the matter of the dialects – the teachers in the schools come from various sectors and regions: local teachers, teachers from the Little Triangle, from Galilee and also city and village dwellers. The students must get used to these dialects in addition to the problem of diglossia. The second is the specialization of the teacher – you find a teacher who specializes, for example, in geography and history teaching Arabic or you find teachers such as those who have finished only high school. (Interviewee #3)<sup>14</sup>

### 3.2.2 Results of Matriculation Examinations in the High School

Below are the results of the matriculation examinations in the years 1996-1999:

*Table 4.3: Results of the Matriculation Examinations in the years 1996-1999.*

Year	No. of students tested	No. Of students who passed the test	%	No. of students who failed the test	- %
1996	9356	5333	57	4023	43
1997	9681	5228	54	4453	46
1998	9879	5631	57	4248	43
1999	10894	6754	62	4140	38

The results of the matriculation examinations in Arabic point to these facts:

1. Arabic as a mother tongue is not uppermost in the mind of the Arab student. 43% of all the students who are tested in three units; 50.5% in four units,

<sup>14</sup> The interview was carried out in April 1998 by Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i

and only 6.5% in five units. Since Arabic does not grant a “bonus”<sup>15</sup> in the matriculation examination, the students prefer to come for five units in the other subjects which grant a maximum bonus.

2. The number of students who come for three units increases from year to year, and at the same time there is a decline in the number who are tested in four units.

3. About 10% of the Arab high school graduates end their studies and are not qualified to take the matriculation examination in the mother tongue (according to the Statistical book almanac in 1990-91– 11.1% did not take the exams, in 1991-92 – 9.9% and in 1993-94– 9%).

4. The average final grades of those who passed in the Arabic course is not especially impressive, being at 65.7%: the average in three units was 65.1% and in four units it was 65.6% and in five units the average was 67.9%. It should be mentioned that the shield grade (the shield grade is based on the internal examinations of the schools) contributes to raising the final grade on the average of 6 points for each student. That is to say, the average of the grades in the matriculation exams is 59.3%.

### *3.3 The Arab Students who are Studying Arabic*

The Arab students who are majoring in Arabic and its literature in the institutions of higher education can be classified into two categories (The data relate to the academic year 1995-96): Institutions in which the language of instruction is Arabic and institutions in which the language of instruction is not conducted in Arabic.

#### *A. Institutions in which the language of instruction is Arabic*

*Table 4.4 Number of students at Institutions which teach Arabic as a mother tongue*

<i>College</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>
The Arabic College for Education in Israel – Haifa	60 students specializing for elementary and junior high
Arab Teachers' Training Institute, Beit Berl College-	75 students specializing for elementary and junior high
Al-Sahri'a College and Islamic Studies – Baaqa al-Gharbiyya	95 students specializing to teach Arabic for 1 <sup>st</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup> grades
Kay College-	40 students specializing to teach Arabic in junior high schools

<sup>15</sup> Israeli universities add extra points to the average on the matriculation certificate to those who are tested in five units.

*B. Institutions in which the language of instruction is not conducted in Arabic*

*Table 4.5: Number of Students at Universities and Colleges which teach Arabic as a foreign language.<sup>16</sup>*

<i>University</i>	<i>Bachelor's degree</i>	<i>Master's degree</i>	<i>Doctorate</i>
Bar-Ilan	20	4	2
Haifa	243	47	--
Tel Aviv	25	4	3
Hebrew	45	8	5
Beit Berl College	7	--	--
Levinsky	22	--	--

The Arab students who want to study Arabic in the colleges prefer to study it in the institutions which teach Arabic as a mother tongue.

The number of Arab students who are studying Arabic is small compared to the number who are majoring in exact sciences. For example, 60% of the Arab students in Israel in 1988-89 were studying science subjects (*Ha'aretz*, September 22, 1989: 6a).

The number of students who continue their studies for advanced degrees (MA and Ph.D.) is very small, and this is likely to influence the research on Arabic in the country and the level of teaching in coming years. Haifa University trains almost half of the students who are studying Arabic.

Most of the students who are majoring in Arabic and its literature in the universities and colleges go on to teach Arabic in the schools. There are teachers who have studied in Arabic institutions and were trained (practical training) in Arab schools. However, the problem focuses on teachers who completed their studies in Jewish institutions in which Arabic is taught as a foreign language. The lecturers in these institutions teach Arabic in Hebrew and also the tests, the exercises and the assignments are done in Hebrew. Furthermore, they learn grammar according to the Western system, which is different from the study of grammar as mother tongue. Likewise, the academic training for teaching Arabic is done in Jewish schools except at the University of Haifa where the Arab students learn separately the methods course for teaching Arabic as a mother tongue, and they practice in Arab schools in the Haifa area and the north.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The decision of the State of Israel to allow Arabs to use their mother tongue in their schools contributed more than anything else to preserve Arabic as an

<sup>16</sup> In Ben-Gurion University of the Negev there is no department for Arabic Studies.

important language in the sociolinguistic fabric of the Arab minority in Israel, and possibly in Israel in general. This significant support enhanced the vitality of Standard Arabic at the individual and community levels, and resisted significant language shift to the dominant language of the country, Hebrew.

In the reality of Israel, there are strong pressures for Hebraization not only among Jews but also among Arabs. This is so, since Arabs use Hebrew in major domains of life such as work, government offices, health institutions, higher education, media etc. Diglossia, a well-known phenomenon in the Arabic-speaking countries, adds another burden on Arabs in Israel, because Hebrew is the dominant language in the public sphere, including the Arabs.

Though there is not a significant language shift among the Arab population, the status and the situation of the Arabic language is in a continuous decline. A significant portion of the Arab population is not aware of the link between language and national identity. Arabic is not considered a language which contributes to maintaining their uniqueness in the Jewish State, but they perceive Arabic as a language of communication confined to the Arab population used mainly at home and school. Those who call for enhancing Arabic in the national public sphere are a minority, mainly intellectuals and academics.

Arabic attrition is more salient in Jewish-Arab settlements, where Hebrew is even more dominant among many Arab people. Many Arab students in these settlements even choose to study in Jewish schools, where the language of instruction is Hebrew. Even in the mixed kindergartens, where Arab and Jewish children learn together, the dominant language of instruction is Hebrew. This is also reflected in the language landscape of the mixed cities, where Hebrew is the most salient language on both private and public signs.

This is also the case among both Arab Druze and Bedouin soldiers who serve in the Israeli Army, and who are extensively exposed and influenced by Hebrew. These soldiers use a lot of code switching (Arabic-Hebrew), and even they are witnessed in many cases using mainly Hebrew among themselves.

Lack of instruction in Arabic in higher education also contributes to the decline of Arabic. There are no Arabic-speaking universities in Israel, and thousands of Arab students study in Israeli universities, where the language of instruction is Hebrew. When many of these students become teachers, most of them lack the basic qualification for teaching in Arabic. We see many teachers use many Hebrew terms and expressions. Some teachers even teach exact sciences in Hebrew rather than Arabic (Amara, 1995a).

The situation of Arabic education in Israel has been greatly influenced by the socio-political situation in the country and the language policies adopted. From merely a language of communication in the old curriculum, Arabic is recognized as a national language, though not truly reflected in the curricula. Though we have witnessed considerable changes in Arabic education, Arabic has not received due recognition as a mother tongue and as a national language. A country such as Israel found in conflict with most of the neighboring Arab

countries and its perception and definition as an ethnic nation-state do not contribute to an equitable policy towards the Arab minority and its national language, Arabic.

Political conflicts affect language repertoires, and in some cases language issues become part and parcel of the conflict. Language is not abstracted from reality and people but responds to surrounding changes. As long as the Arab minority is a marginal community in Israel, and the Israeli-Arab conflict continues, we do not expect drastic changes in Arabic education, truly reflecting its status as the national language of the Arab minority, and the decline will continue.

## CHAPTER 5

### POLICY AND TEACHING HEBREW AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

The education committee in the days immediately before the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948 made a far-reaching decision, as we have described in the last chapter, to maintain Arabic as the medium of instruction in schools where the majority of pupils were Arabs. It also decided that the Arab minority should learn Hebrew, a decision strengthened over time by the fact that Hebrew is the dominant language used in the wider society. This chapter will trace the development of Hebrew language teaching in the Arab schools, and describe and evaluate this teaching over the years. It will look again, as in the last chapter, at the tensions produced by the challenges of the Arab minority in an ideologically Jewish State and of speakers of Arabic under a Hebrew hegemony.

#### 1. STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEACHING OF HEBREW

##### *1.1 First Stage: After the Establishment of the State (1948-1971)*

The language of instruction in the Arab high schools during the Mandate period was English and Arabic for the most part. During this period the Arabs did not study Hebrew at all.<sup>1</sup> The members of the committee for educational problems

<sup>1</sup> Koplewitz (1992: 39) says that “in the period of the British Mandate (1918-1948) Hebrew was not studied at all in the Palestine Arab schools. An attempt was made in 1919 to teach Arab students Hebrew in one of the villages in the Galilee. But after four years



meeting in the pre-State period had many doubts about taking the decision to teach Hebrew to the Arab minority. Early discussion assumed bilingualism, but not necessarily in Arabic and Hebrew. A memorandum, referring to the period 1944-1945, drawn up by the department of education for the Jewish Agency and the National Council that included proposals for organizing the education for the two populations, Jewish and Arab in the Jewish State proposed that the language of instruction in the State elementary schools with Arab pupils should be Arabic, with an option to choose either Hebrew or English as an additional language. In Arab high schools and institutes for Arab teacher training, Arabic would continue as medium of instruction and students were to also learn both Hebrew and English. The Hebrew curriculum, the selection of teachers and the choice of textbooks were to be made by those appointed in charge of Arabic education (Labor Party Archives, 1948: 4).

Discussion of the issue continued at the committee session mentioned on Monday, 12.1.48 in Tel Aviv, at which meeting M. Avigal said (Page 12):

Concerning the study of Arabic and Hebrew among the two peoples, I believe that as time passes the requirement to study Arabic will be established among us. I do not know from what age, perhaps in the higher grades of elementary school, and obviously – also the requirement to know Hebrew as language of the State in the Arab sector, although I would not establish this now at the beginning.

At a meeting a week later, Batya Rosenstein suggested (Ibid.: 22) that Hebrew should be a requirement also in the elementary schools, beginning from grade 4 or 5. This was the basis for the decision taken in the summary session of the education committee in Tel Aviv on May 13, 1948: In Paragraph 6 (p. 34) it was established that “The mother tongue of the majority of the students in the school will be introduced as the language of instruction. As for the required study of the second language – learning Hebrew is a requirement for Arabs.” It should be noted that the requirement for teaching Arabic in Hebrew schools was not made until nearly 40 years, and has still not been implemented (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999a, Chapter 6).

### *1.1.1 The Debate on the Subject of Imparting Hebrew to the Arabs*

The teaching of Hebrew to Arab students began in the country immediately after the establishment of the State. It was required, for four to five hours a week, in all Arab elementary schools from 4<sup>th</sup> grade, in the high schools and also in the teacher training institutes. The policy was not easily accepted by either the

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the national leadership of the Palestinian Arabs gave an order to put an end to the study of Hebrew; and to the best of my knowledge they did not repeat the attempt.”

Jewish or the Arab public, and debate continued in the newspapers. Four main positions emerged (Cohen, 1968: 663).

Opposition to the policy of teaching Hebrew to Arabs came from both Jews and Arabs. Right-wing Jews claimed that Arabs who knew Hebrew would constitute a danger to the security of the State, extreme left-wingers opposed the teaching for of its denial of bi-nationalism and some religious Jews opposed teaching the Holy Language to gentiles. Arabs who opposed the teaching of Hebrew were fearful for the fate of the Arabic language, a holy language to Muslims, the major symbol of the Arab nation and the most important factor uniting the Arab world. The study of Hebrew, they felt, would lead to assimilation of Arab youth in the Israeli society and its culture, and would distance it from traditional Arab culture and from the Arab nation.

Another group of Jews and Arabs took a more extreme position and supported the teaching of all courses in the school in Hebrew in order to solve the problem of the Arab minority in Israel. They saw assimilation as a fitting solution to the integration of the Arabs in the life of the State. Imparting the Hebrew language was the key to this assimilation process.

A third group favored teaching Hebrew for practical and pedagogical reasons. Arabic-medium education in Israel faced two serious problems at its start, the dearth of good teachers and the lack of suitable textbooks (Benor, 1951: 8). In the opinion of both Jewish and Arab educators it would be possible to overcome these two problems by training teachers in Hebrew and using the same textbooks for both sectors.

A fourth group believed that teaching of Hebrew in Arab educational institutions constituted a means of nurturing Israeli citizenship, permitting the active participation of the Arabs in the life of Israeli society and assuring loyalty to the laws of the land and its institutions (Cohen, 1968: 666).

The final decision may be seen as a pragmatic compromise: maintaining Arabic as medium of instruction, but requiring Hebrew as a second language.

### *1.1.2 Hebrew Teaching Goals*

The teaching of Hebrew is an integral part of the curriculum in all Arab educational institutions in Israel (Cohen, *ibid.*: 667). Despite its importance the topic was pushed aside by other more urgent needs. Building the Arab educational sector began in 1948 from scratch. There were serious shortages of buildings and of trained educated teachers. At the same time, the number of pupils was growing rapidly as a result of the introduction of compulsory education for girls as well as boys, the demand for schooling which had not been satisfied during the British Mandate, and the opening of new schools (Koplewitz, 1973).

Between 1948 and 1958 three changes in the curriculum were made with the goal of providing knowledge of the Hebrew people and its culture, establishing a

means for direct contact with Hebrew speakers in writing and in speech, and nurturing Israeli citizenship (Shalmon, 1957: 95). These goals emphasize political aims, ignore pedagogical issues and show little sensitivity to the feelings of the learners. Those who designed the curriculum for teaching Hebrew emphasize the Jewish character of the State of Israel and wanted to foster Israelization among the Arab minority in order to strengthen loyalty to the State.

The 1959 curriculum for the Government elementary school set three weekly hours for teaching Hebrew. A high school curriculum was not published until ten years later. A curriculum for the Hebrew language and its literature in the high school for Arabs grades 9-12 (Ministry of Education, 1968: 17) included goals, teaching methods and division of the material according to grades.

The high school curriculum was intended:

- a. To develop in the Arab student a basic, precise and comprehensive knowledge of the Hebrew language, with the ability to understand written Hebrew and with effective control of the language in writing and in speech for practical and cultural needs.
- b. To allow the Arab student to recognize the culture of Israel and its values in the past and in the present, thus facilitating the understanding of the social life and culture of the Jewish population in the State of Israel.

The teaching of Hebrew thus was intended to serve first as a tool for social communication in order to integrate Arabs in Israel into the life of the State, and the second, "to open the gates to the culture of Israel." The goal was clearly weakening Arab national values and identity and instead the teachers of Hebrew "should implant the love for the State of Israel and the values of Israeli thinking" (State Archives, 145/1223/c; quoted in Al-Haj 1996: 107).

This policy is essentially a reflection of the policy set out by Yadlin in 1976 (Formulation of goals for Arab education). Sami Mar'i (1978: 53) commented:

It seems that the Yadlin document not only attempts to reduce and blur the national identity of the Arabs in Israel, but it also tries to erase their culture and to impose upon them the values and the moral principles accepted by the Jewish Israeli society, principally by means of the educational system which is subject to Government supervision. Nothing is left but to wonder what remains in the culture after one uproots from it the "social ethic", the values which determine personal relations, the "family values" and the bond between the individual and the society.

The inspector of Arab schools in the Ministry of Education in the 1960s, (Cohen, 1968: 665f.), reinforces this in his discussion of the content of the Hebrew textbooks for Arab schools:

From the practical point of view a language should not be taught just like that, but it should be taught with a particular content. Teaching Hebrew to Arab children in Israel requires imparting as an adjunct knowledge of the patterns and values of the Hebrew-Israeli culture. That is, Israeli

citizenship in the broad meaning of the term. Hebrew will then be a didactic-educational goal. The recommended supplementary studies of Hebrew will be mainly of two types: 1. Knowledge of the Jewish people, its past and its culture, the new Israeli society, its values, foundations, rules and problems. 2. Conventions of democratic behavior as training for active participation in the social and political life in Israel.

Knowledge of Jewish culture (Bible, rabbinical literature, selected paragraphs from *Ethics of Our Fathers* and selected legends) came to dominate the curriculum in the high school and play an important part in the junior high school.

The Arab student has two problems with this curricular emphasis. First, the material is written in an archaic language distant from the world of the student, with vocabulary not used in colloquial Hebrew. Second, the Arab student feels that he is learning more about Judaism than he is learning about his own religion. This imbalance increases the feeling of alienation among the students, who regularly ask their teachers why they must study the Bible. One Palestinian teacher reported:

There are students who openly declare that they do not want to study Hebrew from an ideological point of view in the light of the political milieu prevailing in the country. These students see Hebrew as the language of an enemy. The religious female students strongly oppose the male students using Hebrew in current speech because of nationalist reasons in order to prevent the assimilation of the Arabs into the Jewish society. There was a student who was absent from the Hebrew lessons throughout an entire year. When the teacher entered, he left the classroom. There are students who identify with him and respect his decision, but they do not have the courage to leave the classroom because of the matriculation examination (Interviewee #3).<sup>2</sup>

An elementary school teacher, on the other hand, when asked, "Have you ever run into a situation in which students expressed bitterness and objection to learning Hebrew?" answered, "I have never run into this issue. In my estimation the students in elementary school are not yet familiar with the study of the language, and they are not as mature as the students in high school. There the students can ask why they are learning Hebrew." (Interviewee #4)<sup>3</sup>

Criticism soon arose over the curriculum. In the 1970s, Koplewitz (1974: 328) pointed out that "the claim has been made that the program is biased disproportionately against knowing Arab culture because the children learn more Bible than Koran, more of the history of Israel than of Arab history, and there is no place in the Arab school for the poems of Bialik, the stories of Shalom

<sup>2</sup> The interview was carried out in April 1998 by Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i.

