



## 저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

Master's Thesis of Arts

An Analysis of Israel Teachers' Perception  
on Citizenship from Nationalism vs.  
Cosmopolitanism Perspective

이스라엘 교사들의 시민성 인식 분석  
– 민족주의와 세계시민주의 관점으로

August 2020

Graduate School of Education  
Seoul National University  
Global Cooperation Education Major

SUIN KIM



# An Analysis of Israeli Teachers' Perception on Citizenship from Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism Perspective

Hyungryeol Kim

Submitting a master's thesis of Arts

August 2020

Graduate School of Education  
Seoul National University  
Global Education Cooperation Major

SUIN KIM

Confirming the master's thesis written by  
SUIN KIM

August 2020

Chair      SUNG SANG YOO (Seal)

Vice Chair      KYUNG HWAN MO (Seal)

Examiner      HYEONGRYEONG KIM (Seal)



# Abstract

**Keyword :** Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, Citizenship Education, National Identity, Civic Curriculum, Teacher's Perception

**Student Number :** 2017–21338

Since the advent of modern state-states, educational systems around the world have served as national construction bodies and national stimulators. But in recent decades, globalization has begun to increase the presence of internationalism and internationalization in education policy and the school curriculum. Schools are now facing conflicting pressures on internationalization and on the other hand nationalism.

The main objectives of this study are as follows. First, we examine how Israel teachers perceive citizenship education in terms of nationalism vs cosmopolitanism perspective and how they perceive current Israel citizenship education curriculum. Second, we analyze the typology of citizenship classification designed by Blatter & national conflicts, and social integrations, such as Israel, contain citizenship in the curriculum, and how the current civic education teachers think about Israel civic curriculum.

This paper aims to examine the relationship between nationalistic and cosmopolitan values discussed in Israeli civic education and to investigate the perceptions of teachers who have experienced civic education. The peculiarity of this paper is that through interviews, Israel's teachers' observations and insights on citizenship debate and the analysis of citizenship types confirm that Israel's perception of citizenship continues to be a Double Citizenship Type.

# Table of Contents

## Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Study Background.....	1
1.2 Research Purpose and Significance of the Study.....	3
1.3 Research Questions and Scope of the Research.....	4

## Chapter 2. Literature

Review.....	5
2.1. Overviews of Theories on Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism.....	5
2.2. Approaches on Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism.....	7
2.2.1. Conflict Approach on Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism.	8
2.2.2. Conciliatory Approach on Nationalism vs.	
Cosmopolitanism.....	10
2.3. Citizenship Type Analysis.....	14
2.3.1. Typology of Citizenship by ‘Blatter and Schlenker’(2014)..	14
2.3.2. 9 Types of Citizenship Analysis from its Origin and	
Direction.....	18
2.3.3. Globalization and Citizenship Perception Change.....	28
2.4. Context and Background of Israel Society.....	30

2.4.1. Israel's National Identity as Jewish State and its Immigration Policy.....	30
2.4.2. Multiculturalism in Israel Society – Four Divided Groups in Israel .....	32
2.4.3. Israel's Dilemmas in Citizenship.....	37
2.4.4. Controversies in Israel Citizenship Education.....	39
2.4.5. Analysis on Israel Civic Curriculum – “To Be Citizens in Israel” .....	47
2.4.6. Globalization and CE Issues in Israel National Curriculum.....	58
<b>Chapter 3. Research Design.....</b>	<b>61</b>
3.1. Research Method.....	61
3.2. Data Collection.....	61
<b>Chapter 4. Research Findings.....</b>	<b>66</b>
4.1. Israel Teachers' Perception on Nationalism vs Cosmopolitanism.....	66
4.1.1. National identity in curriculum and its Impact & Necessity.....	66
4.1.2. Citizenship Curriculum in Globalization and its Impact & Necessity.....	77
4.1.3. The Relation of Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism Perspective.....	84



Chapter 5.	
Discussion.....	87
5.1. Complementary Relations of Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism.....	89
5.2. Cosmopolitanism within Nationalism.....	89
5.3. Cosmopolitanism to Support Nationalism.....	92
5.4. Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism in the Curriculum.....	95
5.5. Direction of Citizenship in Israel Citizenship.....	95
5.5.1. Aspects of the origin of Israeli citizenship.....	96
5.5.2. Direction of citizenship in Israel citizenship.....	98
Chapter 6.	
Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography	
Abstract in Korean	

# Chapter 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Study Background

As globalization and internationalization accelerated, cosmopolitanism in Citizenship Education (CE) was emphasized in each countries' national curriculum for civic education. Each state reinterprets the concept of CE within the context of cultural, political, ethnic, religious background. In the midst of nineteen century, with the rise of 'National Self-Determination' <sup>1</sup> provoked by Thomas Woodrow Wilson, the president of the U.S, nation-building and state formation occurred world-widely. <sup>2</sup>(Derek, 1994)

At that time, Citizenship Education was considered as a useful tool and instruments to promote a commitment to the state and a sense of identity. Now, each state's national civic education is competing with cosmopolitanism factors in CE, however, it does limit the concept of citizenship in favor of their national interests and advantages in the internationalizing and globalizing era.

