

This article was downloaded by: [Beijing Normal University]

On: 24 May 2014, At: 22:45

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



## Journal of Moral Education

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/cjme20>

### The attitudes of Israeli Arab and Jewish high school students towards extrinsic and intrinsic values

Zehavit Gross<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Published online: 18 May 2012.

To cite this article: Zehavit Gross (2013) The attitudes of Israeli Arab and Jewish high school students towards extrinsic and intrinsic values, *Journal of Moral Education*, 42:1, 88-101, DOI: [10.1080/03057240.2012.685803](https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2012.685803)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2012.685803>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

# The attitudes of Israeli Arab and Jewish high school students towards extrinsic and intrinsic values

Zehavit Gross\*

*Bar-Ilan University, Israel*

The aim of this research was to investigate the attitudes of Israeli Arab ( $n = 259$ ) and Jewish ( $n = 259$ ) high school students toward extrinsic and intrinsic values. A questionnaire, which consisted of eight value scales in two groups—extrinsic and intrinsic values—was administered. Participants were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with 31 statements on a five-point Likert scale. Jewish students who experience school-based values education endorsed more intrinsic values (e.g. autonomy: Jews  $M = 4.27$ ,  $SD = .53$ ; Arabs  $M = 3.92$ ,  $SD = .83$ ), whereas Arab students, whose education as a minority group focuses on education towards achievement, endorsed more extrinsic values (e.g. attractiveness: Jews  $M = 3.56$ ,  $SD = .82$ ; Arabs  $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = .84$ ). The findings suggest that the use of a more refined and complex analysis of extrinsic–intrinsic scales yields multiple interpretations of moral education in a modern world. This research may contribute to the discussion on moral education for minority groups, especially where they are a distinct minority in a society where they are surrounded by different cultural values. The growing cultural diversity in the Western world requires that through moral and civic education, schools explicitly expose their students, and especially minority groups, to the diverse interpretations of values and to the need to both respect differing interpretations, on the one hand, and to challenge them, on the other.

## Introduction

While Jewish education in Israel includes explicit values education as a core part of its curriculum and is in fact anchored in the State Education Law (Dror, 2007), Arab schools in Israel, for various reasons that are described later in this paper, educate mainly toward academic achievement but do not overtly engage in values education (Abu-Asba, 2007). Therefore, it is worth asking whether differences between students in Arab schools and their peers attending Jewish schools will be found in the emphasis they give to values and how these differences may be interpreted in light of available multiple interpretations of modernity (Eisenstadt, 2000). This paper sets out key definitions in values education, describes its status

---

\*School of Education, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 52900 Israel. Email: [grossz@biu.ac.il](mailto:grossz@biu.ac.il).  
[ilgrossz@biu.ac.il](mailto:ilgrossz@biu.ac.il). Email: [grossz@biu.ac.il](mailto:grossz@biu.ac.il)

in the Jewish and Arab school systems in Israel, examines the attitudes of Arab and Jewish Israeli high school students toward extrinsic and intrinsic values, presents questionnaire findings and offers an explanation of them in view of the distinctive context in which they occur.

### Values education

Values education is among the central issues in pedagogic discourse and endeavours in many countries. It is perceived as a pivotal means of ensuring the continuity of a society's values (Dror, 2007). From the perspective of many educators, values education is at the heart of educational effort, going beyond technically transferring skills. Yet, on the other hand, some argue that values education is liable to result in political, religious or ideological indoctrination. This is the antithesis of the idea of education, which should deal principally with the development of autonomous individuals, who can choose the values by which they wish to live (Oser, 1999).

A value is the 'enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence' (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). Klages (1988) suggests that due to rapid changes in the world as a result of modernisation and secularisation processes, there has been a transformation from what he calls nomo-centric understanding to auto-centric understanding. Nomo-centric understanding means that the individual is captured, dependent and subdued by his environment, namely that one's existentiality is constructed through belonging, membership and duty and through external values. Auto-centric understanding implies a self-reliant approach, where the individual strives for self-realisation based on his personal judgement and rationality. Thus, auto-centric values characterise a modern approach, whereas nomo-centric values characterise a more traditional approach.