<sup>3</sup> The interview was carried out in April 1998 by Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i

Aleikhem or the essays of Ahad Ha'am." Koplewitz adds and stresses (ibid.), "It is only right that we go back and check from time to time the content of the curriculum taking into account the needs, expectations and aspirations of the Arab public and also the needs and requirements of the State of Israel."

The question is clearly basic. A second language curriculum is assumed usually to include teaching the culture and literature of the language. It is rare to find an attempt to denationalize and deculturalize a language curriculum (as was tried with the English curriculum in Israel in the 1960s). For a minority, there is obvious justification in the teaching of the majority culture. The issue becomes one of degree, and the critical problem of the Hebrew curriculum for Arab students was essentially raised by the imbalance, on the one hand in comparison to the Arab content of the program for Arab schools, and on the other, in comparison to the amount of traditional Jewish material in the curriculum for Jewish schools.

### *1.1.3 The Problem of Teachers*

The level of the general education of the Arab teacher in the days of the British Mandate was very low. Benor (1951: 4) reported that:

We had no choice but to take what was available. To the difficulties and the low level of the teachers add the limitations that proceed from the need to examine the loyalty of the teachers, the difficulty in moving teachers from one place to another because of the problems of lodging and housing, the fact that most of those with education and training are Christian, while most of the students and settlement places are Muslim, and the fact that women teachers with any education refuse to go to remote villages.

The first question in the teaching of Hebrew is the problem of teachers. The early teachers of Hebrew in the Arab schools were Ashkenazi Jews. These teachers faced many difficulties: a strange environment, the lack of sufficient knowledge of Arabic and consequent discipline problems. They soon left, to be replaced by Jews who were immigrants from Arab countries, especially Iraq. Some of them were former teachers with pedagogical training, but they were weak in Hebrew. They too had trouble with the work, as time went by they were in turn replaced by Arab teachers who had been trained in emergency short courses (Shalmon, 1957: 94). By 1955, most of the teachers teaching Hebrew in the schools were Arabs (Cohen, 1968: 667; Koplewitz, 1973: 329).

The integration of the Arab teachers in the teaching of Hebrew was desirable from many points of view, but their preparation for the work was insufficient. They were qualified for the foundation courses for teaching the language in the first two or three years (**4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> grades**), but not to teach literature or Bible. On the other hand, these teachers excelled in teaching Hebrew grammar, a subject which Arab pupils studied willingly and with success.

Shalmon, who was responsible for Arab education in 1957, believed that improvement in the teaching of Hebrew, principally in the higher grades, would only come when there would be time to give the Arab teachers a deeper and more basic knowledge of Hebrew culture, and train them in methods of teaching literature (Shalmon, *ibid.*).

#### *1.1.4 Textbooks*

Since the goals of the curriculum were to get to know the Jewish people and their culture, it was appropriate, Shalmon believed, that the reading material should deal with the life of the country, especially the life of the Jewish population. It was also appropriate, he believed, to include Jewish literature from all the periods, starting with the Bible, and then Talmud, legends, Spanish-era poetry and finally modern Israeli literature. In the early years, there were no special textbooks, but either reading books intended for Jewish students, such as: "*Miqra'ot Hadashot*", "*Netivot*", "*She'arim*", or books intended for adult Jewish beginners (new immigrants).

The books dealt with subjects taken from the Jewish way of life, far from the world of the Arab student, such as immigration and Jewish holidays. Those written for new immigrants were strongly ideological. The language, too, was unsuitable, for they were written for Hebrew speakers, and not for teaching a second language.

Special books were soon written. The Ministry of Education approved at the end of the 1950s a book called *Gesharim* (Bridges), which was written by Jacob Landau and Gershon Kalach. It was based on the life of a child, dealing both with the Arabic environment and the life of the Jewish community. It attempted to develop respect for the spirit of the builders of Jewish settlement while not challenging the dignity of the Arab student (Shalmon, *ibid.*).

The planners of the curriculum for the Arabs were careful in choosing language learning materials for Arabs. This caution followed because Israel was a Jewish State, an issue noted by Benor (1951: 8), "How can Israeli Arabism be stimulated without requiring the denial of Arab desires on the one hand and without allowing the fostering of a hostile type of Arab nationalism on the other hand?" Peres and others (1968: 27) believed this statement set "a standard for evaluating the contribution of the program in shaping the identity of the young Israeli from the minorities and for finding the way which will insure for him a reasonable balance between his devotion to Arab nationality and his loyalty to the state in which he lives."

The struggle over the subject of the Arab national education and Israeli citizenship occupied many people in the early days of the state. Dr. Hershberg, who in the 1950s was the director of the Muslim Department in the Ministry of Religions, wrote to the Minister of Education hoping that Arab nationalism could be overcome:

We must retract the idea of an Arab minority, and to see them as Israeli citizens of different religions and communities, such as Muslims, Christians of the different sects, Druze, Circassians, Greeks, Armenians and not just Arabs. The Druze claim that they are not Arabs. The Circassians are certainly not Arabs, and it is completely incomprehensible why they should be taught Arabic. In other words, we do not face one problem of Arabs, but problems of various communities and nations, and we must solve each one separately and emphasize and develop the contrasts between the various types and to lessen their Arabism. This way they will forget that they are Arabs and will realize that they are Israelis of various kinds. (State Archives 1733/145c; quoted in Al-Haj, 1996: 98)

*Gesharim* was innovative on the technical linguistic side by grading the teaching material according to language levels. The level was set lower than readers assigned to speakers of Hebrew as a mother tongue, which made it easier for the students. However, there were no substantial changes from the point of view of contents. For example, the fourth book of *Gesharim*, which is intended for 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> grades, deals entirely with Judaism. In the introduction to the book the authors point out that they concentrated in this book on a relevant-cultural side, out of a desire to impart to the Arab student in Israel basic concepts from the history of the Jewish people, its tradition, customs and contribution to human thought in general. For this purpose they selected chapters from the Bible to give prominence to morals and wisdom and survey the traditional history of the Jewish people, and they included material on Jewish holidays and festivals with an explanation of their observance and background.

Supplementary material for the pupils included explanation of difficult Biblical words and phrases, while for the teachers there were references for further study.

At the end of the 1960s the Ministry of Education approved two readers for the study of Hebrew in the Arab elementary schools from grades 4 to 8:

The first reader, “*Alumot*” (Sheaves), is a reader intended for the Government Arab schools in accordance with the curriculum drawn up in 1967 by Yosef Dana and Najib Nabwani. The authors claim to use innovative pedagogical techniques and to have chosen vocabulary with great care. The reader is constructed gradually from the simple to the difficult both in the lessons and in the exercises. There is emphasis on the environment of the child in the Arab village and on the Israeli and Jewish environment with which an Arab child comes in contact in his daily life. Most of the lessons have drawings.

The second reader: “*Shelavim Rishonim be-Ivrit*” (First Stages in Hebrew), was written in 1967, by Arye Caspi and Nimer Sa’id Khatib. There is a regular review of grammar. There are Biblical extracts, and values from Jewish culture in Israel and elsewhere, from Islam, the New Testament and from various communities living in the country. The book includes both Biblical and Modern Hebrew.

These last two books show progress both in pedagogy and in content. The change was the outcome of pressure exerted by the Arab public and educators on the Ministry of Education. By this time, Arabs in Israel had come to terms with the existence of Israel as an independent state, Israeli policy towards the Arab minority had softened, and the military government of Arab areas had ended. The curriculum reflected this change in atmosphere.

### *1.2 Second Stage: The period between 1972-1995*

In 1972 the Ministry of Education and Culture set up jointly with the department of curriculum at the University of Haifa a committee whose function is to prepare separate curricula in Hebrew for Arab students in the elementary, junior-high and high schools. This committee has worked for some years on revision of the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1980).

There is now a separate curriculum for elementary, junior high and the senior high schools, written in 1978, and in force since 1981. A new program for literature was written in 1993, and after pilot use in ten schools in the Galilee, it came into effect in September all Arab government high schools.

The new textbooks are matched to the levels of the students and aim at complete control of Hebrew in speaking, listening, reading and writing. The new goals are substantially different from the old, with consideration of the age and level of the students, the social environment in which they live, and the contribution of Hebrew studies to their integration in the future in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country.

#### *1.2.1 Curriculum for the Elementary School*

The new Elementary School Curriculum maintains its concern for the linguistic and cultural integration of Arab pupils in Israel. The goals stated are establishing effective communication between the Arab and Jewish residents in the country, working for understanding between Jews and Arabs and encouraging loyalty of the Arabs to the State of Israel. It aims at the recognition of the cultural and literary tradition of Hebrew throughout the generations, the future integration of the learners into the life of the state, the recognition of the mutual cultural influences between the two peoples over time and the development of esthetic sense and moral education among the students (Ministry of Education, 1978).

These goals, restated thirty years after the establishment of the State, continue to ignore any recognition of a distinct national culture for the Arab minority.

The textbook *Shahar* (Dawn) which served as a basis for teaching Hebrew in all Arab elementary schools until 1989, followed these goals. The first edition was published in 1977/8, and included five parts: vocabulary, grammar, oral expression, reading, and written expression. In 1989 three educators, Najib



Nabwani, Yosef Dana and Nimer Khatib, all teaching at the Arabic College for Education in Israel in Haifa, wrote a new textbook, *Mifgash* (Encounter) to replace *Shahar*. It had twice as many lessons, with revised exercises, all with the purpose of making the book more appealing to the pupils. The authors established three criteria for choosing the contents: 1. The experiential – stories and descriptions taken from the normal environment of the child; 2. The problematic – lessons which present problems for discussion; 3. The dramatic – presentation of material which is suitable for a play. The appeal to imagination was intended to make learning entertaining and attractive.

In 1993 a third new reader for teaching Hebrew in the elementary school was published under the title “*Ivrit Ze Keif* (Hebrew is Fun) by Israel Educational Television and the Center for Educational Technology. *Ivrit Ze Keif* is an innovative curriculum for teaching the basics of Hebrew as a second language to Arab pupils in grades 3 to 6. It uses varied teaching methods and is concerned not just with Hebrew reading and writing but also with the spoken language. In the introduction, Inspector for Hebrew in the Arab sector, Samih Khatib (*Ivrit Ze Keif*, 1993: 9-11) notes the approaches and methods that were used in teaching Hebrew in the earlier books failed to make a distinction between the teaching of a mother tongue and the teaching of a second language. Listening, he said, did not receive any special care. Beginning the learning process as the earlier books did by teaching reading first creates a gap between the psychological age of the learner and his chronological age. Although they could lead to satisfactory achievements in grades 3-4 in reading Hebrew at the level of decoding and identification, the level of comprehension was limited. The new book was intended to remedy this weakness.

### *1.2.2 Curriculum for the Junior High School*

In grades 7-9 the students learn from the reader *Shahar* or from the reader *Mifgash*. A new book called *Ivrit Ze Keif Lemitqadmim* (Hebrew is Fun for the Advanced) was piloted in 1998/99 at a number of schools.

To the goals for the elementary school, three extra goals were added for the junior high school: to prepare the graduates of the post-elementary Arab schools for studies in institutions of higher education in Israel in which the language of instruction is Hebrew; to foster moral education by means of identification by the learner with positive images and positive values in literary works, and to recognize equal and different aspects in the area of Arabic and Hebrew language and literature. The heroes in most stories are Jews, stress is placed on preparing the student to continue academic studies in Israeli institutions for higher education none of which use Arabic.

### *1.2.3 Curriculum for the High Schools*

The Hebrew Language and its Literature for the Arab High School (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>) was published in 1977. (School of Education, University of Haifa. First edition - Jerusalem, 1977). It consists of a language unit (phonology; morphology: verb, noun, personal pronoun, adjective, number, particles; syntax; with an optional additional language unit) and two or three units on Hebrew literature. The units are graded from easy to difficult as follows: Bible and Mishna (Ethics of Our Fathers), *Agada* (legends), prose, philosophy and prose, poetry. The new high school curriculum then had four to six units, each to take approximately 90 hours.

The curriculum for the high school continues the goals for the elementary and junior high schools, adding a refinement to the literary goal: fostering the pupils' esthetic sense by teaching the functions of linguistic forms in poetry and prose.

Jewish cultural values remained at the core of the Hebrew program for Arab pupils.

### *1.3 The New Language Education Policy (June, 1995)*

The new 1995 policy for language education in Israeli schools is somewhat more pragmatic. "Students whose mother tongue is Arabic, in addition to literacy competence in written and spoken Arabic, must reach a higher level of literacy competence in written and spoken Hebrew, especially in professional, commercial and academic Hebrew. This in order to enable the graduates to reach higher education and to be well integrated into the economy." In line with tendencies everywhere in second language teaching, it moves the beginning earlier, requiring Hebrew from the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and making it possible in the first grade. This has far-reaching educational and political implications, and it is intended to strengthen Hebrew and its culture among the Arab population. A second change, also to encourage Hebrew, permits adding extra hours at the high school level for Hebrew at the expense of Arabic mother tongue and Arabic culture studies.

The new proposed policy comes to enhance the status and improve the learning of Hebrew among the Arab students. Though some of the suggestions are more relevant to native speakers of Hebrew (e.g. reaching the highest level of competence in literacy), the new policy emphasizes the importance of Hebrew as a daily life means of communication, increases the integration of the Arabs in the life of the country, and that the language will not be a barrier to holding high ranking positions or pursuing their higher education in Israeli universities. However, though we believe these are important issues and worthy goals for the Arabs in Israel, the link of Arabic to their national and cultural identities is no

less important, which in the new language education policy is not mentioned at all.

## 2. THE TEACHING OF HEBREW IN THE SCHOOLS

### 2.1 Students

The educational system in the Arab sector is under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, and it includes kindergartens, elementary and post-elementary schools. Pupils in the kindergartens and 1<sup>st</sup> grade do not study Hebrew. In several schools the study begins in 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and in most in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. The total number of students who learnt Hebrew in Arab schools was 183,999 in 1995: 102,314 elementary schools (3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>) and 81,685 in post-elementary (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>).

### 2.2 Contents

The new curriculum established that learning materials in the readers would be varied and would place an emphasis on subjects taken from the social and educational environment of the student. However, in practice emphasis continues to be on Jewish culture. These subjects appear in two ways:

- a. Religious-rabbinical literature, such as Bible, Agada and Midrash.
- b. Stories and poems which have an attachment to the life of the Jewish people such as a description of the situation of the Jews in the Diaspora before the establishment of the State, and also songs with a clearly nationalistic character. Ghanem Ya'qubi argued (*Ha'aretz*, 19.3.96: p. 22):

The purpose of literature studies among the Jews is to strengthen the ties between the student and the country. It is impossible to pin the same content of songs onto the Arab student. Why exactly are they strengthening the attachment of the Arab student by means of these songs? To the heritage of the Jewish people? This national context does not fit the Arabs, and in general national aspects do not serve well the goal of coexistence.

Below is a detailing of the number of creative works in the reader "*Peraqim min Ha-sifrut Ha-ivrit*" (Chapters from Hebrew Literature) for the high school:

Table 5.1: Distribution of works studied in high schools according to units of study

Contents	Unit 1 – Required		Unit 2 – Optional		Unit 3 - Option		Total of required	Distribution- %
	No of works	Obligatory learning	No. of works	Obligatory learning	No. of works	Obligatory learning		
Tanakh	13	7	14	8	11	7	21	24%
Ethics of the Fathers	1	11	1	1	1	1	3	3.5%
Agada	6	3	3	1	5	2	6	7%
Iyuni hagut	9	5	11	5	10	6	16	18%
Short Story	8	5	10	6	8	5	16	18%
Poetry	13	9	13	10	11	8	26	29%
Total	50	40	52	31	46	29	88	100%

From the table it is clear that the Arab student studies in high school about 35% of the curriculum material whose main part deals with the Jewish religion and its culture (Tanakh, Ethics of the Fathers, Agada). Add to this literary materials which are engaged directly or indirectly with prose and poetry and which have an affinity to Jewish culture. In other words, about half the program emphasizes the Jewish aspect.

While even the more recent books still include a high proportion of Jewish material, the proportion is growing less. Much of material is written in Biblical or Mishnaic Hebrew, making it much more difficult. Issues of Jewish religious law seem especially inappropriate.

While it is normal to include culture as an integral part of teaching second and foreign languages, the amount of culture taught raises sensitive questions. The huge amount of Jewish culture and literature in the curriculum of the Arabs in the teaching of Hebrew language is a controversial subject. It is claimed by many Arabs that the purpose of the exaggerated use of Jewish culture is to educate Arabs to be loyal to the Jewish State rather than creating genuine citizenship. Whether this is true or not, Israeli-Arab conflict and the lack of general Israeli culture (shared by both Arabs and Jews), will always raise suspicions in teaching aspects of Jewish culture and literature to the Arab minority in Israel whatever their amount is in the curriculum.