Israel was established focusing on a high ethnic homogeneity and national identity and prolonged its nationalism ethos until the middle of 1990. In a dimension of maintenance of its country, Israel's educational government sticks to a nationalism approach focused on Jewish, Zionism contents. The origin of the teachings on the

---

<sup>1</sup> The theory of reality in international relations argues that territorial sovereignty is more important than state self-determination. This policy was pursued by major forces in the Cold War. Since then, liberal internationalism has become an alternative. It promotes the abolition of war between nations, increases individual freedoms within the state, maintains the expansion of global markets, and cross-border cooperation reduces the importance of territorial integrity, allowing people more awareness of greater self-determination. (Wikipedia - Self-Determination)

land of Israel is said to stem from the beginning of Jewish immigration, which began with the settlement of immigrants with 'Aliyah' movement and founding of Zionist education. The first twenty years of Israel was a period when civic education goals were largely based on nationalist concepts. (Aviv Cohen, 2018)

However, on the other hand, in the cosmopolitan wave in the globalized era, criticism has been raised by those who insist more multiculturalism and diversity within Israel society. Israel educational administration has shown its unique stance domestically to deal with Arab citizens in the state and internationally with Iran and Syria outside the border.<sup>34</sup> In the middle of 1990, the power of centralized educational authority weakened (with several political accidents and social movements), the national curriculum in a formal school became less centralized and standardized. The establishment of a separate Arab school sector was also another factor that undermined solidarity to the Jewish state.<sup>56</sup>

However, in Israel national curriculum, these nationalism and cosmopolitanism perspectives, two competing concepts are confounded. In a conflicting or struggling society, the CE, which often places greater educational emphasis on

---

<sup>3</sup> In 1981, Israel merged the Golan Heights, but the merger was not recognized internationally. Population diversity in Israel expanded in the 1980s and 1990s. As of 2019, Israel's population was 9,105,640, of which 74.2% were recorded as Jews by civil government. Arabs accounted for 20.9% of the population, and non-Arab Christians and those without religion listed in the Civil Register accounted for 4.8%. (Wikipedia)

<sup>5</sup> Since the 1990's there was a constant improvement in representation and allocation rights that the Palestinian-Arab minority was granted and which resulted in legislation, adjudication, and in practices that shaped the composition of special regulatory institutions, all of them stipulated a principle of minority participation in certain societal institutions, namely, the civil service and the directorates of the government corporations.(Wikipedia)

forcing the desired country story, can be perceived as particularly controversial or controversial. (Goren and Yemini 2016; Pinson 2007)

## 1.2. Purpose of Research and Significance of the Study

During the last two decades, as transactions of capital, goods, information among nations had been accelerated, it is now being criticized that the concept of ‘self-determination’ of nationalism has been endangered. The establishment of supra-national institutions enabled states to maintain democratic self-determinations to have political control over globalized economic systems.

However, this diminishes national democracy if it is without accompanying new forms of citizenship. (Blatter and Schlenker, 2014) According to Rauner’s model, the general orientation of the education system in the national model of society tends to have more internal focus on narrow national interests, concerning strengthening or maintaining national identities. (Rauner, 1998)

However, Law (2004) noted that citizenship education at the national level has not been decreased at the expense of Global Education asserting that “The first role of citizenship education is for the need of the state’s role” (Law, 2004, p.256) It was also suggested that no country has a school system that relinquishes their citizenship education in favor of a global model. Clear indications promoting global citizenship has stimulated curricular reforms in preparation for economic, political, and cultural challenges. “Countries are increasingly caught in the tension between global and local identities”.

Israel citizenship education has its specialty not only with its a very long-standing history of ‘Diaspora’, but also as a modern state-nation and conflict-ridden area.

Therefore, it would be worthwhile 1) to take a look at the Israel curriculum of civic education from the perspective of the state's strategy to survive and sustain its state nationalism 2) to look into how current Israeli civic teachers interpret and define national identity in the wave of globalization and cosmopolitan perspective.

### 1.3. Purpose of Research Questions and the Scope of Study.

The purpose of this study is to find how Israeli in-service and pre-service teachers' perception on global citizenship and national identity is now being defined. The main research topics are narrowed down into three questions.

- 1) How have the Israel civic teachers perceived the Israel national curriculum and interpreted these two competing concepts; nationalism and cosmopolitanism factors in Israel?
- 2) How can we classify Israel teachers' perceived citizenship type according to citizenship typology?