Rokeach (1973) views values as hierarchic and distinguishes between two types of values: (1) terminal values (personal or social values) that individuals aspire to achieve throughout their lives and (2) instrumental values (capacity values and moral values) that are expressions of forms of behaviour. He maintains that instrumental values may sometimes be a means for achieving terminal ones. Levy (1999) explains the possible ambiguity of Rokeach's definition by relying on facet theory: 'a terminal value relates to a goal that is a destination in itself, while an instrumental value addresses a goal both as a destination in itself and as a more primary destination' (p. 81). Zvi Lamm (2001) maintains that a value is a criterion for preference (for example beauty, love of one's country, the sanctity of life) in a reality of conflict (that is, where there is no *a priori* consensus) between motivations of equivalent power (between two entities perceived as good or bad). If one is considered good and the second bad, there can be no consensus.

What transpires then, is that values are not neutral but are influenced by various social interests (Apple, 2004), expressed in different conflictive situations. The school is perceived as an arena where different social groups struggle to implement

their own criteria, priorities and values through diverse discourses. According to Lamm (2001), the school's role is not to transmit values but rather to use values as vehicles for transformation. Hence, the role of school is not to impart a binding set of values, but to nurture the individual's sensitivity to values (p. 653).

The literature dealing with values emphasises commitment and sensitivity and openness to a life with a value-based nature. This creates a need to distinguish between intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of a value, with educational implications for the individual's world and as a mirror for reflecting different processes that society undergoes.

### **The intrinsic or extrinsic dimension of a value**

In *Protagoras*, Plato distinguished between intrinsic values, those that the individual is interested in because of their own value, and extrinsic values, in which the individual is interested in order to achieve another goal (Taylor, 1990).

In their research on the extrinsic and intrinsic dimension in a religious context, Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle (1997) found that people who held traditional values have a more extrinsic inclination, whereas those who considered themselves more modern had a stronger tendency to endorse intrinsic orientations. Religious people were more extrinsic than secular people, women were more extrinsic than men and people from a lower socio-economic background with lower education levels were typically more extrinsic than those with more education and from higher socio-economic backgrounds. Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000) found that the context in which a person lives has a decisive influence on shaping his or her extrinsic or intrinsic motivation: 'The social context can influence the goals adopted in a given situation, and can also create a more enduring climate that results in internalization of values...which includes values as to what is interesting and worth pursuing' (p. 451). The extrinsic-intrinsic dimension creates a polarised binary arena where discourses of a traditional or modern character about values are constructed and deconstructed. According to Taylor (2004), these binaries should be revisited in the light of new theoretical hypotheses available in contemporary literature.

### **Multiple modernities, assumptions and values**

Most of the social sciences have been organised around the pre-modern/modern conceptual divide that seeks to understand the institutional and cultural transformations from one to the other. Thus, concepts like differentiation, rationalisation, individualisation, urbanisation and so on were used to conceptualise processes of modernisation. The assumption was that modernity was destructive to religion and to traditional cultures. The secularisation hypothesis assumed that religion would vanish with the progress of time and the advance of modernity and this would pave the way to a stronger emphasis on, and prioritisation of, humanistic values (e.g. autonomy, anthropocentrism etc.). The opposite has happened. The social events confronted after World War II, the fall of the Soviet Union, the strengthening of

fundamentalist regimes in Iran, and 9/11 have all shown that religion is still a major factor. There is a growing trend of terrorism, which utilises modern technology to promote anti-modern agendas and values (Huntington, 1996). This has blurred the dichotomous categories of traditionalism and modernity.

S.N. Eisenstadt (2000) was the first sociologist to argue that modernity is not a simple, coherent unity, but contains many facets and interpretations. 'Modernity liberates individuals from the constraining bonds of tradition generating a multiplicity of options that give rise to choice and pluralism. Yet at the same time modernity imposes certain forms of discipline, uniformity, rationalization and social control that counts individual liberation' (p. 5). The school is a major social actor that facilitates the journey into modernity through its crucial role in the formation of the moral development of its students.