### *2.3 Evaluation and Measurement*

#### *2.3.1 The Situation in the Elementary and Junior High Schools*

There has been no national examination testing the proficiency in Hebrew of Arab students in the elementary and junior high schools. In the Haifa district, there is such a test, given each year at 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> grade, and covering all the subjects that appear in the curriculum at the level being tested.<sup>4</sup>

One teacher-counselor who was interviewed said that the purpose of the feedback was to detect specific problems among the students in order to find an appropriate solution for them. The interviewee added, "From my personal experience I see that the teachers have changed. They relate to the feedback with seriousness, and the principals also are concerned and cooperate. They desire to know the results of the feedback of the school of which they are in charge and

<sup>4</sup> For example, the regional examination in Hebrew in the academic year 1998/99 was done in 7<sup>th</sup> grade. The length of the examination was 90 minutes and it included the following details: Reading comprehension (review) – 55 points; what was written in the story – 5 points; masculine and feminine – 10 points; singular and plural – 10 points; antonyms – 10 points; inflection of verbs in sentences – 10 points.

what the problems on the agenda are in order to improve and be more efficient.” (Interviewee #4)

### 2.3.2 *The Situation in the High School*

The only national examination that is done every year is the matriculation examination for the high school, and this is given only in writing. The students are not tested in oral expression, and as a result teachers give low priority to the development of speaking skills. As a result of this, the Arabic-speaking student finds it difficult to speak Hebrew. While they have learned vocabulary and grammar, they are not able to express themselves well. In comparison, workers who have little formal education in Hebrew but who come in daily contact with Hebrew speakers in the workplace speak a much better Hebrew than graduates of the 12<sup>th</sup> grade.

### 2.3.3 *The Matriculation Examinations*

Below is a summary of the results of the matriculation examinations for the years 1996, 1997, 1998, and 1999.

*Table 5.2: Results of Matriculation Examinations from 1996 to 1999.*

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of students tested</i>	<i>No. of students who passed the test</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of students who failed the test</i>	<i>- %</i>
1996	9356	5988	64	3369	36
1997	9681	6583	68	3098	32
1998	9879	6619	67	3260	33
1999	10894	7517	69	3377	31

Nearly 12% of all the Arab students who study Hebrew are not capable of taking the matriculation examination, though the results are better than the ones obtained in Arabic as a mother tongue (see Table 4.3 above) are certainly disquieting and require greater consideration of the weak students in order to improve the situation.

The percentage of students who take two matriculation units is increasing from year to year. The significance is that a considerable portion of the students finish their studies in Hebrew at a low level. This makes it difficult for them to continue their studies in institutions of higher education. Since the possibility of doing 3 study units was abolished, there has been a significant rise in the number of students who wish to be examined at the level of four units. The number of students who take five matriculation units has been increasing over recent years because colleges such as Beit Berl require Arab students who are candidates to have five units in Hebrew and because good students are interested to gain a

bonus grade. Also, recently the matriculation examinations have been focusing on prose and poetry, avoiding questions in the area of the classical Jewish culture. This policy has brought an increase in the number of students who succeed in the matriculation examinations.

#### *2.4 Arab Students Studying Hebrew in Institutions of Higher Education*

Among the main reasons that the Arab students do not continue their studies at universities is the difficulty in learning Hebrew. Only a small portion of the graduates of 12<sup>th</sup> grade study Hebrew language and literature in the colleges and universities. In past years most of the teachers were men, but today the number of women teaching Hebrew at all levels of education is constantly growing. For example, in the Institute for Training Arab Teachers at Beit Berl 10% of those studying Hebrew are men and the other 90% are women.<sup>5</sup>

The following are the numbers of Arab students studying Hebrew in the colleges (1995):

*Table 5.3 Number of Arab Students Studying Hebrew in the Colleges (1995)*

<i>Name of Institution</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>
Arab College for Education in Israel, Haifa	75
Institute for Training Arab Teachers, Beit Berl	71
Beit Berl College	12
Levinsky College	18
Kay College	40
David Yellin College	5
Total	221

<sup>5</sup> From an internal report of the Ministry of Education on manpower in teaching in 1998/99, which was made by one of the senior officers in the Ministry, it emerges that the portion of Arabs among the men in Israel in teaching is 30% (*Sheur Hofshi*, 35, March 1999: 7). The percentage of women engaged in teaching is on the rise and the men on the decline, though their relative proportion is higher than that of the men in Hebrew education. This reinforces the known fact that "Jewish men flee from teaching to get into more lucrative and prestigious professions. For Arab men, especially academics, there are fewer possibilities of employment and they are drawn to teaching." (Ibid.)

The students studying at the universities are distributed as follows:

*Table 5.4: Arab Students Studying Hebrew in Five Universities (1995)*

<i>Name of Institution</i>	<i>First Degree</i>		<i>Second Degree</i>		<i>Third Degree</i>	
	<i>Lit</i>	<i>Lang</i>	<i>Lit.</i>	<i>Lang</i>	<i>Lit</i>	<i>Lang</i>
Haifa University	112	93	11	4		
Bar-Ilan University	11	5				
Safed Extension (Bar-Ilan)	21	10				
Tel-Aviv University	3	2	1			1
Ben-Gurion University	47	26	2	1		
<hr/>						
Lit.=Literature		Lang=Language				

After finishing their studies in Hebrew at the teachers' colleges and universities most of the Arab students find employment in teaching Hebrew. Most of the graduates of colleges teach Hebrew in the elementary schools. Most of them are those who studied in the College for Arabic Education in Israel and at the Arab Teacher Training Institute at Beit Berl and in the Kay College in Beer-Sheva who received training to teach Hebrew as a second language and completed the practical work in the Arab elementary schools. The others studied in other colleges and did their practical work in Jewish schools.

The university graduates work in senior and junior high schools. They study for a teaching certificate and prepare themselves for teaching Hebrew in the Jewish high schools. A teacher who has finished his studies in literature or language teaches all the courses of Hebrew as one piece: Literature, language, expression and reading. For example, a teacher who has graduated in the literature department is well versed in literature and is capable of teaching the subject in detail and depth. On the other hand, his knowledge of grammar is limited, and therefore he does not go deeply into the teaching of grammar.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

While it is normal to include culture and literature in a second language curriculum, their inclusion raises more sensitive questions. It is easy to see that the goals of teaching Hebrew among the Arabs in Israel against the political considerations which come to emphasize the character of the Hebrew State, by



placing stress on Jewish elements in the teaching of Hebrew. Arab politicians, educators and even scholars claim that the purpose of the excessive use of Jewish culture and literature is to educate Arabs to be loyal to the Jewish State rather than creating genuine citizenship.

The Hebraization ideology has far-reaching impacts not only among Jews but also among Arabs. The success of the Jewish ideology and hegemony are reflected in the proliferation of the Hebrew language and its broad use in all areas of life, in free conversations, in the banks and in medical centers.

Hebrew as a second language is not only taught to Arabs, but also to adult immigrants and their young children. However, in the case of the immigrants the purpose is to replace their immigrant language with Hebrew, while among Arabs it is acknowledged as additive (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a).

Hebrew is a must for every Arab in Israel, since it is the dominant language in almost all public domains (such as work, government offices, higher education, health institutions, media, Knesset). It is extremely difficult for an Arab to function without sufficient competence in Hebrew outside his place of living. Though Arabs in Israel need Hebrew for pragmatic and instrumental reasons, the curricula developed did not consider the real and special needs of this population as reflected in the contents and subjects of Hebrew teaching, emphasizing culture and literature and the training of teachers. The teaching of Hebrew to Arabs should go beyond political considerations, as mainly motivated by the ideology of an ethnic nation-state, and should be based on a policy that genuinely addresses their real needs in order to function in Israel.

## CHAPTER 6

### POLICY AND TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FIRST FOREIGN LANGUAGE

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The policies concerning the teaching of the mother tongue, Arabic, and the other official language, Hebrew, are special to the Arab education. Each, as we have seen in the last two chapters, requires special curricula and raises problems in both policy and implementation that are special to Arab schools. English is the language which is second in importance in Israel, and is formally the first foreign language taught in both Jewish and Arab sectors. There is the same national curriculum for both sectors, which come under the same chief inspector advised by the same professional advisory committee. It is taught in the Arab schools in Israel from 4<sup>th</sup> grade, with the same pressure from many parents to start instruction earlier.<sup>1</sup> English is as important to Israeli Palestinians as to other Israelis because of its status as the international language of science, technology, commerce and communications and its usefulness in the touristic area. Many English words have been borrowed into Arabic by way of Hebrew. There is no distinct English curriculum for the Arab students, and they study it like other Israelis in all streams of the Hebrew education: General, religious and technological. Just as among other Israelis, there is constant pressure from Arab parents to teach their children English, and they are prepared to spend considerable sums to pay for private lessons. In the opinion of the parents proficiency in English will advance their children, and especially those who are

<sup>1</sup> More than 50 schools start from the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. The pressure comes particularly in neighborhoods where there are Church-related schools which start English in 1<sup>st</sup> grade.

interested in continuing their academic studies in institutions of higher education.<sup>2</sup>

There are however unique problems in the implementation of English teaching for Arab pupils. While many Israelis have regular contact with English-speakers— with English-speaking immigrants in the neighborhood, with English-speaking relatives in the Diaspora, or with English-speaking tourists who come to the cities, Israeli Palestinians generally lack direct contact with English-speaking communities. The English language is foreign, then, to many Arab pupils. It is the third language they study, and in contrast to Hebrew which is linguistically related to Arabic with similar phonology and morphology and many cognate words. Fewer members of the adult community know English, nor do the Arab schools have the high proportion of English native- or near-native-speaking teachers. All these conditions make English more difficult for Arab pupils.<sup>3</sup>

English constitutes an integral part of the educational system in Israel and is defined as a foreign language. Acquisition of English is not among the main interests of the Arab student despite his awareness of its importance. Pushing English into a secondary order of preference comes from the fact that the Arab student must first of all contend with his Arabic mother tongue in which there is an immense difference between the spoken language and the written language. Afterwards he must be familiar with Hebrew, which is very vital to him in daily life, and finally, he studies English in the frontal teaching framework and at the same time does not have to speak it except infrequently. These facts show that the student is forced to control a number of unique skills at one and the same time in order to be able to absorb the taught languages which are so different from each other.

Arab students are nervous about learning English, considering it a difficult course that creates confusion. Anxiety causes examination failure (*Panorama*, 27.11.1997). Students who have finished high school studies have often received good grades in all their courses except English. This has an influence on the final year students and creates among them the impression of a negative attitude – “They failed; we will also fail.”

One teacher who had been teaching English for 28 years explained the problems of Arab pupils as follows:

The language is far from the world of the Arab student. There is no exposure on the social level or the informal level. The study is mechanical-traditional within the walls of the school. There is no opportunity for the student to use the language right away. In the same age group they do not speak among themselves in English. The parents are not fluent in it, and

<sup>2</sup> From personal conversations of parents with ‘Abd al-Rahman Mar’i.

<sup>3</sup> Similar handicaps are faced, it must be noted, by new immigrants and by socioeconomically disadvantaged Israeli Jews.

the students do not travel abroad. They do not exploit the media in order to learn the language. For example, when they watch a film or a news broadcast in English, they avail themselves of the translation. (Interviewee #5).<sup>4</sup>

## 2. ENGLISH CURRICULA – CHRONOLOGICAL REVIEW

### 2.1 *The Mandate Period (1917-1948)*

The teaching of English in the country began in the Protestant schools at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It received a redoubled force with the British conquest in 1917. In 1922 the Mandatory Authority announced the integration of the teaching of English in all curricula in the country. The place of the English course in the curriculum was fixed at first during the Mandate rule when English was one of the three official languages (Mendilov, 1968: 537). English knowledge was important as the language of the ruling power, needed for effective contact with central and local government and useful in commerce.

Much stress in teaching English during this period focused on teaching the culture, and therefore great importance was given to teaching English literature. By the end of the 1920s, there were 104 foreign Christian schools, of which 20 were British schools financed by the Mandate authorities (Al-Haj, 1996: 36). Not all the population studied English in an equal way. The curriculum in village schools was different from the city schools, going no further than rudimentary skills (Ibid., 39). Before 1935 English was taught only in isolated village schools (Miller, 1985: 115). In the small villages there were very few classes, with small groups of children (mainly boys) of varying ages. The teachers found it hard to work with ungraded classes and were replaced frequently. Equipment and books were scarce. The result was that the children finished their studies lacking the most basic knowledge, not just in English but in other subjects, also. In the cities, the situation was better, and there were better results (Morris, 1941). The textbooks that served as a basis for teaching English concentrated on language and literature.<sup>5</sup>

The British refrained from imposing the English language on the governmental Arabic education system, especially in the lower grades. In the

<sup>4</sup> The interview was carried out in April 1998 by Abd Al-Rahman Mar'i

<sup>5</sup> The following is a partial list:

Byron Smith 1920. *English Grammar and Idiom*. Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.  
A.S. Hornby 1942. *Composition Exercises in Elementary English*. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

G. Brackenbury 1945. *Studies in English Idiom*. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

city elementary schools the study of the language started in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade and in the village schools in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, provided a trained teacher could be found. In the private schools English was taught from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade (Sa'id, 1989: 37). In the elementary schools English was given a status equal to Arabic in grades 4-5 while in grades 6-7 it was given preference over Arabic as can be seen in the following distribution of hours:

*Table 6.1 Distribution of Teaching Hours in Arabic and English in the City Elementary Schools (Al-'Amaira, 1976: 24).*

<i>Course /Year</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Arabic	14	11	12	8	8	8	8
English	—	—	—	8	8	9	9

The Mandatory Authority was interested in broadening the study of English, and Totah (1926) claimed that the goal of the British governmental education was anti-nationalist, with the goal of strengthening the loyalty of the Arabs to the British. The curriculum emphasized English language study and general European history (Totah 1926: 142 in Sa'id *ibid.* 140). For example, the curriculum in the Arab government high schools was directed to preparing the students for the matriculation examinations. These examinations were given in English up to 1923, and in 1924 were given for the first time in Arabic (Tibawi, 1956: 110). In addition, more hours were given to English than to the study of Arabic, as can be seen in the following table:

*Table 6.2 Distribution of Hours in Arabic and English High school Courses according to Year of Study (Data brought in Sa'id, p.56)*

	<i>Year 1</i>	<i>Year 2</i>	<i>Humanities</i>	<i>Year 3- Science</i>	<i>Year 3- Humanities</i>	<i>Year 4- Science</i>
Arabic	7	7	10	6	10	6
English	10	10	11	11	11	11

The teaching of Arabic in the first two years was only two thirds of the time assigned to English, while in the third and fourth years the portion of Arabic was just over half of the hours given to English (*Ibid.*). Basically, the British Mandatory government was following a policy similar to that it followed in its colonies after the failure of the English-only policy attempted in 19<sup>th</sup> century India. This was to provide a reasonable amount of primary and elementary education in the local language for the majority of the population, but to slowly move pupils who managed to get into the higher levels of primary and secondary education towards using English as the medium of instruction. It was presumably for this reason that the Mandatory Government refused up to the very end proposals to develop Arabic-language tertiary education.

## 2.2 *The Curriculum after the Rise of the State – 1948-1969*

After the establishment of the State of Israel and until 1964 there was no official curriculum for teaching English either to Arab or Jewish students in the country. English studies started from 5<sup>th</sup> grade, and the students used textbooks that were common from the Mandate period.<sup>6</sup> The main part of the studies focused on literary works of a high language level and style such as the works of Shakespeare and others, and the method of study that was used was learning by rote and orally (Mendilov, 1968: 542).

The first official curriculum for English was for the 5<sup>th</sup> grade of all Israeli schools. The goal of the study of English was that the student should recognize the skills and concepts that are at the basis of acquiring a second language. The teacher was to help the student find learning a second language interesting. The pupil was to develop control of basic words and collocations.

The curriculum for teaching English in the first two years (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> grades) was prepared in 1969 by the inspectorate on teaching English in elementary education in consultation with faculty members of the departments of English at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the University of Tel Aviv. The study goals of this program were formulated as follows (Ministry of Education, 1968-69):

The teaching of English in the first two years of the course is intended to impart to the young student a first recognition of the skills and concepts which are basic to acquiring a second language. The recognition is the start on one's way to acquire means of communication with the wide world. The teacher must assist the student in finding interest in learning a foreign language and relating to it as something living and meaningful in the child's environment. In these first years of study the emphasis is placed on the most immediate and close situations in the life of the child with special attention to accent and a limited number of linguistic patterns.

The principle at this stage is learning to speak the "basic conversation". This approach requires postponing the teaching of reading and writing. During the first term the student will meet letters, words and sentences. During the second term of the first year of study the students will gradually go over to reading from a textbook, and will also allocate most of the lesson to conversation.

In short, in this period English was perceived and taught in Israeli schools as a cultural and literary subject, emphasizing the linguistic competence rather than the communicative functions of the language.

<sup>6</sup>For example, Michael West, 1945. *The New Method Readers for Students of English*. Longman, Green and Co., London.

### *2.3 The Curriculum since the 1970s*

Major changes took place in the English curriculum in Israeli schools since the 1970s. There was a shift of emphasis from teaching English as a cultural and literary subject to communicative competence (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999a: 174). That is to say, shifting from emphasizing two skills (reading and writing) to four skills, with special emphasis on speaking, focusing on functions of language use.

The chief inspector, Raphael Gefen, contributing more than anyone else to the change in English curriculum in this period, says

Henceforth, every text to be read, every lexical item or grammatical structure to be taught, every didactic technique to be used and every classroom activity to be undertaken must be selected and evaluated according to the following criterion- does it help provide the pupils with a means of communication? (Gefen, 1973:9)

In this period, we see that in high schools modern literature was dominant and replaced old literature in the old curriculum, and compulsory oral examination was an integral part of English education.