This research will be conducted with in-depth personal interviews with several current and pre-service teachers. This research will shed a new light on the direction of Israel civic education and actual teachers' awareness on CE and national identity education.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Overviews of Theories on Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism

Max Boehm earlier agitated that 'the form that globalism assumes is generally determined by the ideal social entity or group that responds'. (Boehm 1931: 458).

In the past, cosmopolitanism has been a reaction to the prerogatives of local cities, classes, or religious denominations. In today's world, however, cosmopolitanism is almost always defined in contrast to nationalism.

Cosmopolitans are those who reject the principle that they should regret the privilege of national identity in political life and take political action in a way that reflects and protects national identity. (Kylimecka, 2001) The contrast between cosmopolitanism and nationalism is plain and even banal, but the exact conflict between them is often misunderstood because the nature of nationalism itself has been misunderstood.

Therefore, it is necessary to start with a brief explanation of modern nationalism and then find out exactly where it conflicts with cosmopolitanism. We are often said to live in the age of nationalism. It means that there was the persistence that ethnic groups fought to maintain their unique identity, institutions, and desire for self-government. This is a surprising fact of 20th century history.

There are few examples of ethnic minorities, since ethnic groups sharing a larger nation and state are voluntarily assimilated into larger societies. But cosmopolitans did not predict the resilience of this national identity. They assumed that members of small groups would be willing to assimilate into larger and larger groups as long as individual rights were respected.

Voltaire thought that people would settle in any country where they could be

respected and would regard it as home and would not expect or demand that their national identity be protected in that country. The ideal of the emergence of universal language plays an important role in the formation of cosmopolitanism. Voltaire saw the process of integrating all cultures into one international society and the emergence of universal language as the end of this. The ideal of universal language was endorsed to be achieved by many cosmopolitans, from Descartes and Leibniz to Franklin, Voltaire, D'Alembert and Turgot. (Schlereth 1977: 42-3)

Some thought it would include the invention and spread of new, more rational languages. They thought that the emergence of world culture would accompany political unification through the emergence of a single world government or world union. Others argued that relations between political units would occur even if existing political boundaries were maintained as long as they were regulated by some form of international law.

Some thought that the emergence of world culture could proceed with the careful and enlightened use of colonialism. Others, such as Condorcet, believed that the emergence of world culture was not the result of forcing a subordinate group to dominate the culture, but as a result of agreed exchanges and learning among people. But soon they shared the assumption that minority and 'reverse' groups would be assimilated into larger, more 'advanced' groups, and that's their concern.

The dream of universal language died in the 19th century. But the basic assumption that national identity would be weak was not. The echo of this family can be found between 19th-century liberals and socialists. J.S. Mill, he empirically proves that one nationality can be merged and absorbed with people of another nationality. Originally an inferior and backward part of mankind, merging and absorbing with other cultures is a big advantage.

Indeed, up to modern times, most modernization theorists have argued that national

identities will disappear, especially for small countries or minorities. This small group faces strong economic and political pressure to assimilate into a larger country, and modernization theorists take this process rather than fight to keep members of this group culturally distinctive in terms of economic well-being or social prices. I assumed it would work. But this assumption, shared by 18th-century Enlightenment theorists, 19th-century socialists, and 20th-century modernization theorists, has been decisively disproved in the era of nationalism.

Nationalism has so far defeated internationalists' expectations that a decline in national identity and the emergence of world cultures based on universal languages will occur.

## 2.2. Approaches on Nationalism vs Cosmopolitanism

### 2.2.1. Conflict Approach on Nationalism vs Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitan perspective and nationalism perspective seem to have been considered as diametrically opposed ideals. It was conservatively believed that 'if one is liberal nationalist, one cannot also be a cosmopolitan liberal.' Implicit and integral to liberal political philosophy is assumed to be the basis of nationalism theory regarding that cosmopolitan justice from liberalism is to fail consequently.

As the prominence and acceptance of doctrine of liberal nationalism increases, it is no surprise that there has been a skeptic and antagonistic concern about cosmopolitan aspiration to liberal justice.

Two possible options by way of defending cosmopolitanism have arisen; One denies the doctrine of nationalism. which accepts incompatibility between cosmopolitanism and nationalism and the center take for cosmopolitans is to deny the doctrine of liberal nationalism. Another option, what is to be called, the conciliatory approach, opens to cosmopolitanism, but at the same time accepts nationalism assuming the possibility of compatibility of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. This option seeks



ways to reconcile and defend themselves showing how it can be complementary to each other.