Göle (2000) argues that the idea that religion is an obstacle to certain modern beliefs and values should be revised. She perceives the Islamic movement as 'a critical reevaluation of modernity' (p. 92). She argues that Western intellectuals habitually dismiss the possibility of a distinctive Muslim modernity different from that of the West. Arab societies are changing—the 'Arab Spring' and such phenomena are likely to have a substantial impact on the way adolescents estimate and endorse values and the way they interpret their existentiality within the modern world, even when they are minorities in a country such as Israel. Thus Arab adolescents in Israel may endorse extrinsic aspects as a way to criticise modernity, which sanctifies extrinsic values while hypocritically advocating intrinsic values. Minorities do not assimilate into the majority culture automatically, they adopt and adapt different facets of the culture in multiple ways by employing diverse interpretations that stem from their culture. In Israel, Arab adolescents' over-endorsement of specific values can be seen as a social critique and repudiation rather than as an attempt to become socialised and assimilate.

### **Values education in the Jewish population in Israel**

In Israel, the Jewish and Arab populations study in two different educational sub-systems. Values education in the Jewish population is perceived as a basis of the education system and is rooted in the state education law (Dror, 2007), which sets out a clear preference for education towards particularist Jewish values (values of Jewish culture and loyalty to the state) alongside universal ones (equality, tolerance and love of others). Education was one of the essential means for nation-building. Values education is transmitted in homeroom class discussions in schools and, directly and indirectly, in the informal educational system, during social activities, including trips and parties, through games, role plays and dilemmas.

Values reflect the processes that society undergoes. Israeli society has experienced several ideological changes since it was founded: it has been transformed from a socialist society with collectivist values to a neo-liberal, achievement-driven society emphasising individualist goals; from a society of a secular nature aspiring to create a society with an Israeli-civil character to a society with a more

Jewish-religious character; from a society with universal values to a society with particularist ones; and from a society aspiring to social solidarity and the creation of a 'melting-pot' to a society coping with mass immigration and a differentiated, divided multicultural character.

### Values education in Israel's Arab population

Arab society in Israel has also undergone fundamental change in recent years (Abu-Asba, 2007; Abu-Baker, 2002, Al-Haj, 2003). It is a society in transition, undergoing accelerating processes of modernisation and scholarisation, from a traditional agricultural society to an industrialised one, from a society relying principally on the *hamula* (clan) structure of the family to one that lives more in the framework of the nuclear family. Indeed, a growing number of Arab women are gaining higher education and entering the public sphere. Even so, Arab society maintains a patriarchal regime and a collective orientation. For the most part, its schools have a more traditional than a modern nature and the teaching methods tend to be conservative, mostly teacher-dominated, promoting general universal goals, though without any form of explicit values instruction (Abu-Asba, 2007).

Minority groups are generally typified by a stronger orientation toward achievement, to assist in the goal of survival. Arab schools in Israel, which tend to be characterised by a lower level of achievement than Jewish schools, focus specifically on educating toward achievement, more than on educating for values (Abu-Asba, 2007). As a result, from statehood until the present time, the learning achievements of Arab students have improved markedly, as seen in the percentage of those continuing to higher education, which has greatly increased in recent years (Haidar, 2003).

As part of the state's aim to transform Israel's Arab citizens into an integral part of its citizenry and society, and not into a separatist group, the Education Ministry allows little reference to Palestinian national and religious aspects in its curriculum, a fact that often creates detachment between the school and the social environment in which it operates. In addition, the state does not encourage values education that presents the distinct Arab national collective. Though every form of education is value-laden, no data exist on the impact of the hidden curriculum on the value formation of Arab high school students. In this research the values (extrinsic and intrinsic) of two different groups of students who are citizens of the same state and study in the same public system but who either experience explicit values education (Jewish students) or none (Arab students) were examined.

### Methods

#### *The sample*

The population included 518 11th and 12th graders in four Jewish schools ( $n = 259$ ; 169 female, 90 male) and four Arab schools ( $n = 259$ ; 168 female, 91 male) located in the north, centre and south of Israel. The age of the students

ranged from 17.5 to 19.5 ( $M = 18.87$ ,  $SD = .34$ ). The groups were matched according to gender and age. According to official tables provided by the Ministry of Education, the students belonged to an average social economic level. The students were asked to define themselves in terms of religiosity. Among the Jews, 33.2% defined themselves as secular, 20.9% as traditional and 45.9% as religious. Among the Arabs, 32% defined themselves as secular, 19.9% as traditional and 48.1% as religious.