The emphasis on communicative competence dominated English teaching for more than two decades, giving equal weight to the four skills of language.

### *2.4 The New Curriculum*

In 1998, a new English curriculum was approved in Israeli schools. Spolsky and Shohamy argue (1999a: 181) that

The circumstances today, and even in the foreseeable future, are quite different. More and more pupils have extensive contact with English before beginning formal English instruction or outside of school, whether through radio, television, computers, family, travel, or meeting overseas visitors. Most pupils, at whatever age they start learning English in school, have already learned words and phrases of the language.

Considering these changes, curriculum designers set new standards for English. The new standards are extremely flexible, giving schools and teachers freedom, for instance, in determining the appropriate methodology to be used and the order of the elements of the curriculum.

The new curriculum is different from the previous ones in important ways. Whereas the previous curricula were taught according to the four skills of language, the new curriculum puts more emphasis on what should be achieved along with how the language should be acquired. In the new curriculum, it is suggested to teach according to domains rather than skills. It defines domains as

'areas of language ability or knowledge'. Four major domains are proposed: Social interaction, access to information, presentation, and appreciation of literature, culture and language. Moreover, the domains are viewed as a tapestry of interwoven areas of language learning. That means that the four domains are interrelated and do not operate in isolation.

The aim of the new curriculum is to raise standards in the four above-mentioned domains of language learning. It is hoped that by the end of grade 12 the student will be able to use English freely in all the skills of the language in their social interactions, in obtaining and presenting information and to develop appreciation of the English language and its literature.

The English curricula in Israel were uniform in the first two periods, and the sociolinguistic and cultural needs of the Arab pupils were not considered. This is also true of other disadvantaged Israeli socio-economic groups.

In the new curriculum, though the various ethnic and socio-economic groups are not addressed, there is hope that various groups adopt English teaching for their unique sociolinguistic and cultural needs. However, this hope may turn out to be extremely exaggerated since the English matriculation examination is uniform for all students in Israel. This may lead Arabs, and other groups to adopt the methodology of teaching and textbooks used by other established groups in Israel.

### 3. THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE ARAB SCHOOLS

#### *3.1 Number of Students*

In several schools the study begins in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and in most of them in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade. The total number of students who learnt English in Arab schools was 138,550 in 1995/1996: 65,750 elementary schools (3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>) and 72,800 in post-elementary (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup>).

#### *3.2 Training of Teachers for Teaching of English*

The English curriculum in the institutions for training teachers is intended to impart to the student skill in the English language and discipline knowledge in English literature and linguistics which are required for forming the training of the teacher of English (Beit Berl College, 1997/8: 77).

It should be pointed out that the teachers who are graduates of the seminars and the colleges are not sufficiently proficient in speaking, and they are forced to speak in Arabic in the classroom in order to supply the required expression.



Likewise, some of the teachers do not make use of illustrative means such as recordings, educational television programs and news in English.

Teachers who are graduates of the universities are more proficient in English than their colleagues who finished their studies in the colleges because they study in an intensive form and from English-speaking lecturers, which strengthens correct pronunciation and fluent speech.

The new teachers see themselves as agents of change and try to use the new teaching methods, but in many cases they suffer contempt from the veteran teachers who believe in perpetuating the existing situation. One of the English teachers told us that the vice-principal, who was an English teacher, did not approve of the teacher holding in her hand one of the illustrative materials and would say to her that they are uncalled for and do not help at all. In practice a portion of the new teachers suffer a regression and try as much as possible to fit themselves within the system. Therefore they are compelled to teach in the old method – frontal teaching.

The number of Arab students who specialize in English studies is very small in comparison with the other subjects as can be seen from the following data:

*Table 6.3: The number of Arab students majoring in English studies in colleges in 1996*

<i>Colleges</i>	
Kibbutzim Seminar	3
Kay College	5
Beit Berl College	28
The Arab Institute in Beit Berl	52
Levinsky College	8
Arab Institute for Education in Israel – Haifa	80**

\*\* It should be added that the number of students who studied for a teaching certificate and majored in English was 23.

*Table 6.4 The number of Arab students majoring in English studies in three universities in 1996*

	<i>First degree</i>	<i>Second degree</i>	<i>Third degree</i>
Bar-Ilan	1	3	4
Haifa	54	8	--
Tel-Aviv	8	8	1

### *3.3 Inspections and Guidance*

Until 1991 there was only a single national inspector serving in a full position for all the Arab schools. Beginning in 1992 the position was split into two: one half-time inspector in charge of the northern region and a second half-time inspector in charge of the central and southern regions. The two inspectors had a status of “regional inspector” and were responsible from a formal point of view for the teaching of English in the Arab schools. The inspector here is not independent in the full meaning of the word since he works in the framework of the general inspection of English teaching which is subordinate to the authority of the chief inspector in the Jewish sector. This policy has brought about that the Arab students will study with readers that were written especially for the Jewish students without taking into consideration at all the needs and aspirations of the Arab student. For comparison, in the two other languages, Arabic and Hebrew, the inspectors are independent in their work, and they are active in the discipline area such as, for example, the preparation of study readers which are suited in a specific way as much as possible to the Arab population, while the inspectors of English are not at all involved in the preparation of programs. As for the instructors, there are only 16 for all the schools at the various levels of education (elementary, junior high, senior high) in all the districts. Concerning the instructors, one of the Palestinian teachers says,

Some of the instructors did not receive adequate training for guidance. The appointment was made by the inspectorate for considerations that in most cases were not professional. And what is funny is that sometimes the instructors themselves need training, not the teachers. (Interviewee #5)

### *3.4 Textbooks*

The textbooks for English are the same for the Arabs and Jews. There are no texts in the readers about the Arabs, and this upsets the balance that exists in the curriculum. The Arab students learn about Jews and Western culture, but they do not learn about themselves from textbooks that deal with the Arab environment and which help to succeed in acquiring a foreign language. Studying a subject known to the student can increase his interest in the study and the focus will be only on the linguistic area.

As for writing special books for Arabs to learn English the opinions are divided. There are teachers who espouse this approach, and others who reject the idea on the threshold. These teachers believe that such books will harm the level and quality of the teaching. They suggest as a solution to set up a committee which includes Arabs and Jews and which will rewrite neutral contents relevant to both Arabs and to Jews in the same reader.

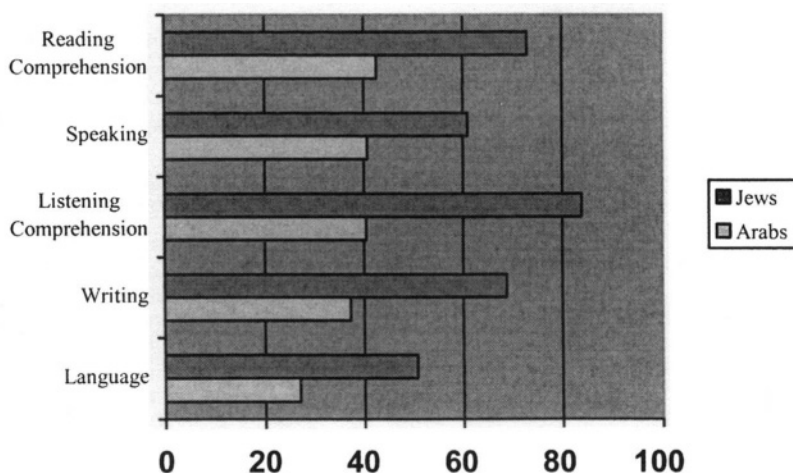
### 3.5 Evaluating Achievements

#### 3.5.1 Feedback Tests

The Ministry of Education conducts feedback tests in the Arab schools as it does in the Jewish schools since the curriculum is uniform. For example, in 1996/97 a feedback test (*mashov*) was run in 8<sup>th</sup> grade classes in the junior high schools. In the framework of the test a number of schools from each sector were sampled with 8<sup>th</sup> grade classes chosen at random from the school for the test. Below are the students' achievements summarized in table 6.5 and displayed in figure 6.1:

*Table 6.5: Average achievements in English in the five skills among the Arab and Jewish schools in 8<sup>th</sup> grades (percentages). Source: Ministry of Education, English teaching inspectorate 1998e.*

	Language	Writing	Listening Comprehension	Speaking	Reading Comprehension
Arabs	27	37.2	40.4	40.7	42.6
Jews	50.7	68.8	83.9	61	73



*Figure 6.1 Average achievements in 8<sup>th</sup> grade according to skill and sector (%)*

The gap in English between the Arab and Jewish students reaches frightening levels, equal to the gap of two standard deviations. Only 40% of the students in the Arab sector reached a satisfactory level of achievements (that is, to the required level), and only 10% of them reached an advanced level. Put simply, 60% of the Arab students failed in the examination, compared to 15% among the Jewish students.

The Advisory Committee of experts on the English *mashov* examination called for urgent and serious action in the Arab sector. The problem is clearly larger than only analyzing achievement in English. It is suspected that the general problems of education in the Arab sector, showing up in other *mashov* examinations are carried to an extreme in the case of English. It was suggested by the Advisory Committee to pay attention to special problems of English along with the treatment of the wider context, and make three specific recommendations.

First and foremost, there is an urgent need for an in-depth study of the language situation of pupils in the Arab sector, their knowledge of the vernacular and standard of Arabic and of Hebrew and English. A serious study of the effect of diglossia on Arabic education is needed.

Second, there needs to be careful consideration of this failure at the highest levels.

Third, to form a taskforce of experts and inspectors to study the issue of English in the Arab sector and propose and supervise the needed systemic changes. (See Ministry of Education and The National Center for Examinations and Evaluation 1999. Conclusions and Recommendations).

To the best of our knowledge, nothing has been done to change the situation.

### 3.5.2 Matriculation Examinations

The matriculation examination for students in 12<sup>th</sup> grade is the main feedback by which the situation of English teaching and student achievements can be examined. We give below the results of the matriculation examinations as they were published in the Statistical Annual in the years 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999.

*Table 6.6: Results of Matriculation Examinations from 1996 to 1999.*

Year	No. of students tested	No. Of students who passed the test	%	No. of students who failed the test	- %
1996	9356	4584	49	4772	51
1997	9681	3872	40	5809	60
1998	9879	4841	49	5038	51
1999	10894	5664	52	5230	48

1. About 24% of the Arab students finish high school without being tested in English.

2. The average percent of those who pass the matriculation in English is 48% of those who take the test. That is to say, less than 50% of the Arab students passed. These data are almost constant and they repeat themselves from year to year. For example, according to the publication of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the results of the examinations in English for Arabs in 1996 (AS-Sinnara 16.4.97: 5) it is clear that the number of those who are eligible to take the examination is 74.22% but only 58.69% actually took it (for comparison, in the Jewish sector 87.89% took the examination and 85.12% passed it).

3. The percent of those who take the test at the level of 5 units is very small, which has a negative influence on the integration of the graduates in the institutions of higher education in the country (they lose the bonus). It is proper to emphasize that even in the entrance examinations to the institutions of higher education a section in English is brought which has a considerable weight in the threshold test or the psychometric test, from which the lack of fluency in English constitutes a stumbling block for the graduates. For example, 13% of the candidates applied to courses in the universities are Arabs, and only 6% of them are accepted (Al-Sinnara, *ibid.*).

4. The average final grade of the students in English is not impressive, and it is around 60% as detailed above according to the results of the examination in 1996. At the level of one study unit the average grade was 53.8%, in three units it was 57.5%, in four units it was 63.4%, and in five units the average was 74.3%. As is known, the final grade is the statistical weighting of two factors: the matriculation and the class mark. For most the class mark is higher than the examination grade, which has a positive influence on the final grade.

### 3. CONCLUSION

Though the English curriculum is uniform in all Israeli schools, there are crucial differences between the Arab and Jewish communities in terms of contact and exposure to English language and culture, with Jews having plenty of opportunities for English input outside school. The national achievement examination (*mashov*) in Grade 8 reveals extremely lower levels of achievements by Arab pupils in comparison with those of Jewish pupils.

The problems of English teaching in the Arab sector are evident in many aspects. The current policy of teaching English, as reflected also in the new curriculum, does not consider the special needs of the Arab pupils. The new curriculum needs to give hope to remedying the striking failure of Arab pupils in learning the language (For improving language education in English, see recommendations in Appendix I).

A curriculum that may lead to considerable change of the situation should consider major issues related to their language repertoire: The diglossia and its burden on the Arab pupil; English as the third writing system learnt; priority among Arabs given to learning Hebrew; that the majority of the Arabs live in villages and less exposed to English; teacher qualifications; and the texts, which are full of Jewish and Western contents.

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## CHAPTER 7

### POLICY AND TEACHING FRENCH AS A SECOND FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Arab students learn Arabic, Hebrew and English as compulsory subjects in public schools. In addition, in private schools they also learn French. As to other European languages such as Spanish, Russian etc., they are not taught at all in the Arab schools. This is similar to the situation in Israeli Jewish educational systems: Hebrew, English and another language either Arabic or French are taught. It seems that the hidden language policy of Israel is to teach only the languages needed for their immediate needs: Arabic is the mother tongue, Hebrew is needed for communication with the dominant Jewish culture in the country, and English as a window to the world. Other languages whose contributions are not immediate are not taught at all. The claim of the policy makers in the Ministry of Education is that the existing model of teaching three languages is a heavy burden on students, and adding an additional language would affect the competence in the other languages.

French was one of the more important European languages in Ottoman Palestine, supported by an active language diffusion policy (Kleineidam, 1992), but was effectively replaced by English when the British and French defined their spheres of influence after the First World War. It is offered in Israeli Hebrew-medium schools as a second foreign language or as an alternative to Arabic (Ben-Rafael, 1994: 190; Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999a). French is not taught in the Arab state schools, where it would be a fourth language. It is taught only in the community schools which are a vestige of the private educational system which flourished in Palestine before the establishment of Israel. At one time there was an attempt to teach it in six schools, which seemed successful, but it was discontinued for budgetary reasons.



French has a special status in the world for political, commercial, social and cultural reasons. It is counted as one of the official languages of the European Union, and it holds second place as an international language. There is a long heritage of teaching French both in the region and throughout the world as a language with cultural and historical prestige. In Israel, importance is attached to French as the community language for a large group of immigrants from North Africa as well as the language of a considerable number of people who came from France itself. There is a cultural exchange agreement between France and Israel. Approximately 10% of students in Israel study French as a second foreign language for at least a period of three years, and a smaller percentage continue to the end of high school. Ben-Rafael (1994) believes that the cultural value is the main motive for learning French among Jews in Israel.

## 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### *1.1 French in Arab Countries*

French has filled an important historical and cultural function in Arab countries,<sup>1</sup> especially in those areas of North Africa that were colonized. Algeria was a French colony from 1830 to 1962; Tunisia was a French protectorate from 1881 to 1956, as was Morocco from 1921 to 1955. There is also an historical attachment to the French language and its culture in Lebanon and Syria (though much less in Syria), both of which came under French mandate after World War I. French mandatory rule continued in the Middle East for 26 years, from 1920 to 1946.

Britain and France had different conceptions of the substance of mandatory rule. While the British allowed the residents of the country to manage their own way of life and to use their mother tongue in schools and daily life, the French policy, in mandated territory as in colonies, was to “civilize” the locals (Bentahila, 1983; 43). The French language served as a tool for applying this policy. They did not, as the British, allow the use of the local language in elementary schools, but offered French-medium instruction from the beginning. Tremendous economic and educational resources were invested to carry out this task.

<sup>1</sup> In the past 15 years, many Arab countries such as Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon etc., have joined the Francophonie, and Israel has also expressed its interest to obtain a status of observer at the Bi-Annual Summits of the Heads of States and Governments of the Francophonie.

To this day French influence is recognizable in all the areas which in the past were under the French mandatory rule (Bentahila, 1983: 53). For example, in Algeria the French influence has found expression in many cultural and linguistic areas of life. In certain areas in Algeria people are more fluent in French than in their mother tongue Arabic. To this day there are religious, private and community institutions in Lebanon which are supported by the French. Even from the political point of view France identifies with Lebanon in various ways and feels morally obliged to aid the country.

### *1.2 The History of Teaching French in Palestine*

There was constant competition in education between the various Christian missionary groups in Palestine in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Landau, 1975). All of them had a religious approach and stressed, among other things, teaching the metropolitan language: French or Italian (Roman Catholic), German (Lutheran), English (Protestant), Greek or Russian (Orthodox). Each major church had at least one school in Jerusalem, and over a period of time they started to spread even to villages. It became an accepted practice among the elite families, Muslim as well as Christian, to send their children to private schools (Shamir, 1975).

In 1914 there were more than 170 missionary private schools in Palestine (Yousuf, 1997). In Haifa there were four French schools (Al-Amir, 1997), and also some in Nazareth (Abd al-Latif, 1997).

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, French was considered the Western language of culture in the region (Spolsky and Cooper 1991). The Ottoman *pashas* began to speak it after 1876. Plays were performed in French in the theater which was built in 1888 outside the Old City of Jerusalem. It was studied in the government school. French served as a lingua franca. Also there were a large number of French foundations in the city.

An important agent in spreading French among the Jews in the Middle East was the Alliance Israélite Universelle. It opened in Jerusalem in 1882 the "Torah u-Melakha" (Torah and Work) school in which all the teaching was done in French. The teachers received training in French. Teaching methods and textbooks that were common in France were adopted without taking into account the environmental conditions and the needs of the students (Cohen, 1968: 736). The declared aim of the studies was to impart the language, culture and history of the French people in a systematic way (Brener, 1955: 481) as was common in the colonies under the French mandatory rule.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle was very active in North Africa, where many Jews started moving from their local Judeo-Arabic to French. When the Jews of the Maghreb left their homes, they agonized over whether to immigrate to Israel or to move to France. Some of them immigrated to Israel after being in France for a while. In the 1880s, Baron de Rothschild encouraged the teaching of French in the pioneering agricultural settlements which he founded. When this

support ceased, the way was open for the teaching of revitalized Hebrew in the schools.