### 2.2.2. Conciliatory Approach on Nationalism vs Cosmopolitanism

At the level of international relations, liberal nationalists generally share Condorcet's commitment to free trade, the development of international law, including universal respect for human rights, the global order based on the ban on territorial invasion, and at the national level, in general, the liberal democratic constitution, Recognize equality of opportunity, religious tolerance and, more generally, openness to pluralism and cultural exchange. Therefore, the debate between enlightenment cosmopolitans and liberal nationalists is quite limited.

The most basic disagreement is to understand the state's role in protecting and confirming national identity through things like language, holidays and autonomy, from Republicans to Liberalism. Enlightenment thinkers see the state as a protector of individual liberty, not just as a defender of national culture or identity, while liberal nationalists protect government's continued viability and, more generally, express the identity of the people is a legitimate and essential task of government. It is considered. (Schlereth 1977: 109)

As Tamir said, political institutions should be 'carriers of national identity', 'reflecting unique character and depicting the history, culture, language, and sometimes the religion of ethnic groups. This basic dispute leads to another subsidiary dispute over immigration. (Tamir, 1993: 74). Most Enlightenment cosmopolitans essentially prefer the 'open border' policy, the unrestricted right of free mobility across the border, which is seen as the 'right of nature'.

But as mentioned earlier, there is a trade-off between liberal nationalists' desire for mobility and the desire to ensure the viability of national culture. Today, immigrants

are almost always a rich source of national society both culturally and economically.  
(Schlereth 1977: 105)

However, this is because the number of immigrants is limited and those who enter are encouraged to integrate into existing national cultures. However, because of the open border policy, tens of millions of new immigrants can enter a country and exceed the capacity of existing national institutions to integrate.

From a liberal nationalist point of view, the state has a legal right to limit the number of immigrants and to encourage their integration for the viability of existing national culture. There is a clear conflict between liberal nationalism and traditional enlightenment internationalism. However, the Enlightenment assumption that states can simply protect individual freedoms without adopting or developing specific national identities is, in any case, inconsistent criticism.

After all, the state must set the boundaries of the language and internal political subunits of public education and public services and recognize public holidays. All of these inevitably express and encourage a particular national culture. It can be argued that this is a realistic risk for the majority of the group because Western countries reject the justice obligation to share property with poor countries.

As a result, many inhabitants of the poor view it as their greatest hope for immigration to the West to live a decent life for themselves and their children. If a greater consensus was reached on international resource distribution, migration between countries would be much less, and those who chose to migrate would probably be doing so precisely to join the culture they admire. In this situation, open border policy will probably not endanger the viability of social culture.

Misunderstanding nationalism considers liberal nationalism to be a rejection of cosmopolitanism. However, it seems that there is much in common between liberal nationalism and enlightenment cosmopolitanism and given the common

commitment to the universal values of freedom and equality, liberal nationalism involves the redefinition of globalism.

As it is mentioned earlier, cosmopolitanism is always defined as a response to a particular social group. In modern times, cosmopolitanism has almost always been defined in contrast to nationalism. I think this is unfortunate because nationalists do not have to, and often do not, agree with the basic international values of human rights, tolerance, cultural exchange, international peace and cooperation.

True enemies-xenophobia, intolerance, injustice, Shovivism, militarism, colonialism. Certainly, nationalists show these evils, but being a nationalist is not a necessary or sufficient condition to own them. As Thomas Schlereth points out, even though it might sound a lot idealism, cosmopolitanism is best understood as a state of mind and is manifested in rejection of xenophobia, dedication to tolerance, and concern for human destiny in distant countries. (Schlereth 1977: p. Xi).

In this sense, there seems to be no reason why liberal nationalists cannot realize this international virtue. Conciliatory approach seems more plausible to defend cosmopolitan justice. Despite that Kok (2010) largely grant liberal nationalistic stance, Kok still goal tries to get to the extent to the position against national to prove that cosmopolitans need not reject liberal nationalism.

#### 1) Liberal Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

More and more liberal theorists argue that what is inherent in liberalism is the theory of nationalism. In recent years, nationalist movements have reemerged all over the world, and new challenges of multiculturalism and migration within liberal democracy have generated a keen interest among the liberal theories of nationalism. (Kok Chor Tan, 2010, p176)

As a result of this confrontation with nationalism, the consensus among modern liberal theorists is that liberalism and nationalism are far from an idea once common sense could not be considered, are not only compatible, but are not in fact mutually strengthened ideals. Nationalism needs liberalism to tame it and impose moral restrictions on it, and liberalism needs nationalism to achieve its goals. As liberal nationalists argue, it is in the context of national culture that the best realization of individual autonomous social justice and the "core liberal values" of democracy. (Kok Chor Tan, 2010, p.178)

First, as support for liberal nationalism increases, the defense of cosmopolitanism, which relies on the rejection of liberal nationalism, risks alienating much of liberalism on the part of cosmopolitanism. Second and more importantly, cosmopolitanism theories that cannot accommodate certain forms of associations that characterize the individual's life, including nationality relations, are uncompromising. The traditional view that liberalism should be cosmopolitanism makes more sense if it does not exclude nationalism, especially nationalism in the form of liberalism.