Table 1 presents the subjects' gender and religiosity. A  $X^2$  test did not reveal significant differences between the two groups. In both groups, two-thirds were females and close to half defined themselves as religious, about one-third as secular and one-fifth as traditional.

*The research instrument*

The questionnaire used in this study consisted of eight value scales (Ziebertz & Kay, 2005) in two groups: extrinsic values (that deal with external considerations, which are means to achieve something else) and intrinsic values (that represent ends in themselves). In the original research, the reliability was calculated for each scale separately and there was a division into nine factors so that the number of items in each factor was relatively small, therefore, the reliability was between .55 and .81. In the current research only the two overall groups—intrinsic and extrinsic—were used. The values were examined according to three variables: ethnic affiliation (Arab/Jewish), gender and degree of religiosity (secular, traditional or religious). The questionnaire included 31 items (19 items  $\alpha = .93$ ) relating to intrinsic values and 12 items  $\alpha = .86$ ) to extrinsic values, and participants were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements on a five-point Likert scale. The questionnaire was given to two reviewers who were asked to categorise the items as extrinsic or intrinsic. The reviewers fully agreed on the categorisation.

The group of extrinsic values consists of three scales: modernity, attractiveness and authenticity. Modernity relates to the use of modern technology, attractiveness relates to the urge to look good and authenticity is used in its negative, hedonistic sense: being able to do what you want, without taking others into consideration. These scales represent concepts that are described as trendy and are aggressively

Table 1. Students' characteristics

		Jews ( $n = 259$ )		Arabs ( $n = 259$ )		$X^2$
		$N$	%	$N$	%	
Gender	Female	169	65.2	168	65.2	.00
	Male	90	34.8	91	34.8	
Religiosity	Secular	86	33.2	83	32.0	.29
	Traditional	54	20.9	52	19.9	
	Religious	119	45.9	124	48.1	

portrayed in advertising. Examples of items relating to extrinsic values include: (12) It is important above all to have fun and experience and enjoy a lot of things, (20) It is important to dress young even when you are 20 or 30 years old and (27) It is important eventually to make a lot of money in your life.

The group of intrinsic values consists of five scales. Three represent civil values: family orientation (the desire to have a family), professional orientation (the desire to have a profession) and self-management (exercising self-control). Adolescents who endorse these values have been found to be better socially integrated (Ziebertz & Kay, 2005). Two additional scales measure autonomy (a sense of agency and independence, confidence and freedom of thought) and humanity (a person's ability to help others and share goods and ideas with them). Examples of items relating to intrinsic values include: (01) It is important to think and act independently, (09) It is important to have the courage to say no and (10) It is important to do something for society.

In most cases, a research assistant or I visited the classroom and explained the aim of the research and its importance. The students could decide whether or not to participate and we promised them anonymity. Neither the teachers nor any staff members were in the classrooms when we distributed the questionnaires.

### *Hypotheses*

The research hypotheses were as follows:

- (1) Differences would be found between Arab and Jewish students regarding the importance of values. The Arab students would more strongly endorse extrinsic values. This assumption is based on Abu-Asba's (2007) finding that Arab education does not engage in values education and that the most important educational message is to achieve academically.
- (2) The differences between female Jews and female Arabs would be greater than among the male respondents. This assumption is based on the findings of Beit Hallahmi and Argyle (1997), that women are more extrinsic than men and also on the fact that Arab women experience what is known as 'dual marginality' (Arar & Rigbi, 2009), meaning that because they are marginal in a marginalised society, Arab women will be more extrinsic.
- (3) The differences between religious Arabs and religious Jews would be greater than among traditional and secular respondents from both ethnic affiliations. This assumption is based on the fact that religious people are more extrinsic than traditional and secular ones (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997).

### **Results**

In order to examine the research hypotheses, a 2 x 2 x 3 MANOVA (ethnic group x gender x religiosity) was undertaken. A significant difference was found between



Jews and Arabs,  $F(8,494) = 18.05, i < .001, \eta^2 = .23$ , and for nationality x gender,  $F(8,494) = 3.35, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . A significant interaction was also found for nationality x religiosity,  $F(16,988) = 2.70, i < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ .

In the univariate ANOVA performed for each parameter separately, significant differences were found between Arabs and Jews for all the values examined. The means and standard deviations of the values for Jews and Arabs are presented in Table 2. The results show that for autonomy, humanity, self-management, family orientation and professional orientation, the means of Jewish students were higher than those of Arab students, while on the three other values: authenticity, modernity and attractiveness, the means of the Arab students were higher than those of the Jewish students. Thus, on intrinsic values the Jewish students scored higher and on extrinsic values the Arab students scored higher.

While in the MANOVA analysis a significant interaction was found for nationality x gender, the ANOVA showed a significant interaction only for modernity,  $F(1,501) = 4.07, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ , and authenticity,  $F(1,501) = 4.07, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ . These interactions are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Both figures show that the difference between Arab and Jewish males is smaller than among females. Indeed, from a simple effect analysis, a significant difference was found among females for modernity,  $F(1.322) = 32.14, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ , and authenticity,  $F(1.322) = 50.23, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$ , but not among the males: for modernity,  $F(1,180) = 1.05, p < .05$ , and for authenticity,  $F(1,180) = 1.01, p > .05$ .

The MANOVA analysis showed a significant difference for nationality x religion. In the univariate analysis, significant interaction was found only for attractiveness,  $F(2,501) = 8.55, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$ , and modernity,  $F(2,501) = 3.50, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ . Figures 3 and 4 show the interaction.

Among the religious students, the difference between Jews and Arabs is greater than among the traditional and secular students. A simple effect analysis was

Table 2. Means and standard derivation of parameters of values for Arabs and Jews ( $n= 518$ )

Value	Jews		Arabs		$F(1,503)$	$\eta^2$
	$M$	$SD$	$M$	$SD$		
Autonomy	4.27	.53	3.92	.83	23.38***	.04
Humanity	4.40	.56	4.00	.84	25.96***	.05
Self-management	4.19	.64	3.91	.85	11.12***	.02
Attractiveness	3.56	.82	3.96	.84	29.01***	.06
Modernity	3.59	.85	3.99	.94	19.78***	.09
Authenticity	3.39	.78	3.84	.89	24.21***	.05
Family orientation	4.32	.65	4.14	.85	3.92*	.01
Professional orientation	4.43	.61	4.24	.94	4.99**	.01

Notes. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

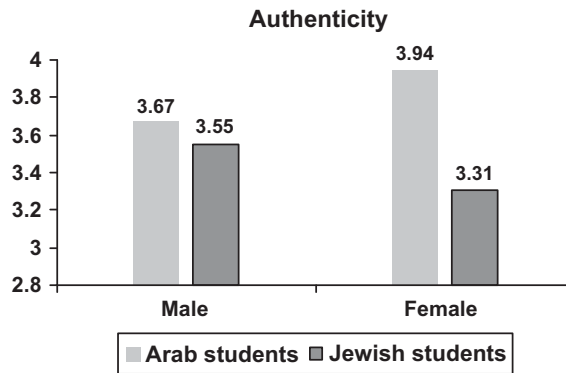


Figure 1. Attitudes toward authenticity, by ethnic group

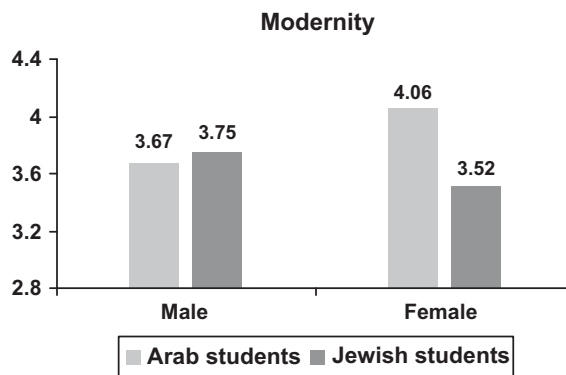


Figure 2. Attitudes toward modernity, by ethnic group

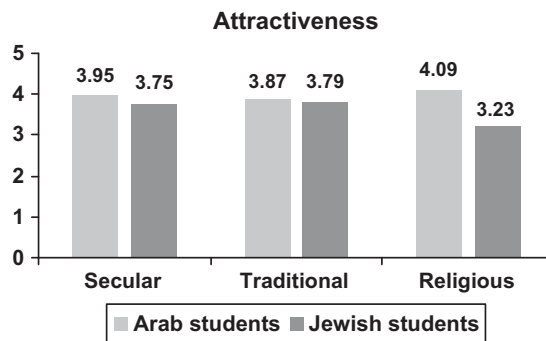


Figure 3. Attitudes toward attractiveness, by religiosity

performed to compare Arabs and Jews on each of the religious levels. Among those defining themselves as religious, there was a greater difference between Arabs and Jews on attractiveness,  $F(1,243) = 41.96, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$ , and