The schools which were under the influence of the Alliance taught French from the second year of studies at the rate of four lessons per week. The teaching of French in this format existed also in Arab schools, especially in the Christian ones, which received support from the French institutions that operated in the region. The St. Joseph School in Nazareth was a French-medium school, and to this day receives patronage and support from the French.

After the end of the British Mandate, the status of French in Israel changed in the wake of an agreement signed in 1950 between the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Alliance, according to which the Alliance schools would be permitted to devote 8 hours per week for teaching French beginning in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade. In the 1960s the Ministry of Education allowed pupils to choose between French and Arabic. In many Hebrew schools English was studied as a first foreign language, and French as a second foreign language, especially among the immigrants from North Africa (Ben Rafael, 1994).

French is taught at Bar-Ilan University, Tel-Aviv University, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the University of Haifa. About 50 Arab students are studying French at the University of Haifa, but only a handful at other universities. Some Arab students are studying in France.

## 2. THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum for the teaching of French was amended the last time in 1976, and it still serves as the central axis on which the teaching of French is based. The inspectorate of the teaching of French is active in the preparation of a new curriculum. This program is in its final stages, but it has not yet been published. The teachers are taking a special advanced course in the new program before it is introduced into the schools in the near future.

French is studied in two tracks (Ministry of Education and Culture, (1976: 2):

- a. The first track – teaching French as a second foreign language in the junior high and senior high schools (regular level).
- b. The second track – a curriculum in French as a first foreign language and with the goal of bilingualism in post-elementary education.

### *2.1 Teaching Goals*

There are two main goals for teaching French in Israeli schools (Ministry of Education, 1976a: 2):

- a. To impart to the student knowledge of a language as a means of communication. In order to create effective communication with speakers of

French the student must be familiar with these language skills: Oral expression – to impart to the student the ability to speak without requiring specific knowledge, while being meticulous about correct pronunciation without linguistic errors; written expression – to impart to the student the ability to formulate a letter in a proper form from the point of view of spelling and language, and in straightforward writing; reading – to impart to the student the ability to read and understand an unknown piece from a book, article or newspaper.

b. Familiarity with the way of life in present-day France, its habits and its problems. This goal will be achieved by means of reading selected chapters from literary works with the emphasis placed not just on their artistic value, but on the aim to penetrate the culture of France and the problems of the hour.

The goals of the inspectorate of the French language are (Kopel, 1996: 9): To reach standards set in advance; to increase the linguistic awareness and the cultural awareness; to develop reading, writing, speaking and listening skills by means of grammar, vocabulary and varied teaching methods.

In the lower grades communication is verbal more than written, but in the higher grades, with preparation for the matriculation, written communication is given the highest preference. In the two levels cultural understanding is an important component in the program.

## *2.2 The Curriculum in French*

The general goals of the curriculum are to give the student a means of communication with the French-speaking world and a foundation in French literature and culture.

The junior high school emphasizes the daily language, spoken and written, and reading of texts and newspaper. In the high school, the curriculum moves to literature and the culture of France.

This curriculum is common to both Jews and Arabs. The Jews study French as an option instead of Arabic, so that the number of students is much greater in comparison to the number studying this language in the Arab sector.

### 3. THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN THE ARAB SCHOOLS

The existing private schools are an historical legacy. Many Arab parents are not satisfied with the government schools and therefore send their children to the private schools that offer a varied curriculum in different languages.<sup>2</sup>

In Jaffa there are three schools with a mixed student population from various communities which teach French. The study of French at Terra Sancta school started during the Mandate period. The language is taught three hours a week from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade, but very few students take the Bagrut<sup>3</sup> examination.

Farrar school has 340 students from kindergarten to 13<sup>th</sup> grade. From the first year of study four languages are studied: English, Arabic, Hebrew and French. Teaching is mainly in French. Until 8<sup>th</sup> grade the scientific courses are taught in French, and the rest of the courses in Arabic. From 9<sup>th</sup> grade on all courses are in French. As for the influence of the French language on the student population Yosef Bashi and Shash say (Bashi et. al, 1996: 7):

Nobody joins the high school because the studies are in French, and the crowding in the classes declines to about 30 per class. Studies in the school go up to 13<sup>th</sup> grade, and the explanation given for this is the profusion of languages and the requirements from the students. Some of the students leave at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> grade in order to complete the 12<sup>th</sup> grade elsewhere. The graduates receive graduation certificates of the French government (recognized in Israel at Bar-Ilan University). The excellent ones receive a grant from the French government to continue post-high school studies. The framework of the studies is prescribed by the grant donor.

At Jaffa Comprehensive School French is an option in the junior and senior high schools (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grades).

In Nazareth there are two schools in which the study of French is required. At St. Joseph – Elementary school, French is taught for 3 hours a week from the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. The number of students studying French in the school is 402.

St. Joseph High School requires 3 hours of French from 1<sup>st</sup> grade to 9<sup>th</sup> grade and encourages students to continue to the Bagrut examination (in 1997/98 35 students took the matriculation examination). Up to 1986 only girls studied French, and from that year boys were also integrated into the study of French. The school now allows pupils to choose between English and French

<sup>2</sup> The data brought above were given to 'Abd al-Rahman Mar'i in writing and in conversations which he held with the above institutions. The data refer to the year 1997-98.

<sup>3</sup> Examinations given at the end of the high school education in all schools in Israel. Great importance is accorded to the Bagrut achievements in Israel, especially for university admission.

Three schools in Haifa teach French:

At St. Joseph – Carmel, three hours of French are required 1<sup>st</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grades at an extent of three weekly hours. In grades 9-10 French is optional. Learning French is an option for students at St. Joseph – Carmelite.

At the Nazarene Nuns School – on the elementary school, three hours of French is required in grades 5-6. There are three 5<sup>th</sup> grade classes, and the number of students is 103, and two 6<sup>th</sup> grade classes with 79 students.

It is also required in the junior high school in grades 7-8. In three 7<sup>th</sup> graded classes there are 75 students, and in three 8<sup>th</sup> grade classes there are 74 students.

The study of French in the high school is optional, and there is a 9<sup>th</sup> grade class with 24 students, and an 11<sup>th</sup> grade class with 8 students. In 1997/98 eight students took the examination. The percentage of success in the examination in previous years was 100%.

From the survey presented above we see that most of the schools require the study of French at the elementary level, while at the senior high school level it is optional. Therefore the number of students who take the matriculation examination is quite small.

#### 4. THE ATTITUDE OF ARAB STUDENTS TO THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

Despite the importance of the French language in the international community in general and in the European community in particular, and despite its being taught in community Arab schools, the path has not yet been paved for teaching French in Arab state schools. Educators in the Arab sector are satisfied with the study of the three languages – Arabic, Hebrew and English, and they are not interested in having the students study French as a fourth language. There are those who believe that teaching an additional language, such as French, will make it more difficult for the students.

The question is whether the above claim is based on facts or not. A limited survey was made by 'Abd al-Karim Daher and Andre Mazzawi (Daher & Mazzawi, 1992: 1-4) to examine the position and the degree of readiness of the Arab students to study the French language. The survey included students who had not learned any French and students who were actually studying the language. 1929 male and female students from grades 9-11 from different regions of the country participated in the survey.

Students who had not studied French at all revealed a sympathetic attitude to French and expressed readiness to study the language. Their reasons (in order) were to make ties with speakers of French, to improve their personality and raise their social status, to get to know French culture and heritage and for academic success.

Girls showed a greater interest in learning the language than boys. While the girls saw the importance of the communication aspect such as hearing songs and seeing French movies, the boys focused on the personal aspect – hoped-for advancement in the future such as, for example, studying in French universities. Neither boys nor girls found the study of French literature important and all recognized the difficulties of pronunciation and accent.

The attitude of those actually studying French is different from that of their colleagues who have not studied it at all. The reaction of those studying it to the questions of the survey was balanced and to the point since it is based on personal experience. A third of those questioned did not intend to continue their studies in French.

Boys expressed a greater lack of satisfaction than did girls. The main reason given for learning was ties with French speakers; second was the contribution of French in the academic and professional area. All complained that the study was formal and carried out inside school, with little opportunity to use the language in conversation with speakers of French. They are of the opinion that learning French will help them enter academic institutions in France after graduation from school. 80% of the parents encouraged their children to study the language at an advanced level.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Though many Arabs express sympathetic views towards French as a language of a high culture, it is perceived today in their new political and sociolinguistic fabric in Israel to be of low linguistic capital and has no real value for advancement in the domains of work or study.

French is taught in several Arab private schools, the historical heritage of mandatory Palestine. Even these schools do not give high priorities to French teaching. Most of these schools require French at the elementary level, while at the senior high school level it is optional, and the number of students taking the matriculation examination is quite small. Possibly the obligatory teaching of three languages among Arabs with their versatile complexities and the relatively low performance in them lead to less appreciation and motivation for learning other languages (For improving language education in French, see recommendations in Appendix I).

## CHAPTER 8

### LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES

Till now most of the sociolinguistic studies on the Palestinians in Israel focused on knowledge and use of their language repertoire, and the recent studies focused on language education and language education policies (Amara and Mari, 1999; Amara, 2001; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a, 1999b). The topic of attitudes towards the major languages in the linguistic repertoire of Palestinians in Israel has not been investigated. We find sporadic studies on the attitudes of Israeli Palestinians towards Hebrew (e.g. Badeir, 1990; Daghash, 1993; Abu-Rabi'a, 1996; Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt, 1998). In this chapter a pilot study is reported. It is the first study that examines the attitudinal and ideological aspects in the major languages of the Palestinians in Israel. This aspect of language study is extremely important in the complex reality of Israel, which is defined and perceived as a Jewish country, and also because of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Our concern so far has been to trace the way that policy decisions at various levels and by various bodies have been translated into language education policies and curricula for the Arab minority in Israel and how those policies have been implemented in practice. In this chapter, we turn to the question whether the policies have considered or failed to take into account the attitudes of minority students to the languages involved and their motivations for learning these languages. Causality and directionality are not clear here, for the attitudes themselves may be independent or may be dependent on the policies or on the language learning experiences of the students.

This chapter, thus, shifts analysis from the establishment to the learner. In the previous chapters we have concentrated on language education policy as it is influenced by external and internal factors. This chapter examines the immediate consumer of the policy, i.e. the learner, focusing on language attitudes and ideologies. More specifically: What are the perceptions and attitudes that the Palestinians in Israel relate to Arabic, Hebrew and English? Which of these



languages is important to them from the functional and symbolic point of view? What is the degree of readiness and willingness to study these languages? What is the degree of vitality and use of these languages in the life of the state?

## 1. THE INVESTIGATION

### *1.1 Characteristics of the Respondents*

The anonymous survey of attitudes included 999 respondents, students at Arabic-medium high schools and colleges. Students in high schools in nine locations (villages, cities and mixed Arab-Jewish cities) from various geographical regions in the country, and in two colleges (one in the Little Triangle and the other in the Negev) received the questionnaire.

The sample is not strictly representative of the Arab population in Israel. For example, the population of the Little Triangle is over-represented (30% instead of 20%) as are the mixed cities (13% instead of 10%). Nevertheless, there is a fair representation of the various populations in the various regions.

The average age of the respondents was 17.5, with the oldest being a 41-year old college student. Most of the high school respondents were in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade.

The sample is just over 60% female, since most of the students in the colleges are women, and private schools for girls were included. In terms of religion, Muslims are over-represented (82% instead of 77%, Christian under-represented (7% instead of 13%) and Druze about right at 9%.

Respondents were asked to define their identity, multiple answers being permitted (see Table 8.1)

*Table 8.1. Identities reported among Respondents*

<i>Identity</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Israeli Arab Muslim	297	29.7
Palestinian Arab	159	15.9
Arab Muslim	151	15.1
Israeli Arab	85	8.5
Palestinian	83	8.3
Arab	47	4.7
Israeli Druze	31	3.1
Arab Druze	23	2.3
Christian Arab	28	2.8
Muslim Palestinian	19	1.9
Palestinian Muslim	14	1.4
Israeli	14	1.4
Israeli Christian	7	0.7
Israeli Muslim	4	0.4
Israeli Palestinian	3	0.3
Christian	3	0.3
Druze	3	0.3
Muslim Arab	1	0.1
Muslim in Palestine	1	0.1
Not reporting	17	1.7

Israeli identity is claimed by almost 43% of the respondents, not as an exclusive identity but as an additional label qualifying the main claim. This dimension is stronger among Druze than among Christians and Muslims. To use religion as a sole self-identity is rare. The most popular identity, claimed by about a third, was “Israeli Arab Muslim”. The complexity of the identity of the Arabs reflects a complex reality. The primary element (the noun head) is the religious one, modified by nationality and further by citizenship. Arab + Muslim (with or without Israeli) occurs in 45% of claims. The two nationalities (Arab or Palestinian) are included in 24%.

### *1.2 Procedures and Types of Questions*

The questionnaire was in Arabic and distributed by Arabic-speaking researchers. It included eight sections (See Appendix II), comprising 146 items: The first section (10 items) focused on the personal background of the respondents (such as age, gender, and place of living, contact with Jewish Israelis and tourists and identity). The next three sections presented attitude statements about Arabic (23 items), Hebrew (24 items) and English (25 items), intended to assess the vitality of the languages, the pragmatic and symbolic functions that they fulfill, language education and the status of the languages. The fifth section (15 items) asked

about any difficulties that the learner faced when studying Arabic, Hebrew and English (such as accent, written and spoken expression). The sixth section (30 items) asked about the frequency of use of literary Arabic, Hebrew and English in the various domains in the school, in the family and when meeting tourists. The next section (10 items) permitted respondents to give their evaluation of various languages and groups in Israel. The final section (9 items) asked about the interest of the respondents in TV, films, radio and newspapers in Arabic, Hebrew and English. Some of the statements were the basis of a previous research done in Bethlehem by Amara, Spolsky, Tushyeh and de Boot (1998).

## 2. RESULTS

### *2.1 Attitudes towards Arabic, Hebrew and English*

The respondents were asked to read statements that appear in the questionnaire and to indicate to what degree they agree with the content. Each statement included five answers: 1 – agree very much; 2 – agree; 3 – agree to a certain point; 4 – do not agree; 5 – do not agree at all. There were 23 Statements about Arabic, 24 about Hebrew, and 25 about English. The purpose of the statements was to examine the outlooks of the respondents and their positions concerning the three languages. These statements included various aspects about the language: the symbolic aspect, language mixing, language choice, language education, vitality of the language in the eyes of the speaker, language use for pragmatic purposes, linguistic knowledge, general knowledge, cultural importance of the language, political importance and prestige that the language grants the user.

The results of the research show substantial differences in the perception of the three languages (see Tables 8.2-8.4). In Arabic the symbolic aspect is the most important, since the five statements which dealt with this topic received the highest rating (such as “my national language”, “proud of the Arabic language”, etc.). Hebrew was perceived as the language of contact with the Jewish Israelis in the various areas; that is, it is a useful language for pragmatic purposes (learning Hebrew increases the chances to be accepted at a university, finding a job in Israel, etc.) Six statements on this topic received the highest rating. In contrast to these, English was perceived as a vital language for pragmatic purposes.

### *2.1.1 Arabic*

A deep examination of each language separately brings out some interesting facts (see table 8.2). The respondents prefer to speak Spoken Arabic (2.11). They perceive the literary language as difficult to a certain degree (2.53), and a large portion of the respondents see the Spoken language as an obstacle in learning the literary language (2.56). What is interesting is that a not insignificant portion of the respondents perceive spoken and literary Arabic as two separate languages (3.02). Similarly, many respondents put in Hebrew words and collocations while speaking Arabic (2.39). The study of Arabic was not considered effective from the pragmatic point of view such as, for example, in order to get a job in a government office (3.90). From the language education point of view a clear majority of the respondents want Standard Arabic (and not the local dialect) to be taught from 1<sup>st</sup> grade rather than from 5<sup>th</sup> grade (4.64) or from 10<sup>th</sup> grade (4.67). Likewise most of them do not agree that the textbooks should be rewritten in the spoken form (4.011). Furthermore, the respondents want the Jewish Israelis to know their language (Arabic), and most of them rejected the statement "I don't want the Jewish Israelis to know my language" (4.26).