Despite Kok's wide acceptance of a liberal nationalist stance, he still tries to reach a position on anti-nationalism to prove that global citizenship never needs to reject liberal nationalism. Morally speaking, it is understood differently by liberal peoples that a minority within a country can mean a state-level state construction.

Some theorists found that, in the case of multinational countries, desire for uniform citizenship, regardless of nationality diversity, may not only be an imposition, but also useless, and instead create some form of differentiated citizenship along the cultural boundaries of these countries. (Kok Chor Tan, 2010, p.178) Other liberal nationalists attempted to reconcile internationalism and liberal nationalism by defining liberal nationalism as civil nationalism in contrast to national nationalism.

(Barry 1999. p. 53-60). Citizen nationalism is probably constituted centered around political ideals, not cultures. It envisions the state as a community of citizens of equal rights, united by common loyalty, sharing political rights and practices.

## 2) Civic/Ethnic nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

As Kymlicka (2001) argues, all forms of nationalism, either liberal or non-liberalism, inevitably have cultural elements that are reflected and strengthened in the public and social institutions of the state and in the shared languages run by them. The distinction between literary nationalism and illiterate nationalism is not a matter of cultural neutrality, but the scope and comprehensiveness of the content of the national culture being fostered and promoted. The nationalist division of citizens leads to the myth of national cultural neutrality, which is not very long.

But if this myth emerges that way, we know that even the so-called para-cultural example of a socio-culturally neutral country like the United States, actually took active steps to foster and preserve each 'social', though not neutral in this way. An attempt to reconcile liberal nationalism and cosmopolitanism by so conveniently defining liberal nationalism as civil nationalism is to circumvent this problem. Like the United States, a 'citizen' country is, as a rule, open to everyone living in the area. National nationalism is exclusive and civil nationalism is comprehensive.

Pfaff (1993) argues that only national nationalism can be compatible with liberalism, democracy, and peace.

Another example, Thomas Frank (1997) is that 'Romantic Tribal Nationalism' is divided into a kind of virus or 'fire' infected in various parts of the world, and an early form of nationalism represented by the United States. French revolutionary nationalism based on the principles of politics, notably freedom and equality, not

common blood or culture. However, in early European history, it is important to remember that the elites attempted to separate themselves from 'the plebs' or 'the rabble' as much as possible and correctly justified their power and privileges over distance from the public. But the rise of nationalism valued 'People', the state is criticized from the point of view of 'nationality'. Regardless of class or occupation, it became the population of the territory, "the holder of sovereignty, the central goal of loyalty, the basis of collective solidarity" (Greenfeld 1992: 14).

### 3) National Identity and Democratic Citizenship

National identity remained strong in modern times because the emphasis on the importance of national identity provides a source of dignity for all individuals, regardless of their class. Public education and popular democracy in the mother tongue are specific signs of this shift to a dignified national identity. People's use of language is to confirm that political society belongs to people, not elites. So it's no surprise that most people have a deep emotional attachment to language that goes beyond purely instrumental concerns about using a language they are already familiar with.

While cosmopolitans tend to see people's commitment to multilingualism as evidence of the mysterious attachment to descriptive collective identity, it can reflect a deep attachment to the enlightenment values of free and equal citizens. Cosmopolitanism may eventually be a triumph, but a desire for individual freedom and participation in democracy will be pursued in the context of national culture for the near future and for good reason.

Internationalists did not predict the resilience of this national identity. They supposed that members of small community's desire to assimilate into larger and larger groups

as long as their rights were respected.

Global citizens are open world citizenship that recognizes the interdependence of nations of the world's era and recognizes opportunities for cultural diversification; Moral global citizenship with an emphasis on equality, human rights and global responsibility; It is defined as sociopolitical world citizenship, which seeks to shift the balance of political power to promote equality and cultural diversity.

The model of global citizenship presented in Veugelers (2011) is hierarchical, while open global citizenship shows the passive composition necessary to understand the impact of globalization (social, economic or environmental), while 'moral global citizen' Is based on and claims to actively add global responsibility for issues such as social justice and human rights.

The socio-political concept of world citizens described by Veugelers is another step forward, focusing not only on behavior but also on political identity with the world society. Veugeler (2011) argues that teachers generally adopt a moral model of global citizenship, which is not considered to be in conflict with the concept of national citizenship.