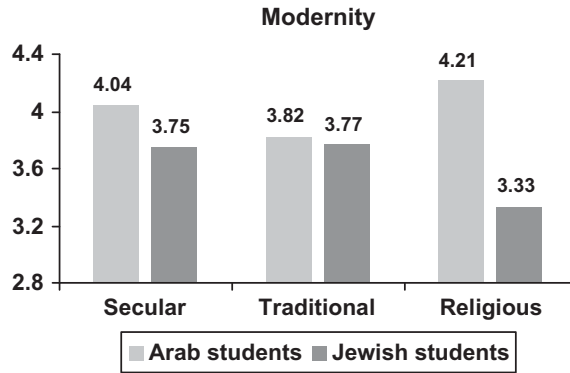


Figure 4. Attitudes toward modernity, by religiosity

modernity,  $F(1,243) = 30.07, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$ . Among the traditional students, the differences between Arabs and Jews on these measures were not significant: attractiveness:  $F(1,100) = .04, p > .05$ , modernity,  $F(1,100) = .07, p > .05$ . Among secular students, no difference was found for attractiveness,  $F(1,164) = 2.24, p > .005$ , and, while there was a significant difference for modernity, it was smaller than the difference found among religious students,  $F(1,164) = 3.98, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ . Generally speaking, the findings show that Arab students endorse attractiveness and modernity more than Jewish students.

### Discussion

The variables of gender, religiosity and ethnic affiliation have an impact on the way in which students endorse certain values over others. However, basing the analysis only on these variables may lead to a stereotypical and prejudicial interpretation. Preference is principally influenced by the context and character of the educational framework in which the socialisation process occurs.

The first hypothesis was fully supported. The research findings show that the Jewish students who studied in an education system where values education is widely applied were characterised by intrinsic values. The Arab students who studied in a framework that focuses on education toward academic achievement and does not engage in values education were characterised as having extrinsic values. It appears that, as Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000) argue, the context in which the process of values socialisation takes place enables the individual to adapt to the environment where s/he lives.

The second hypothesis was also supported: Arab females were found to be more extrinsic than the rest of the sample. However, significant differences were only found regarding values that are connected to modernity and authenticity. This may be explained by the double marginality that characterises Arab women who are marginalised both as women and because they belong to a minority group (Arar & Rigbi, 2009).

The third hypothesis was also supported: religious students—both Arab and Jewish—endorse more extrinsic values than students who define themselves as traditional or secular, but the difference is greater among the Arab population. This was found to be significant for attractiveness and modernity. These findings are in accordance with those of Beit-Hallahmi and Argyle (1997) who found that religious people have a tendency toward a higher extrinsic orientation. Huntington (1996) argued that religious Muslims are more likely to endorse modern technology and to utilise it for the enhancement of religious ends. Moreover, following Göle (2000), who analysed the concept of multiple modernities in Muslim societies, it seems that the Arab students' endorsement of the extrinsic more than of the intrinsic is a kind of social critique, namely, their way of criticising modernity and neo-liberalism.

The technological changes and the modernisation process that Arab society has undergone in Israel since 1948 have been intensive and rapid. However, these were principally experienced as extrinsic, since the process of internalising modernity for people raised in a traditional rural society is slow and difficult, and its acceptance cannot be taken for granted. Abu-Asba (2007) asserts that in Arab society there is no automatic internalisation and acceptance of Western cultural elements like individualism and democracy. This is because of the socio-economic and cultural differences that emphasise the individual's belonging and affiliation to the existing collective structure. This hampers the acceptance of ideological and social individualism or multiculturalism. Changes that actually take place, such as types of consumption, forms of entertainment in leisure hours, style of dress and so on, are for the most part external changes and generally occur more quickly than the rate at which the new values are internalised (Abu-Asba, 2007).