*Table 8.2. Perceptions and attitudes reported towards Arabic (Rating)*

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Rating</i>
Arabic is my national language	1.17
I am proud of the Arabic language	1.18
I love Arabic	1.50
In my eyes Arabic is a beautiful and riveting check translation language	1.56
Arabic strengthens my belonging to the Arab nation	1.59
I prefer to speak the spoken language	2.11
I am accustomed to putting in Hebrew words while speaking	2.39
Literary Arabic is a difficult language	2.53
The spoken language sets a barrier to learning literary Arabic	2.56
My control of Arabic contributes to my success in the other courses of study	2.57
Arabic is an international language	2.60
Knowing Arabic makes it easier for Arab citizens to recognize their rights and obligations	2.82
Textbooks for the Arabic course are full of topics dealing with Arab nationality	2.99
Literary and spoken Arabic are two separate languages	3.020
Knowing Hebrew diminishes the importance of knowing Arabic in Israel	3.022
I am not able to express myself in the literary language	3.30
I am better-versed in the Jewish culture than in the Arabic culture	3.87
I am studying Arabic in order to get an important job in a government office in the future	3.90
I am interested in having the textbooks written in the spoken form	4.01
I want the Jews to know my language	4.26
I prefer not to learn Standard Arabic at all	4.64
I prefer to begin the study of Standard Arabic in the 5th grade rather than the 1st	4.67
I prefer to begin the study of Standard Arabic in the 10th grade rather than the 1st	4.73

### *2.1.2 Hebrew*

The perceptions and attitudes of the students towards Hebrew are different from those towards Arabic. The highest rating was given to the statements about studying Hebrew for practical and pragmatic purposes. Most of the respondents agree with the statement that maintains that the Arabs must be fluent in Hebrew (2.21). A not insignificant number of respondents see Hebrew as an easy language (2.22). There is a certain portion of the respondents who are prepared to study Hebrew not just for pragmatic purposes but also to get to know the way of life of the Jewish people in Israel, which would enable learning the culture in order to integrate into the life of the country (2.34) or to communicate with friends (2.73). There are even those who are ready to learn Hebrew even from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade (2.57). Hebrew is perceived as a vital language for advancing the peace (2.82). The majority (3.75) do not agree that Hebrew is the language of an

enemy. Furthermore, studying Hebrew does not contradict the religious beliefs of the learner (3.88). Similarly, the majority does not agree with the statement “I do not like to study Hebrew” (4.00). Most of the respondents do not prefer to study Hebrew at a later stage, such as from 5<sup>th</sup> grade (4.05), and many prefer to study Hebrew already from 1<sup>st</sup> grade.

In short, though Hebrew is perceived more as a language of communication for pragmatic purposes with the Jewish Israelis in various areas of life, there are very positive attitudes in favor of studying it as early as possible, and it is not perceived as a language of conflict or as “the language of the enemy”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These findings are very interesting if we compare them with the positions of the Jewish Israeli students. As mentioned, a large portion of the Jewish Israeli students see Arabic as the language of an enemy and as the language of an inferior people (Brosh, 1996).

*Table 8.3 Perceptions and attitudes reported towards Hebrew (Rating)*

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Rating</i>
Control of an additional language is very important for general education	1.52
The study of Hebrew increases the chances of being accepted at a university in Israel	1.74
Knowledge of Hebrew makes it easier for me in traveling to Jewish cities and in managing personal affairs	1.77
I am studying Hebrew in order to know how to deal with a Jew when I meet him	1.80
Learning Hebrew increases my chances of finding a job in Israel in the future	1.85
I am learning Hebrew so that I will be able to communicate with all the citizens of the State of Israel	2.11
Knowing Hebrew makes it easier for Arab citizens to recognize their rights and obligations	2.16
In my opinion, every Arab in Israel must be fluent in Hebrew	2.21
Learning Hebrew is very easy	2.22
I am studying Hebrew in order to learn about the way of life of the Jewish people in Israel	2.34
I prefer to start learning Hebrew in 1 <sup>st</sup> grade	2.57
The Hebrew language is very close to Arabic	2.63
I am studying Hebrew in order to get an important position in a Government office	2.65
I am studying Hebrew because I have Jewish friends and I want to speak with them in Hebrew	2.73
Knowing Hebrew contributes to the advancement of peace in the region	2.82
We must know Hebrew in order to learn about the customs of the Jews	2.93
I must learn Hebrew because the Jews are learning Arabic	3.57
I see Hebrew as a "language of an enemy"	3.75
Control of Hebrew is necessary only for those who work with Jews	3.77
The study of Hebrew contradicts the religious belief	3.88
I don't like to study Hebrew	4.00
I prefer to begin studying Hebrew from 5 <sup>th</sup> grade rather than from 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	4.05
I prefer to begin studying Hebrew from 10 <sup>th</sup> grade rather than from 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	4.44
I prefer not to study Hebrew at all	4.43

### *2.1.3 English*

The highest rating was given to statements examining the vitality of English (such as: English is an international language and it is impossible to forgo it 1.60), and also to pragmatic aspects of the language (Fluency in English will increase my chances of finding a job abroad in the future – 1.73). English is perceived as a prestige language (2.31), and many of the respondents are ready to have English taught from 1<sup>st</sup> grade (2.62). Along with this, many do not agree that English should be studied from 4<sup>th</sup> grade (4.11) or from 10<sup>th</sup> grade (4.43). A

not insignificant portion of the respondents agree to a certain extent that Hebrew is a more important language than English in their view (3.00) as shown below:

*Table 8.4 Perceptions and attitudes reported towards English (Rating)*

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Rating</i>
English is a common language between countries	1.45
English is an international language and it is impossible to forgo it	1.60
Control of English will increase the chances of finding a job abroad	1.73
English is one of the most important languages in the world	1.75
Control of English will help me continue my academic studies in the future	1.76
I am learning English so that I will be able to speak with others outside the State of Israel	1.83
Studying English is part of the broadening of general knowledge	1.94
English is an efficient means of communication	2.00
In my opinion, Arabic is more important than English	2.21
English is a prestige language	2.31
English contributes to settling disputes	2.48
Control of English will grant me an honored position in my community	2.54
I am studying English so that I can learn about other cultures	2.61
I prefer to begin the study of English from the 1 <sup>st</sup> grade rather than from the 4th grade	2.62
Control of English will increase the chances of finding a job in Israel	2.65
English is a difficult language	2.80
I am studying English in order to watch films in English	2.81
I am studying English because it is a useful language in most areas of life in Israel	2.82
I am studying English in order to learn about the customs and traditions of English speakers	2.83
I am studying English in order to listen to songs in English	2.99
In my view Hebrew is more important than English	3.04
I don't like to study English	3.81
I prefer to begin the study of English from the 6 <sup>th</sup> grade rather than from the 4th grade	4.11
I prefer to being the study of English from the 10th grade rather than from the 4th grade	4.43
I prefer not to study English at all	4.36

## *2.2 Impressions from various Languages and Groups*

The respondents were also asked to report on their impressions from the various groups and various languages in Israel. Each question had 5 possible answers: 5- very much/very high; 4- much/high; 3- medium; 2- little/low; 1- very little/very low. Here we included French as a control language for two reasons. One reason



was its being a European language with prestige throughout the world. The second reason was that French is studied in a number of Arab private schools and in many Israeli Jewish schools.

As to the prestige of languages in Israel, Hebrew received the highest rating (4.62), English in second place (3.75) before Arabic (3.41) which is defined as the second official language of the country, while the status of French is low in Israel (2.08). The meaning of the results is that Hebrew benefits from very high prestige in Israel with English and Arabic benefiting from medium to high prestige.

From an examination of the way the languages are used according to the perception of the respondents in government offices, public services (e.g. hotels, restaurants, etc.), in commerce and in general connections and in work in Israel, Hebrew received the highest rating in all areas, and it is considered very useful in the above areas. Arabic comes in second place in all the areas with its use moving between a lot and medium. English is in the third place with its use moving between medium to only a little. French is found in last place, and its use is considered almost very little. Here is the detailing of the responses:

*Table 8.5. Use of the languages according to the respondents*

<i>Language</i>	<i>Government Offices</i>	<i>Public services</i>	<i>Commerce and general ties</i>	<i>Labor in Israel</i>
Hebrew	4.40	4.51	4.53	4.59
Arabic	3.33	3.08	3.34	3.53
English	2.14	2.54	2.33	2.14
French	1.27	1.44	1.38	1.29

In the estimation of the respondents, the greatest use in the communications media was done in Hebrew, and it gained a very high rating (4.68); in second place was Arabic (3.74) and its rating was high; in third place was English (3.11) whose use was considered medium; and the use of French was considered low (1.58). The use of Arabic in Arab schools is very high (4.71); the use of Hebrew is perceived as high (4.12); the use of English is perceived as high to medium (3.38); and the use of French is considered low (1.48). The use of Hebrew in the Jewish schools is perceived as very high (more than the use of Arabic in Arab schools), the use of English is considered to be high (4.03), and the use of Arabic is perceived as low (2.21). The use of French in Jewish schools is perceived as higher than Arabic (2.50).

Finally, we wanted to find out how satisfied the respondents were from the scientific and cultural achievements of the following groups: Arabs, Jewish Israelis, Americans and French. The Americans received the highest rating in scientific achievements (4.28), after them, coming almost linked together were

the Jewish Israelis (4.24), then the French (3.61), and finally the Arabs who were mediumly satisfied (3.39). As for the satisfaction with their historical and cultural heritage, the Arabs received the highest rating (4.16), and the other groups received high ratings (close to 4.00). This shows the awareness and pride of the respondents in their historical and cultural heritage despite the fact that the contents which deal with Arabic culture are small in the programs for teaching Arabic and Hebrew in the school.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The results of the research show considerable differences in the perception of the three languages. In Arabic the symbolic aspect is the most important, since the five statements which dealt with this topic received the highest rating (such as “my national language”, “proud of the Arabic language”, etc.). Hebrew was perceived as the language of contact with the Jewish Israelis in the various areas; that is, it is a useful language for pragmatic purposes (learning Hebrew increases the chances to be accepted at a university, finding a job in Israel, etc.). Six statements on this topic received the highest rating. In contrast to these, English was perceived as a vital language for pragmatic purposes.

From the results of this study we learn that the policies, as reflected in the language education policies and curricula, have failed to consider the needs and attitudes of the minority students towards the various languages taught and their motivations for learning them. While the symbolic aspects are emphasized by the subjects in relation to Arabic learning, the emphasis on the curriculum is on the pragmatic aspects. The opposite is true in Hebrew: while the subjects emphasize the pragmatic aspects for learning the language, the curriculum emphasizes its cultural and national aspects.

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## EPILOGUE

When the State of Israel was established, policy-makers struggled with the question of the education of the Arab minority in Israel. Two approaches have been considered: the first is segregation and self-administration, and the other is integration in the Jewish education system. The two approaches were finally perceived as not practical for the State of Israel, and a third approach was adopted - integrating the two approaches. On the one hand the Arabs learn in a separate education system, and their education system is strictly controlled by the country (Al-Haj, 1996). Over the years the country dominated and interfered in all components of Arab education. This educational policy was reflected in the curriculum, where Jewish-Zionistic themes were emphasized. There were times, for instance in the subject of history, when the Arab student learnt more about Judaism and Zionism than his Arab or Palestinian history. Generally speaking, the country employed the education system in order to achieve its Zionist goals in the Arab schools: attempting to create an Arab citizen who is loyal to Israel as a Zionist- Jewish-country.

This book has described and analyzed Arab minority language education in Israel. The main goal has been to trace the influence of language policy in general on shaping language education, looking at external and internal sources of policy making. By describing the history and current characteristics of Arab language education in Israel, the book examined the considerations which guide those who make decisions in formulating goals, writing curricula and choosing textbooks. It asked further why the achievements of the Arab students are so low in the area of language education. It considered the status of the Arabic

language in Israel and the implications of this for language education. It tried to identify the problems that hinder progress.

The book discussed the connections between language, identity and policy. It noted the major effect of Zionist and Hebrew ideology in education for the Arab minority.

Fundamental to the book was the notion that language is used not just to communicate information but also to define and express identity. Language is an important means of socialization of the individual and the collective. It is an open system which influences and is influenced by non-linguistic factors. By using one language rather than another, a plurilingual speaker reveals a view of the social structure and chooses to express identity and attitude.

Under Ottoman and British Mandatory rule, the linguistic repertoire of speakers of Arabic was simple and to a certain extent uniform since the majority were villagers. Education was minimal, and the contact with the outside world was very restricted since the society was overwhelmingly agricultural. An educated few added Standard Arabic and some English to their proficiency in the spoken Palestinian dialect. Very few knew or used Hebrew.

With the establishment of the State of Israel the linguistic repertoire gradually became complex and diverse, and the status of the languages changed. The Arabic-speaking society changed considerably as it was opened up in many ways. The institution of universal education meant that all now developed literacy in Standard Arabic. Maintenance of Arabic-medium instruction in the schools permitted language maintenance and led to modifications in the Palestinian dialect. Relations with other Arabic speakers through television and travel had other influences on the spoken language. Knowledge and use of Hebrew was promoted in the school, as a result of both education and work in the general Israeli community, and it also had effects on the spoken language. Today the linguistic repertoire of the Arabs is not static and is changing rapidly. These changes have been created as a result of the contact with other Arabic dialects and with Hebrew and English (Amara, 1986, 1995b).

Four languages are studied today in the Arab schools in Israel. Standard Arabic is the language of instruction in all the courses, serving both to maintain internal identity and to establish connections with Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims elsewhere. Hebrew is taught as a second language from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on, and this permits access to work, government, and the wider Israeli community. English and French permit international connections and access to advanced academic training.

In the Israeli reality of today Arabic does not constitute a threat to Hebrew, and it is not perceived as such among the broad public or among the policy makers. The reasons for this are, as mentioned above, connected to the status of the Arabs in Israel as a weak group and to the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the contrary, many people complain about the poor knowledge of Arabic among the Jews and would like the situation to change.

The Hebrew language is studied as a required course by the Palestinian Arab students from the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on. Benor (1950: 5) the first principal to direct the Arab education in the Ministry of Education, asserted that “Hebrew was brought into the study programs not by an order from above but because of the strong demand by the Arabs themselves.” On the one hand, it is extremely important for the Arab minority to learn Hebrew for integrating into the life of the country, mainly dominated by the Jewish majority culture, and on the other it is an Israeli interest that Arab students should learn Hebrew in order that they should be exposed to the culture and heritage of the Jewish people and to develop Israeli citizenship (Al-Haj, 1996). One of the main goals that the Zionist movement placed before itself was to strengthen Hebrew as the language of the Jews in the Jewish State. Ben-Rafael (1994) explains that, as a result, in the first stage traditional Jewish multilingualism was replaced by monolingualism, leading to an ideological hegemony of Hebrew. Only later, with the global spread of English, did there begin to develop a new pattern of elite Hebrew-English bilingualism.

A central focus of Zionist ideology was the creation of a new identity different from the Diaspora identity in most respects. Revival of the language became a very important component in building the new Jewish national identity. In this there was room for only one language. Thus, in the early years of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Mandatory Palestine before the establishment of Israel), all other Jewish languages (and especially Yiddish) were considered enemies. The first language law adopted by the new state removed the external enemy, English, from the list of official languages. But how do we account for the treatment of Arabic, not only left as the second official language, but also recognized as a medium of instruction in state schools?

A careful examination of the status of Arabic in the field shows conspicuous contradictions. Arabic is an official language but mainly at the declarative level. If Arabic is an official and legal language, why have not the courts in Israel taken this into account in their decisions in public domains? Why do they not rule in favor of the Arab petitioners that Arabic should be in practice an official language for all matters? The only logical answer would seem to be that “official” status for Arabic is in fact limited to the specific functions.

Despite the recent changes in the linguistic situation in Israel in the last few years, it can quite certainly be said that a substantive change in the real status of the Arabic language in Israel has not occurred. The State of Israel, all the more so Israeli society, is very far from bilingualism. And more concretely, the status of “official language” which has been given to Arabic in Israeli law is still empty of practical meaning on the level of public life – that is to say, in the common arena, the general society of Jews and Arabs in Israel. Hebrew is, in practice, the sole language of the general society. This is the language in which the public front of Israel “speaks” in the preponderant portion of the public area. It is the

governmental bureaucratic language, the language of higher education, the language of the most of the public electronic communication in Israel, and most importantly, it is the language of large sections of the business market open to the minority. In other words, in Israel there is an integration of a state and civil society which work, almost exclusively in the language of the majority community; together they push towards a society characterized by *asymmetrical* bilingualism and biculturalism: unilateral bilingualism and biculturalism of the minority. In the level of the minority language, the accumulating outcome is erosion.

Pointing up the paradox is the treatment of English, not on the list of official languages, but in practice with many privileges. In just about every public place one can find access to English. It is the language that every student in Israel must study, it appears on most signs before Arabic and in larger letters, and government publications regularly appear in it. The restricted use of Arabic as an official language in public domains reflects possibly its unimportance in the national Israeli sociolinguistic fabric. It is possible that the most important thing for the Arabs was the decision by the education committee to continue the British policy to allow the Arab schools to use Arabic as their language of instruction. Beyond this, the success of Arabic in the national public sphere is very limited, and the hegemony of Hebrew is almost absolute. Today when an Arab leaves his or her residence, he or she is almost unable to function without Hebrew. Hebrew is a vital necessity for effective functioning. Keeping Arabic as the language of instruction is what has helped to maintain Arabic in the Israeli sociolinguistic landscape as an important language, and it has preserved more than anything else the individual and national identity of the Arab within the Hebrew State.

Moreover, the perception of Arabic and its status as an additional language among the Jews in Israel points out a paradoxical fact. On the one hand, the status of the language is low and its study is not required, and on the other hand the study of Arabic is undoubtedly connected more than any other area with the army and the intelligence service. That is to say, the teaching of Arabic as a foreign language to Jews in Israel is to a great extent influenced by the military needs of the state. The army has often warned about the severe shortage of graduates who are fluent in Arabic to meet the defense needs of the state. To add to the paradox, it is widely believed that peace agreements with the Arab countries will raise the importance and value of learning the language.