## 2.3. Citizenship Type Analysis

### 2.3.1. A Typology of Citizenship by Blatter and Schlenker (2014)

Blatter and Schlenker (2014) suggested the type of citizenship according to 'the membership in the political community as the fundamental of citizenship' and 'the arena of political decision-making as the focal point of citizenship rights and identities and practices'.

They presented a conceptual map of proposed forms of citizenship. (Blatter & Schlenker, 2014). Compared to the past where there is a single national community

separated, the importance of interconnectedness of the universal community has been significant. Horizontally, starting from the single national community universal community of mankind to multiple communities and vertically from national, supranational to transnational, they distinguish totally nine different forms of citizenship type. They wanted to contribute to make a discourse by both the normative and empirical literature and would like to present promising forms of citizenship in between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Their main questions on this distinction started as follows: (1) “which forms of citizenship are complementing national citizenship in a trans-nationalizing world?” (2) “Are these form just empty shells without much impact on democratic self-determination or are they filled with citizenship rights, collective identities, and political practices that lay the groundwork for the democratization of political arenas within and beyond sovereign nation-state?”

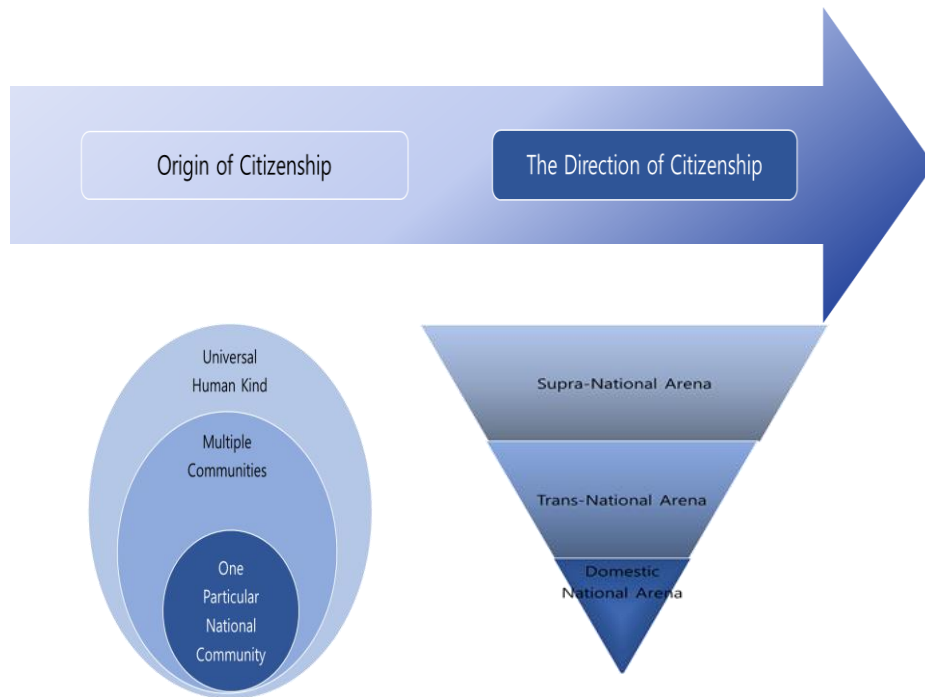
In the existing literature on democratic citizenship of “Model of Citizenship” and “Citizenship and Immigration”, four elements of citizenships were mentioned; (a) status as a citizen via formal membership in a political community; (b) civil, political, and social rights; (c) participatory practices; and (d) belonging/collective identity. These elements are related to modern political philosophies and basic postulation of democracy. Recently, modern philosophy including feminists and post-colonial critics have questioned its universality formed in Western citizenship philosophy.

Also, the established discourse of citizenship throughout modern Western history was challenged by the new flow across international cooperation and the power of supranational institutions over nation-states.

*“The legal status and civil and political rights of individuals are emphasized foremost by liberal conceptions of democracy; participation in political decision-*



*making is crucial for republican understanding; and the identification of citizens with collective entities is seen as a necessary precondition of democracy by communitarians”*



Origin of Citizenship	Membership in Universal Community of Humankind	<b>Post-national Citizenship</b> (All inhabitants) UD	<b>Fuzzy Citizenship</b> (All affected) UT	<b>Cosmopolitan Citizenship</b> (All humans) US
	Memberships in Multiple Communities	<b>Partial Citizenships</b> (All migrants) MD	<b>Dual Citizenship</b> (All people with multiple affiliations) MT	<b>Multilevel Citizenship</b> (All members of member state) MS
	Membership in One Particular National Community	<b>Westphalian Citizenship</b> (All-mono-national residents) ND	<b>External Citizenship</b> (All mono-national non-residents) NT	<b>Mediated Citizenship</b> (All mono-nationals through their nation state) NS