Part of the survival process and the resilience of a minority group call for conserving the way they appear outwardly towards the majority group. This approach encourages stronger adherence to extrinsic values than to intrinsic ones. As a minority group, preserving the collective is considered a supreme value, even at the price of clinging to the 'protective' extrinsic stance that protects them from the intrinsic and enables social boundaries and visibility to be created. Therefore, unlike what Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000) maintain, that intrinsic values are positive and extrinsic ones are negative, when it comes to a minority, one should not take a judgemental-normative approach that positions what is extrinsic in a pejorative light, as being less beneficial than the intrinsic. Instead, one should accept this descriptively, as marking and identifying the boundaries of a minority group aspiring to self-definition. Moreover, following Apple's (2004) approach, it seems that extrinsic/intrinsic terminology functions as a means to marginalise minority groups. The process of structuring the collective is made first through the extrinsic and, once its boundaries are set in place, the minority group can take time to structure the intrinsic. Abu-Absa (2007) holds that the failure to provide values education in Israel's Arab schools is potentially damaging to shaping the collective. In comparison, education for values is considered the foundation of

Jewish education, for nation-building and for boosting solidarity and belonging to the Jewish collective.

Furthermore, as a minority group, the thinking of the Arab students in this sample has, *a priori*, a collectivist, not individualist, nature. They do not have a tradition of thinking about the self as an individual because, as a minority group, power and resilience are drawn from the Arab collective, which constitutes an alternative to the Israeli civil collective—to which they still feel they do not belong. An examination of extrinsic versus intrinsic values shows that while extrinsic values are connected to the traditional–modern conflict (how do I become part of modern society?), intrinsic values are connected to collective–individual conflict (my place as an individual in a society that strengthens collectivism as the survival mechanism of a minority group). Research has shown that while the Arab population in Israel shows great flexibility and openness towards adopting values of modernity, it still sees as supreme the values of the collective and the *hamula* (Sagy et al., 2001). The Arab *a priori* collectivist orientation does not allow young people to develop values of an individualist nature (such as autonomy and self-management) because they are in total conflict with the loyalty and obedience to the *hamula* that is required of them (Al-Haj, 2003).

In general, the research findings indicate a situation where the values of modern culture are not the outcome of the values that Arab society has constructed and engendered in a long cultural process (Abu-Asba, 2007). On the contrary, they are values that they rapidly adopted in a transmission process. The process of social survival that they undergo, as a minority group, bars them from structuring deep processes of value-based transformation, and they make do with superficial socialisation processes. The fact that Arab schools in Israel tend to highlight scholastic achievement does not allow Arab young people to discuss questions of values and the conflict with the values surrounding them. This situation reinforces their adherence to and need for the extrinsic as a refuge—an *ad hoc* solution. Jewish education, in comparison, gives values—in particular intrinsic values—a central place. The research findings corroborate the literature, which suggests that young people develop extrinsic or intrinsic values during a process of socialisation, mediated by intervention programs and the environment in which they live (Tirri, 2008; see also Lovat, 2010; Oser, 1999).

However, there are certain limitations to these interpretations. The suggestion that there is a correlation between values education in schools and values held should be investigated in detail in the Israeli context. If one subgroup experiences values education and the other not, one would expect group differences. However, the questionnaire did not examine this issue directly so further research is needed to explore the connection between explicit values education and the development of extrinsic or intrinsic values in different ethnic groups. Qualitative research that focuses on this issue might yield some new directions. Moreover, with respect to the instrument used in the present study, Thoma (2006) argued that minority group members may relate to a questionnaire differently. Minorities are interested in showing others that they know what is expected, which is equivalent to the

extrinsic notion in this research. On the other hand, majority members are freer to focus on their own perspectives. This is a complicated issue since the education system has to be very careful about teaching values in order to avoid the charge of indoctrination. Recently, virtue-based character education programs worldwide have explicitly attempted to teach values that have community-wide approval (that are not controversial and that some call ‘value-light’) (Thoma, 2006).