Our examination of the teaching of Arabic has further illuminated the character of the Arabic language education in particular and the perception by the establishment towards Arabic education in general. Concerning the teaching of languages the Ministry of Education has adopted a double policy towards the Arabs: for Arabic as a mother tongue and for Hebrew for Arabic speakers. The curricula are distinct from those for Hebrew as a mother tongue and Arabic for speakers of Hebrew, but for English and French as a second or foreign language

the curriculum is the same for the Arabic and the Hebrew sectors. An obvious effect of this is to use the language curricula in the Arab sector to strengthen Israelization and to inhibit Arab and Palestinian nationalism. Sami Mar'i (1978) defined Arab education in Israel as a field of battle between the Jewish authority and the Arab community. This battle is reflected in the teaching of the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew. The aim of the Hebrew teaching is to expose the Arab student to Hebrew culture and its past and present values; and the teaching of Arabic attempts to weaken the students' emotional and national ties with the Arab nation.

A perusal of the Arabic curricula shows that in all the programs until 1980 the teaching goals were shrouded in mystery, without any clear definitions that could direct the teachers as to what to do. Arabic was treated not as a national mother tongue but as a language to be learned like any other, disconnected from cultural or social contexts. Arabic was learned as a means of communication and not as a means of expressing or claiming identity. There were no suitable textbooks for the students, and no guide for the teacher. In the new curriculum the declared goals are formulated in a detailed and professional form. Attention has been devoted to the importance of Arabic as the language which shapes the personality of the learner, and the ways and methods for acquiring skills are emphasized.

Jewish ideology has also been realized in the teaching of Hebrew. The success of the ideology is reflected in the proliferation of the Hebrew language and its broad use by Arabic speakers in all areas of life, in free conversations, in the banks, in medical centers, to mention just few examples. From the survey which we carried out it became clear that this ideology is deeply imbued in the consciousness of the Arab students. They see Hebrew as a dominant language of significant value. Moreover, some of them are convinced that Hebrew should be learned from 1<sup>st</sup> grade. The old curricula included too much Hebrew culture and values; this emphasis has been reduced in the new curriculum, but remains high.

Zionist-Jewish ideology plays a significant role in Israel, including education and the policies adopted. Through its ideology and policies Israel has attempted, as reflected in the policies of the Ministry of Education, to denationalize Arabic language education (emptying Arabic language teaching from national identity and consciousness) and Hebraize larger sections of the Arab society (through the excessive use of Jewish culture and literature in teaching Hebrew, aiming at creating Arabs loyal to the Jewish State rather than to create genuine citizenship). We believe the unique situation of Israel, defined and perceived as a Jewish-Zionist state, found in conflict with the Arab world led in the first two decades after its establishment to neglect the special needs of the Arab minority. With the relaxation of these issues more understanding of the Arabs needs is evident in all domains of life, including language education as we have shown. Though we have witnessed considerable changes in Arab language education, the changes are neither drastic nor satisfactory. A country such as Israel found in



conflict with most of the neighboring Arab countries and its perception and definition as an ethnic nation-State do not contribute to an equitable policy towards the Arab minority and its national language, Arabic.

The results of the *mashov* and Bagrut examinations in English, taught as a first foreign language, show a huge gap with Arab students lagging far behind Jewish ones. We claim that accounting for and understanding the huge failure rate among the minority Arab pupils requires an analysis of factors beyond English pedagogy (See Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport and the National Center for Examinations and Evaluation 1999. Conclusions and recommendations based on the results of the English *mashov* Examination for the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, given in June 1997).

First the burden of diglossia on the Arab learner- the fact that Standard Arabic is significantly different from the spoken, with syntax, morphology and lexicon of its own, making it more difficult and delaying the learning of reading. Moreover, English is learnt as the third writing system.

Second, the lower priority for learning English. High priority is given to Hebrew, considered of high linguistic capital (Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt, 1998).

Third, the majority of Arab pupils live in villages and have less exposure to English.

Fourth, the different qualifications of teachers. Arab teachers, in contrast to their Jewish colleagues, are less exposed to English. In addition 40% of the Jewish teachers are native speakers of English.

A fifth factor is the lack of support for English teachers, shown by the fact that very few of them were involved in regular meeting of the English staff.

Sixth, there is lack of cultural adaptation of the textbooks to Arab minority pupils. The textbooks represent the majority culture, which no doubt further weakens motivation.

French is taught in several Arab private schools, the historical heritage of mandatory Palestine. Even these schools do not give high priorities to French teaching. Most of these schools require French at the elementary level, while at the senior high school level it is optional, and the number of students taking the matriculation examination is quite small. Possibly the obligatory teaching of three languages among Arabs with their versatile complexities (Arabic as another tongue and a diglossic language, Hebrew considered an extremely significant language and the language of the state, and the importance of English for academic, tourist and international communication) and the relatively low performance in them lead to less appreciation and motivation for learning other languages.

The question that is asked is what were the reasons that brought the Arab students to such a low linguistic competence? As we explained in the Introduction, there are many factors that influence the shaping of the character of Arabic language education in Israel. We will now consider the complexities of

language education and we will try to understand the causes for the very low language competence in the various languages studied in the schools, including the mother tongue, and they are:

The first factor is bound up with the diglossia<sup>1</sup> which is influenced by linguistic and social factors. Diglossia, as many researches have shown (Amara & Abu -'Akel, 1998; Maamouri, 1998), is a heavy burden on the learner of Arabic. The literary Arabic is a different language – in grammar and lexicon – than the spoken Arabic.

The problematic character of the diglossic situation is not just linguistic, but it is also in principle social and ideological. The use of the literary language in a few domains and in defined cases very much limits, its use, especially as a variant of speaking. Competence in the literary language requires competence in the four main linguistic skills – speaking, hearing, reading and writing, which are acquired solely by way of the educational system. In teaching, literary Arabic is used mainly in the lessons in the Arabic language. Thus the use of the literary language is limited only to the formal area, that is, teaching and communications media.

The continuing struggle between the standard language and the spoken language is bound up to a great extent in the ideological principle<sup>2</sup> which espouses the preservation of the purity of the Arabic language. As a result all the linguistic reforms that have been proposed by linguists and scholars in the Arab world have totally failed (Abu-'Abasi, 1986).

The diglossia for Arabic speakers in Israel is more complicated than in other Arab countries and constitutes a heavier burden on its speakers. Despite the fact that Arabic is an official language alongside Hebrew, it is so only in name (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999a). The absolute distinction between the written language and the spoken language limits the use of the literary language to formal areas, such as the school, the media, courts, mosques, churches etc. In other words, the use of the literary language is limited to the public sphere. In Israel, for the most part Hebrew is the language used in the public sphere: In the Knesset, in the media, in institutions of higher education, on street signs etc. From this it can be concluded that the Arabic in Israel is different from the

<sup>1</sup> Arabic is considered a diglossic language (Ferguson 1959; Brosh 1996). One of the principal characteristics of a diglossic situation is that the functional division between the literary (according to Ferguson – high variety) and the local dialect (low variety) is absolute. That is to say, the literary is intended for certain functions and the spoken form is used for the others. The use of one of the variants in the functions of the other is artificial and unacceptable.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this was created following the spread of Islam, the teaching of Arabic to non-Arabs, and the threat of a wide variation in Arabic contributed to the formation of the distinction. Another reason is that the Koran was written in the literary language and thus became a holy language and not just a means of communication. Therefore all Muslims preserve the language of the Koran and see it as a religious spiritual asset.

Arabic in the Arab world since the public sphere for the use of Arabic is quite limited in the former. It is useful mainly in the educational system (and even in education as will be shown later there are other languages which compete with it) and in religious places. In other places Hebrew is the principal useful language. Add to this the great influence of Hebrew on educated Arabs. The vast majority acquire their education in Hebrew<sup>3</sup> and feel less comfortable expressing themselves whether in writing or speaking in Arabic (Amara & Abu- 'Akel, 1998).

It is important to point out that the Arabs learn three writing systems. The burden of the diglossia in the mother tongue, directly influenced by the study of Hebrew as a second language, and the study of English as a foreign language.

The second factor is the socio-political environment. The socio-political circumstances which changed after the establishment of the State turned the Arabs in Israel into a numerical and marginal minority. Necessities of life and preferences have a considerable influence on the knowledge and use of language among the Arabs in Israel.

From the various researches carried out by Amara (1986, 1995b, 1999b), Ben-Rafael (1994) and Koplewitz (1990) on the linguistic repertoire of the Palestinians in Israel it is clear that they do not use Hebrew only to fill the gaps of parallel elements that are lacking in Arabic, but also "to brag".<sup>4</sup> Hebrew fulfills an important symbolic function among the Palestinians in Israel, and it symbolizes the will and aspiration to connect themselves to the outside and modern world.

The prestige of Hebrew is connected with the advancement of Israel in many areas. Israel is perceived by many Palestinians in Israel as a modern state with advanced technology. This encourages many young people among them to learn Israeli patterns of behavior in order to join this progress. The fact that many Palestinian youth read Hebrew newspapers and watch television programs broadcast in Hebrew indicates their desire to attain some of these patterns. Together with this, they attribute different values to the two languages since the Palestinian Arabs are aware of the fact that Arabic is a rich, beautiful and prestigious language, and that the control of Hebrew is a means to achieve economic, educational and social levels, similar to those among the Jews (Amara, 1986). This implies that the Palestinians in Israel learn Hebrew mainly for instrumental and practical reasons. This situation reflects actually the relations between the Palestinians and the Jews in Israel from several points of view: First – Israel is considered a Jewish State and not a State for all its citizens. Therefore, the Palestinians seek to strengthen their unique identity in the Jewish

<sup>3</sup> There is no Arab university. The Arabs attempted to set up a university, but they failed mainly because Israel was not interested in it out of fear that it would become a focus of attraction for Arab intellectuals and a center for nationalism.

<sup>4</sup> See section 2.4.2, Chapter 3.

State with Arabic serving as an important means for this (Amara, 1995); second – the Arab-Israeli conflict did not tone down the differences between the minority and the majority but only reinforced them; third – the patterns of dwellings in separate places did not contribute to intensive contact between the various age groups, and it maintained a distance between the two peoples. All of these causes together did not bring about a far-reaching accommodation to the dominant culture and its language among the Palestinians in Israel. Each side maintains its identity and the language connected to it (Amara, 1999b).

It is important to emphasize that despite the fact that Hebrew is the most important language among the Palestinians in Israel because of the contact with the Israeli Jews in diverse areas of life and serves them as an agent of change for modernization, there are still sociolinguistic constraints on the language convergence. On this comments Ben-Refael (1994: 176):

However, a barrier impedes this convergence, as expressed in retention of Arabic. The limits each case imposes on the convergence towards the dominant culture respond to the nature and degree of the commitment to the dominant culture. For the Muslim and Christians Arabs, the legitimate language remains Arabic, as expression of their fundamental identity. The penetration of Hebrew as a dominant language does not subtract anything from Arabic, though its deeper influence comes out in borrowings and substitution.

Despite the fact that the Arabs in Israel express positive positions concerning English, they show a lower level of preference for learning it. On the other hand, they see the learning of Hebrew as a priority (Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt, 1998).

Another point which is tied in with what has been mentioned above is the place of residence. A large percentage of the Arabic-speaking children live in villages (more than 65%) and not in cities, and thus they are less exposed to the Western culture of the English speakers which is dominant in the large Jewish Israeli cities.

The third factor is the training of teachers and their status. In the three languages that are studied there is a problem of teacher training. Most of the graduates of the departments of Arabic language and literature receive their higher training in the Israeli universities where Arabic is studied as a second language (or even as a foreign language), and the training of teachers is not designed for Arabic as a mother tongue. Therefore, the teaching of Arabic is based on intuition and not on expertise and solid knowledge. This is also true to a certain extent in the case of teaching Hebrew since most of the Arab teachers of Hebrew receive their higher education in the Israeli universities, like their Jewish colleagues. That is to say, their training in Hebrew is designed for a mother tongue and not for a second language. In the case of English, the gap is even greater compared to the Jewish sector. A large percent of the teachers in the

Jewish sector have academic degrees in English. Furthermore, a considerable percentage of the Jewish teachers for English are native speakers of the language or have spent a number of years in an English-speaking country. In addition to all this, the appointment of teachers in the Arab sector is done, for the most part, by the general inspectors, not as in the Jewish sector where the language inspectors do it. That is to say, the appointments are not made according to objective qualifications and considerations alone.

We must also take into account the way in which the teachers are employed. As Rouhana (1997: 86) explains, "The principle of security was used cruelly in order to limit the appointment of teachers in the early days of the State." Despite the fact that the security principle weakened considerably over the years, the appointment of Arab teachers is still influenced by political and security considerations. The Arab teachers must fill out a "security form", which does not exist in the Jewish sector. This dynamics undoubtedly has an influence on the level of teaching since some of the talented teachers are not accepted for work.

The fourth factor is the educational goals, the study programs and the textbooks. One of the principal goals of the Israeli education in the Arab sector is to empty the Arabic education of all national content. In this context Al-Haj (1996: 98) explains: "Instead of the Arab-national component, the policy makers sought to strengthen the religious-cultural component and the Israeli citizenship component."

This policy confirms the definition of Israel and its perception as a Zionist-Jewish State. This policy was applied through the study programs. First of all, the old study programs and textbooks that were in use during the Mandate period were removed from use. Second, the study programs and textbooks strove to tighten the control of the State over the content of the Arabic education (Al-Haj, 1996). An analysis of the goals of Arabic education, study programs and textbooks shows clearly that the State strove to weaken the Palestinian Arab identity among the Arabs (Peres et al., 1968; Mar'i, 1978; Lustick, 1980).

The factors which influence the fashioning of Arabic language education which we have discussed above are not the only ones, but they are the most important. To these have been added other factors such as the allocation of resources and pedagogical topics. The Arabic education system receives on average less budgeting than the Jewish education (Amara & Kabaha, 1996). We could add other specific problems connected with language education. There is a great shortage of hours dedicated to the teaching of the three languages and also a shortage of inspectors and guide instructors.

Language education policies are a complex matter; their understanding depends on considering a great number of sociological, economic, historical, political, educational, religious, cultural, and other factors (e.g. Spolsky 1972; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a). Unfortunately, in language education both in the Arab world (Maamouri 1998), and in the case of the Arabs in Israel (Amara and Abu-Akel, 1998), linguistic and pedagogical factors are mainly put forward to

describe and account for language education and for the produced curriculum and textbooks. Other external factors, such as the political and socio-cultural, are not seriously considered. This book is an attempt to change direction, and consider language education in its full context.

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## APPENDIX I

### RECOMMENDATIONS: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

Having shed a new light on Arab language education and the factors influencing it, we will try in this section to raise the central points in the teaching of each one of the following languages: Arabic, Hebrew, English, and French – and we will make general and specific recommendations to improve the teaching situation. We, of course, do not purport with these recommendations to exhaust all the matters and problems bound up in language teaching, but this is a sort-of first start to put a finger on the central points which are directed to those who deal with language planning and putting educational-linguistic work into practice in order that they shall be able to contend in a more effective way with the problems that arise in language education.

#### ARABIC

A. In order to realize the true status of Arabic as an official language from theory to practice, tangible steps must be resolutely taken in this direction, such as: To bring language problems before the courts (which is done to day only partially), to exert pressure on the municipalities in mixed cities to write both official languages in public places, to place this subject on the agenda of the Arab minority as a preference, to cooperate and involve Jewish powers in the matter, and also to require the study of Arabic in the Jewish schools in all the educational institutions.

B. The awareness of the Arabic public concerning the function that the Arabic language fulfills must be increased, and for this purpose the following could be



done: Holding conferences, workshops and lectures, setting up an Arabic language center in order to do research whose purpose is to develop pedagogical means and to increase the awareness among Arabs as to the importance of the language. It is possible to set up an Arabic language academy in the country, and also to encourage the youth to study Arabic in institutions of higher learning.

C. To this day the teachers do not have any tools or pedagogical means with which they can overcome the diglossia question. To be truthful, in the Arab world there is no effective solution to this matter. The ideal way is what can be called language intellectualization. That is to say, to enable language use in the education of the individual in every field of knowledge, from kindergarten pre-required up to the university and afterwards (Sibyan, 1991) and the use of the literary language outside the formal areas (language vitality). The example of the revival of Hebrew and its use in the schools while the parents spoke other languages can serve as an example for the mother tongue acquisition process.

D. The declared goals in the study programs must be matched to the learning materials in the readers. It is not enough to declare that the Arab student should be proud of Arabic as a national language as this is set down in "the goals for teaching Arabic to Arabs", but this must be translated from theory to practice. At the same time the study of the literary works of native-born Palestinian writers and poets must be increased in order that the students will get to know their culture and local heritage from up close.

E. We propose allocating a minimum for teaching Arabic of at least 6 hours in the high school and to encourage the students to be tested at a level of 5 units, and at the same time to require the universities to reward Arabic with "bonus" points.

F. As to teachers we suggest the following:

It is advisable that the graduates of the colleges and universities who have studied Arabic as a foreign language should receive training in teaching Arabic as a mother tongue and not as a foreign language in the institutions authorized to do so. The training courses in the field of teaching Arabic must be broadened and varied in subject matter, and new as well as veteran teachers should be required to take part in them.

G. The awareness of literacy and outside reading should be heightened both by the private purchase of books and also by setting up libraries in the school and also a "classroom library". There are schools without any library at all, and in other schools the library is small and does not answer to the needs of the students. Increasing the awareness of the importance of the book as an asset is

essential because of the diglossic situation in Arabic. Therefore, there is reason to broaden the library in order to encourage outside reading.

H. The general teachers are not concerned about fostering Arabic; they pass on the learning material without being careful to use the standard language.<sup>1</sup> A teacher who does not specialize in teaching the Arabic language must know the language structure in order for it to be easier for him to impart the various teaching skills to his students.