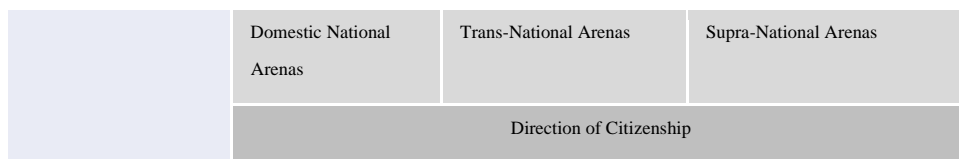


Figure 1. The conceptualization of forms of citizenship

Up until twenty centuries, the relationship between democratic governance and citizenship was limited to adults who dwell on within the territory serving the duty and service for the community. From the nationalistic and Westphalian perspective, exclusivity and congruence are main essence of citizenship. Each nation-state claims a monopoly and exclusive citizenship over individuals and individuals also have exclusive duty and responsibility to its nation-state.

In the traditional discussion on citizenship, “the nation-state presumes a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence internally and sovereignty externally” In the international law, the basic principle in the political membership was claimed “every person should have a nationality and should have one nationality only”. When it comes to democratic legitimacy of the Westphalian, it premises the citizenry as the legislator of democratic rulemaking, the state as the domain of political sovereignty and agent for the practice of democratic laws, and the residents as the subjects of democratic rules.

Today, due to world-wide migration and a multi-layered system of governance, however, exclusivity and congruence, two basic principles are now replaced by multiplicity and contingency. Congruence in a world is gained by normative concepts such as post-national and cosmopolitan citizenship. Based on congruence, Blatter & Schlenker (2014) proposed (A) the “origin of citizenship” dimension, which means political community on which the assignment of membership and corresponding rights, practices and identities rests and (B) the “direction of citizenship” dimension which refers to the political agents to which citizenship

rights, and practices and identities are directed.

On the exclusivity of the nation(state) axis, regarding political membership and decision-making is challenged by two distinct normative principles and empirical transformations (a) the complementation of particularism by universalism and (b) the complementation's of monism by pluralism.

Blatter & Schlenker (2014) draw a typology for a diverse form of citizenship within, above and across nation-state level. In the vertical axis, they differentiate three kinds of membership depending on where citizenship rights, practices, and identities come from: 1) membership within a particular national community, 2) membership in a multiple national community 3) membership in the universal community of humankind.

On the horizontal axis, three political domains can be distinguished to which citizenship rights, practice and identities are directed: the domestic territory in the country of residence, the transnational territory between various nations and supra-national political territory.

### 2.3.2. '9 Types of Citizenship from its Origin and Direction.

#### 1. The Form of Domestic National Arenas

- 1) Westphalian<sup>7</sup> Citizenship: all mono-national residents (National Membership/Domestic National Arenas-ND)

---

<sup>7</sup> Westphalian sovereignty or national sovereignty is the principle under international law that each state has exclusive sovereignty over its territory. This principle is based on the international system of modern sovereign states and is stated in the Charter of the United Nations. "There is essentially no right to intervene in matters within the

This concept is a traditional form of citizenship up until the 20th century in almost all nation-states. Citizenship based on membership within a national community provides rights and identities and practices of residents in the domestic political area. However, as the migration population grows, this concept was challenged by their political integration of the new homeland without giving up their former citizenship. Many immigrants are observed to live in a transnational condition using two languages, travelling back and forth between the two countries, and making a living across national borders. Some scholars, communitarians, republicans and nationalist worry about devaluation or degradation of citizenship not only as identity but legitimate rights and practice.

2) Post-national Citizenship: all inhabitants (Universal membership/Domestic National Arenas-UD)

This perspective premises the conviction that every human being should have equal rights in all habitats. This approach had emerged at the flow of globalization and congruence of nation-states with special ties in various forms across nations. The idea that civil rights are derived from formal membership in a particular national community have become due to oppression and violation of human rights in several countries. The empirical cases that one particular nation cannot necessarily be responsible, and a legitimated polity generated more discourse on universal membership. This post-national citizenship arose as a new model of membership to

---

jurisdiction of any country" No matter how large or small, there is an equal right to sovereignty. Political scientists traced the concept of Westphalia's peace (1648), which ended the 30-year war. The principle of non-interference further developed in the 18th century. The Westphalia system peaked in the 19th and 20th centuries but face the recent challenges of those who support humanitarian intervention.

haze the traditional concept of citizenship bounded by territory and nationality. However, it has been criticized for its low actuality in a reality misrepresenting authentic circumstance.

First, post-national citizenship is regarded no more than a quasi-citizenship which only exist in a normative realm. Whereas socio-economic rights are relatively guaranteed, political rights are less likely to be granted without a concrete form of a polity. Some even mentioned “decitizenship”, which is indicating that the value of citizenship preserving civil rights to permanent residents’ rights are being reduced. Since post-national membership exist without an actual enforcement, it has been also criticized in that it overlooked the limit of absence of explicit legitimacy and political practice in the sovereignty.