This research has implications for the practice of values—particularly moral values education—and the enhancement of research in this area. Though values education begins in the home, schools can make a major contribution to children’s understanding of values. Schools can help to counterbalance any extreme opinion that students have adopted from the outside world (Halstead, 2007). If teachers make students in minority groups aware of the fact that minority groups have a tendency to adhere to the extrinsic, through critical reflection, appraising and evaluating specific values teachers can also make students aware of the importance of fostering intrinsic values (such as autonomy, humanity, self-management etc.). These values are at the core of moral education as they foster a sense of agency, confidence, freedom of thought and the ability to help others, and thus enable students to become moral and effective citizens who contribute to society. In the neo-liberal world, where scholarly achievements are perceived as of predominant importance, it is also necessary to allocate defined time in the curriculum for values education. Educating toward intrinsic values is likely to be significant in developing students who are human beings—not only knowledgeable robots.

## References

- Abu-Asba, H. (2007). *Arab education in Israel: dilemmas of a national minority*. Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies.
- Abu-Baker, K. (2002). Career women or working women? Change versus stability for young Palestinian women in Israel *Journal of Israeli History*, 21(1–2), 85–109.
- Al-Haj, M. (2003). Higher education among the Arabs in Israel: formal policy between empowerment and control. *Higher Education Policy*, 16(3), 351–368.
- Apple, M.W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum* (3rd edn). New York: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Arar, K.H., & Rigbi, A. (2009). To participate or not to participate? Status and perception of physical education among Muslim Arab-Israeli secondary school pupils *Sport, Education and Society*, 14(2), 183–202.
- Beit-Hallahmi, B., & Argyle, M. (1997). *The psychology of religious behaviour, belief and experience*. London: Routledge.
- Dror, Y. (2007). *Nation building through mutually supportive educational devices: a case study of Zionist education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. (Ed.). (2000). *Multiple modernities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Göle, N. (2000). Snapshots of Islamic modernities. In S.N. Eisenstadt (Ed.), *Multiple modernities* (pp. 91–118). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Haidar, A. (2003). Minority education in the Palestinian authority. In Y. Iram & H. Wahrman (Eds.), *Education of minorities and peace education in pluralistic societies*. London: Praeger.
- Halstead, J. M. (2007). Values education. In F. C. Power, R. J. Nuzzi, D. Narvaez, D. K. Lapsley, & T. L. Hunt (Eds.), *Moral education: a handbook* (Vol. 2, pp. 457–459). Westport, CT: Praeger.

- Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Klages, H. (1988) *Wertedynamik. Über die Wandelbarkeit des Selbstverständlichen* [Dynamic values: about the mutability of the self-evident] (Zurich, Interfrom).
- Lamm, Z. (2001). Values and education. In Y. Iram, S. Scolnicov, J. Cohen, & E. Schachter (Eds.), *Crossroads: values and education in Israeli society* [in Hebrew] (pp. 651–664). Jerusalem: Ministry of Education.
- Levy, S. (1999). Structure and level of values of youth: what has changed during a generation. In R. Meyer-Schweizer (Ed.), *Facet theory conference: design and analysis* (pp. 75–86). Bern: University of Bern, Institute for Sociology.
- Lovat, T. (2010). Synergies and balance between values education and quality teaching. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 42(4), 489–500.
- Oser, F.K. (1999). Can a curriculum of moral education be postmodern? *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 31(2), 231–236.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: Free Press.
- Sagy, S., Orr, E., Bar-on, D., & Awwad, E. (2001). Individualism and collectivism in two conflicted societies: comparing Israeli-Jewish and Palestinian-Arab high school students. *Youth & Society*, 33(1), 3–30.
- Sansone, C., & Harackiewicz, J.M. (2000). Controversies and new directions: is it déjà vu all over again? In C. Sansone & J.M. Harackiewicz (Eds.), *Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation: the search for optimal motivation and performance* (pp. 444–453). New York: Academic Press.
- Taylor, C. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, C. C. W. (Trans.) (1990) *Plato: protagoras* (New York, Oxford University Press).
- Thoma, S.J. (2006). Research using the defining issues test. In M. Killen & J. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* (pp. 67–92). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tirri, K. (Ed.). (2008). *Educating moral sensibilities in urban schools*. Rotterdam/Taipei: Sense Publishers.
- Ziebertz, H.-G., & Kay, W.K. (2005). *Youth in Europe I: an international empirical study about life perspectives*. Berlin: LIT.