I. At a time when complaints are being made about the Arabic teaching situation, the Ministry of Education is not prepared to make changes in the apparatus responsible for the teaching of Arabic. The national inspector for Arabic has only a half-time position, and the number of instructors in all levels of the education system do not go over 16. The scope of the inspector's post must be enlarged in order to be able to invest most of his time in improving the teaching situation.

## HEBREW

A. As to whether to begin Hebrew teaching from the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or even 3<sup>rd</sup> grade requires deep thinking for two principal reasons: In a country which defines itself as a Jewish state, the Arabic language must play a central role in rooting the Arab national identity in the Arab learner in order to maintain his uniqueness in the Jewish state. Second, the diglossic situation poses a challenge to the learner, and the Arab student must have good control of the mother tongue first of all and afterwards of a second language.

B. In order to develop intercultural understanding and the creation of meaningful communication with the Jews one must learn about the Jews in the Hebrew lessons. According to this perception the study of Judaism should not be ruled out in the study program, but it is more suitable to reduce the range of the material as much as possible and to diversify the following subjects in the study programs:

<sup>1</sup> See Amara (1995). Amara shows that teachers use literary Arabic for the most part only when giving a course in teaching Arabic, and even then in many cases they go over to the spoken language. In courses such as, for example, history and geography the teachers use the language of educated – a mixture of the spoken and literary – and in the courses in exact sciences the teachers use the spoken language or even Hebrew.

1. Current articles from the field of communication and a discussion of the social problems in the country.

2. Stories written in Hebrew and taken from the world of the Arabs and stories which deal with the image of the Arab in Modern Hebrew fiction.

3. Topics which deal with peace.

4. Deepening the comparison between Arabic and Hebrew in the field of grammar (the Semitic similarity) and in the area of poetry (the influence of should be seen to that the journal continues to be published.

C. Only three institutions in the country train Arab trainee teachers to teach Hebrew as a second language in the Arab schools. In these institutions the teacher-trainees receive training in the field of methods and didactics in the teaching of Hebrew as a second language and gain experience in the practical training in the Arab schools in the Little Triangle and in the Galilee.

D. As is known, Israeli universities and colleges teach Hebrew as a mother tongue. Students who meet the conditions of these colleges receive practical training in Jewish schools. We propose a separate program for training Arab students in the colleges and universities for teaching Hebrew as a second language, as was done in Haifa University.

## ENGLISH

A. The teaching of English is focused on the formal channel, that is, the language is learned in a theoretical way in the framework of the walls of the school and does not find expression in the informal channel. There is a need for expanding informal exposure to English. For example, through summer camps to bring native speakers to run some activities.

B. The textbooks in English are good from the point of view of method and from the point of view of the level of learning. However, the main problem is that these books were written originally for students in the Jewish sector who have a different sociolinguistic background than that of the Arab students. It is important to use also texts taken from the environment of the pupil.

C. Despite the fact that the English study program is intended also for the Arab students, there is not a single Arab member of the study program committee. The planners of the study units did not take into account the coping of the Arab student with three languages simultaneously. There is no need to prepare a separate study program to teach English to the Arabs, but to continue with the common program which exists, though there is room to organize a staff from

among the Arab teachers in order to work with determination to adapt the learning materials and methods of teaching to the Arab students.

D. Most of the teachers are local residents who in the process of their training did not do any deep study program development. Furthermore, there are no Arab teachers who are native speakers of English. Thus there is a need for these teachers to take further training courses in English-speaking countries during the summer vacations in order to improve their expression and pronunciation.

E. There are no independent Arab inspectors of English teaching as there are in the Arabic and Hebrew languages. The inspectors are in a position of "regional inspector for English in the Arab sector" which is subordinate to the central inspector in the Jewish sector. These inspectors must be granted powers in order that they will become involved in the study programs.

## FRENCH

A. The students should be encouraged to take the matriculation examination by granting appropriate bonuses to these students.

B. To suggest a new study program, since the existing one is obsolete. The revised program may help by increasing the study and by attracting students to the language.

C. The hours assigned to teaching French are not sufficient in order to reach the level of literacy.

D. There should be a representative from the Arab sector among the members of the committee which prepares the study program.

E. Pieces of translation from Arabic to French should be put into the program, or the opposite, from French to Arabic, as is accepted concerning the translation in the Hebrew schools.

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## APPENDIX II- QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was originally written, distributed and filled out in Arabic. This is an English translation.

### LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND USE AMONG THE ARAB POPULATION IN ISRAEL

Dear Student,

The purpose of this survey is to get to know the positions of the Arab students towards the teaching of the three main languages in the Israeli society, Arabic, Hebrew and English and the degree of their importance in daily life. We ask you to learn about your opinion and the opinion of your colleagues, the other students, concerning the use of the languages and how they are taught. We have chosen your school out of a number of Arab schools to fill out this questionnaire.

We wish to assure you that your answers will remain secret. They will have no influence on your grades, and they will be used only for research needs. Therefore you will not have to fill in your name or the name of the school in which you are studying. Please answer all parts of the questionnaire in accordance with the instructions given at the beginning of each part.

Note: The instructions in the questionnaire are formulated in the masculine gender, but they are intended for both male and female students as one.

#### PART 1: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Age / Class:

Sex: Male / Female

Religion:

Place of residence:

I have contact with Jews:

- a. Every day
- b. Once a week
- c. Once a month

- d. Occasionally
- e. Not at all

When I speak with a Jew, our language of communication is:

- a. Always Hebrew
- b. For the most part I speak Hebrew
- c. Frequently speak Hebrew
- d. Do not speak Hebrew at all

I have contact with tourists:

- a. Every day
- b. Once a week
- c. Once a month
- d. Occasionally
- e. I do not have any contact with tourists

When I meet with tourists, our language of communication is:

- a. Arabic
- b. The language of the tourist
- c. A mixture of Arabic and the language of the tourist
- d. English
- e. Other:

From the national and religious point of view, I define myself as:

(For example: Arab, Palestinian, Israeli, Arab-Israeli, Arab-Muslim -Israeli, etc.)

Are you interested in learning an additional language or languages apart from Arabic, Hebrew and English?

Not interested

Interested

Indicate the language or languages:

Give your reasons:

## PART 2: THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

Please read the statements that appear in the questionnaire and indicate to which degree you agree with their content. Each statement has five possible answers.

<i>My position concerning the Arabic language</i>	<i>Agree Fully</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree to a certain extent</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
1 – Arabic is my national language	1	2	3	4	5
2 – I am proud of the Arabic language	1	2	3	4	5
3 – Arabic is an international language	1	2	3	4	5
4 – Knowing the Arabic language strengthens my belonging to the Arab nation	1	2	3	4	5
5 – My fluency in Arabic contributes to my success in my other courses of study	1	2	3	4	5
6 – Knowing Hebrew reduces the importance of knowing the Arabic language in Israel	1	2	3	4	5
7 – I am in the habit of putting in Hebrew words while speaking	1	2	3	4	5
8 – I love the Arabic language	1	2	3	4	5
9 – Arabic is a beautiful and riveting language	1	2	3	4	5
10 – Literary Arabic is a difficult language	1	2	3	4	5
11 – I am not able to express myself in the literary language	1	2	3	4	5
12 – I prefer to speak in the spoken language	1	2	3	4	5
13 – The spoken language poses an obstacle to learning the literary language	1	2	3	4	5
14 – In my opinion the literary and spoken Arabic are two separate languages	1	2	3	4	5
15 – I would like the textbooks to be written in the spoken language	1	2	3	4	5
16 – Textbooks for the Arabic course are full of subjects dealing with the Arab nationality	1	2	3	4	5



17 – I am better-versed in the Jewish culture than in the Arabic culture	1	2	3	4	5
18 – I am studying the Arabic language in order to get an important job in a government office	1	2	3	4	5
19 – Knowing the Arabic language makes it easier for Arab citizens to learn their rights and obligations	1	2	3	4	5
20 – I prefer to begin the study of Arabic in the 5th grade rather than in the 1st grade	1	2	3	4	5
21 – I prefer to begin the study of Arabic in the 10th grade rather than in the 1st grade	1	2	3	4	5
22 – I prefer not learning Arabic at all	1	2	3	4	5
23 – I don't want the Jews to know my language	1	2	3	4	5

### PART 3: THE HEBREW LANGUAGE

Please read the statements that appear in the questionnaire and indicate to which degree you agree with their content. Each statement has five possible answers.

<i>I am studying Hebrew</i>	<i>Agree fully</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree to a certain extent</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
1 – I am studying Hebrew in order to learn about the way of life of the Jewish people in Israel	1	2	3	4	5
2 – Knowing Hebrew contributes to the advancement of peace in the region	1	2	3	4	5
3 – I am studying Hebrew in order to know how to act with a Jew when I meet him	1	2	3	4	5
4 – Studying Hebrew increases my chances of being accepted at a university in Israel	1	2	3	4	5
5 – Studying Hebrew increases my chances of finding a job in Israel in the future	1	2	3	4	5

6 – I see Hebrew as “the language of an enemy”	1	2	3	4	5
7 – Fluency in an additional language is very important for general education	1	2	3	4	5
8 – I am studying Hebrew in order to get an important position in a government office	1	2	3	4	5
9 – I am studying Hebrew because I have Jewish friends and wish to speak with them in Hebrew	1	2	3	4	5
10 – In my opinion every Arab in Israel must have control of Hebrew	1	2	3	4	5
11 – Control of Hebrew is necessary only for those who work with Jews	1	2	3	4	5
12 – I don’t like studying Hebrew	1	2	3	4	5
13 – Knowing Hebrew makes it easier for Arab citizens to learn about their rights and obligations	1	2	3	4	5
14 – Knowing Hebrew makes it easier for me in my travels to Jewish cities and to conduct my affairs	1	2	3	4	5
15 – One must know Hebrew in order to be familiar with Jewish customs	1	2	3	4	5
16 – I must study Hebrew because the Jews are studying Arabic	1	2	3	4	5
17 – The Hebrew language is very close to the Arabic language	1	2	3	4	5
18 – I am studying Hebrew so that I will be able to communicate with all the citizens of the State of Israel	1	2	3	4	5
19 – Learning Hebrew is very easy	1	2	3	4	5
20 – The study of Hebrew contradicts my religious beliefs	1	2	3	4	5
21 – I prefer to begin the study of Hebrew in 1 <sup>st</sup> grade	1	2	3	4	5
22 – I prefer to begin the study of Hebrew in 5 <sup>th</sup> grade rather than in 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	1	2	3	4	5
23 – I prefer to begin the study of Hebrew in 10 <sup>th</sup> grade rather than in 3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	1	2	3	4	5
24 – I prefer not to study Hebrew at all	1	2	3	4	5

## PART 4: ENGLISH

Please read the statements that appear in the questionnaire and indicate to which degree you agree with their content. Each statement has five possible answers.

<i>I am studying English</i>	<i>Agree fully</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree to a certain extent</i>	<i>Do not agree</i>	<i>Do not agree at all</i>
1 – English is an international language and it is impossible to forgo it	1	2	3	4	5
2 – English is a common language among countries	1	2	3	4	5
3 – English contributes to the settling of disputes	1	2	3	4	5
4 – English is a prestigious language	1	2	3	4	5
5 – I am studying English because it is a useful language in most of the areas of life in Israel	1	2	3	4	5
6 – English is an efficient means of communication	1	2	3	4	5
7 – English is one of the most important languages in the world	1	2	3	4	5
8 – I don't like studying English	1	2	3	4	5
9 – In my opinion Arabic is more important than English	1	2	3	4	5
10 – In my opinion Hebrew is more important than English	1	2	3	4	5
11 – English is a difficult language	1	2	3	4	5
12 – Control of English will help me to continue my academic studies in the future	1	2	3	4	5
13 – Control of English will increase my chances of finding a job in Israel in the future	1	2	3	4	5
14 – Control of English will increase my chances of finding a job abroad in the future	1	2	3	4	5
15 – Control of English will give me a respected status in my community	1	2	3	4	5
16 – I am studying English so that I will be able to speak with others outside of Israel	1	2	3	4	5

17 – I am studying English in order to get to know the customs and tradition of English speakers	1	2	3	4	5
18 – I am studying English in order to see films in English	1	2	3	4	5
19 – I am studying English in order to listen to songs in English	1	2	3	4	5
20 – I prefer to begin the study of English in the 1st grade rather than in the 4th grade	1	2	3	4	5
21 – I prefer to begin the study of English in the 6th grade rather than in the 4th grade	1	2	3	4	5
22 – I prefer to begin the study of English in the 10th grade rather than in the 4th grade	1	2	3	4	5
23 – I prefer not to study English at all	1	2	3	4	5
24 – I am studying English in order to learn about other cultures	1	2	3	4	5
25 – Studying English is part of the broadening of general knowledge	1	2	3	4	5

## PART 5: LANGUAGE SKILLS

To what extent do you encounter difficulties in studying Standard Arabic in the areas listed below? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Area	Very great difficulties	Great difficulties	Few difficulties	No difficulties at all
Accent/ pronunciation				
Written expression				
Speaking				
Grammar				
Spelling				

To what extent do you encounter difficulties in studying Hebrew in the areas listed below? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Area	Very great difficulties	Great difficulties	Few difficulties	No difficulties at all
Accent/ pronunciation				
Written expression				
Speaking				
Grammar				
Spelling				

To what extent do you encounter difficulties in studying English in the areas listed below? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Area	Very great difficulties	Great difficulties	Few difficulties	No difficulties at all
Accent/ pronunciation				
Written expression				
Speaking				
Grammar				
Spelling				

How much time do you devote each day for preparing your homework in the various subjects in the study of language (written expression, grammar and literature)?

Language	No time at all	Less than half an hour	Between half an hour and an hour	Between one hour and two hours	More than two hours
Standard Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					

## PART 6: WAYS OF USING LANGUAGES

In which frameworks do you use Standard Arabic? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Framework	Very much	Much	A little	Not at all	Do not visit the place or not relevant
School					
Club / Community center					
Mosque / Church					
Visit of friends from another area					
Meeting Arabs from Arab countries					
Family					
Reading newspapers/ books					
Watching television programs					
Listening to radio programs					
Meeting tourists					

In which frameworks do you use Hebrew? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Framework	Very much	Much	A little	Not at all	Do not visit the place or not relevant
School					
Club / Community center					
With friends					
In official institutions					
Meeting with Jews					
Family					
Reading newspapers/ books					
Watching television programs					
Listening to radio programs					
Meeting tourists					

In which frameworks do you use English? Indicate with a + in the relevant square.

Framework	Very much	Much	A little	Not at all	Do not visit the place or not relevant
School					
Club/Community center					
With friends					
In official institutions					
Meeting with Jews					
Family					
Reading newspapers/books					
Watching television programs					
Listening to radio programs					
Meeting tourists					

#### PART 7: YOUR IMPRESSIONS CONCERNING VARIOUS LANGUAGES AND GROUPS

In this section we are interested in finding out your general impressions concerning various groups and languages in Israel. Please answer all questions by putting a + in the relevant square.

What, in your opinion, is the prestige of the following languages in Israel?

Language	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Very low
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, does your family use the following languages in the government offices in Israel?

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, does your family use the following languages in public services in Israel? (For example: hotels, restaurants, etc.)

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, does your family use the following languages in business and economic ties in Israel?

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, does your family use the following languages when at work in Israel?

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, does your family use the following languages in the communications media in Israel? (For example: radio, television and newspapers)

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, are the following languages used in the Arab schools in Israel?

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					



To what extent, in your opinion, are the following languages used in the Jewish schools in Israel?

Language	Very much	Much	Medium	Little	Very little
Arabic					
Hebrew					
English					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, do the following groups feel pleased with their scientific achievements?

The people	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Very low
Arabs					
Jews					
Americans					
French					

To what extent, in your opinion, do the following groups feel pleased with the heritage of their cultural history?

The people	Very high	High	Medium	Low	Very low
Arabs					
Jews					
Americans					
French					

## PART 8: COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

The purpose of this section is to find out the degree of your interest in the various communications media (television, radio and newspapers) in the three languages – Arabic, Hebrew and English:

1) Do you watch television programs broadcast in Arabic?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times a week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not watch at all

The programs that I watch are:

Number of hours per day:

2) Do you watch television programs broadcast in Hebrew?

- a. Every day
- b. Number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not watch at all

The programs that I watch are:

Number of hours per day:

3) Do you watch television programs broadcast in English?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not watch at all

The programs that I watch are:

Number of hours per day:

4) Do you listen to radio programs broadcast in Arabic?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not listen at all

5) Do you listen to radio programs broadcast in Hebrew?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not listen at all

6) Do you listen to radio programs broadcast in English?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not listen at all

7) Do you read newspapers written in Arabic?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not read newspapers at all

What are the newspapers that you read:

8) Do you read newspapers written in Hebrew?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not read newspapers at all

What are the newspapers that you read:

9) Do you read newspapers written in English?

- a. Every day
- b. A number of times per week
- c. Once a week
- d. Less than once a week
- e. I do not listen at all

What are the newspapers that you read?

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5. *Davar* 3.10.93 (Hebrew)
6. *Ha'aretz* 5.12.88; 30.1.89; 22.9.89; 3.4.90; 13.7.92; 17.3.96; 19.3.96; 13.7.97 (Hebrew)
7. *Kul Al-Arab* 11.11.95 (Arabic)
8. *Ma'ariv* 26.5.97 (Hebrew)
9. *Panorama* 27.7.96; 27.11.97 (Arabic)
10. *Sheur Hofshi* 35 (March) 1999 (Hebrew)
11. *Yediot Ahronot*, 1.1.99 (Hebrew)

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