Secondly, the term “post-national” itself could be misleading because the enforcement of human rights and treaties usually depends on domestic legislation. These discussions are only effective when they are incorporated into the legislative system and jurisprudential frame in the domestic level. Otherwise, it could lead to a confusing transfer from the institution of the state with its own uniqueness and value to the supra-national arena. (Hansen, 2009)

For the final reason, Hansen also added that it is very biased prejudice that immigrants are always less privileged than permanent residents. Certain types of migrants such as legal permanent residents, political and religious refugees and migrants for better markets and business are actually more privileged than common permanent residents. Especially nowadays, many global corporations and organizations such as EU, are forcing pressure its human right propaganda

3) Partial membership: all migrants (Multiple Citizenship/Domestic National Arenas - MD)

Traditional exclusive idea of national citizenship is usually not acceptable for generations living in an 'age of migration'. Migrants expect their legal rights and duties to be granted not only by their homeland but also in the new country. There is no such a duty for resident countries to provide all their needs and meet the satisfaction that didn't exist for the migrants. The satisfaction and security that migrants found in the citizenship of a resident country largely depend on the degree of satisfaction that they had in the previous home country. In short, these two citizenship concepts, Internal citizenship (citizenship of a homeland) vs External citizenship (citizenship of residence) can be mutually comparable factors. As the time of residence gets longer, the privilege, the extent that 'quasi-citizenship' can provide will grow.

## 2. Form of Citizenship in Supra-National arenas

### 1) Particular membership: all migrants (Particular National/Supra-National Arenas NS)

The premise that should be reminded in the global politics supra-national arenas is that nation-state do their own politics and businesses. Still each state pursues their own interest and power while the influence of individuals or non-governmental organizations is considered weak. The theoretical prediction in state-to-state relations seems to always fit the bill in 21th century with many fluctuations and unpredictable factors. The effect of international agreement or law becomes more effective in domestic political choices in international relations. Due to the establishment of the International Court on Crimes against Humanity or the intervention of United Nations organizations, national sovereignty is less decisive but more restricted. It accepts that the state is the major subject that determines and practices citizenship, however, is not the only one anymore.

2)      Cosmopolitan Citizenship: All humans (Universal membership/Supra-National Arenas, US)

As opposed to the traditional norm of citizenship, cosmopolitans deem individuals the principal agent in supra-national governance. In the philosophy of cosmopolitanism, individuals are urged to become ‘citizens of the world’, devoting themselves to universal community. Dahl asserts that “international organization cannot be a democracy because of its scale, remoteness from people’s lives, the complexity of issues, and the diverse contexts that would make common interests elusive at best”.

Skeptical concerns on cosmopolitanism are still more dominant than the plausibility of it. Cohen pinpointed “the abstractness of cosmopolitan individualism, its failure to take particular identities, context, and traditions into account”. It is widely believed that the enactment of citizenship could be ideally achieved by a national community where citizens share mostly common identity, nationality, solidarity, and trust which easily enables the expression of collective autonomy.

However, on the other hand, the limits of transfer of a formal governance competence to the supra-national levels are always observed. “Whereas supra-national governance is mostly restricted to agenda-setting and state-binding decision making, citizen-binding law-making as well as implementation and enforcement remain squarely under the helm of the nation-state” (Blatter & Schlenker, 2014)

However, in reality, the data show that identity based on local and national community remains far stronger than cosmopolitan orientation. According to the survey by Norris, only one-sixth of the public answered that they feel close to their continent or “the world as a whole” in their primary identity. In the European Union, considerably more people, namely almost 30% feel intensely that they are world

citizens, but this is ambiguous. Other political freedoms such as rights to demonstrate or associate have been only granted by national authorities.

The state cosmopolitanism citizenship of supra-national arenas is still ambiguous. The growth of global social networks and movements and the effects of nongovernmental organization are noticeable, however, the skeptical perception on cosmopolitan rights and identity, citizenship still remains.

3)      Membership citizenship: multileveled citizenship of all citizens of member state (Multiple membership/Supra-National Arena, US)

They found potentials in “multilevel citizenship” based on the bond of multiple communities and directed to supra-national arenas. The European Union is the form of the membership with the rights, practices and identities. EU citizens today have more supra-national citizenship rights than citizenship in any other regions around the world. They have rights to vote, petition and can be represented as individuals in European Parliament at the Union level.

It is reported that now three quarters of citizens in the 27member state of the EU felt European besides their national identities. It is still questionable whether they have solidarity and legitimacy and democracy over their own national sovereignty.

### 3.      Forms of Citizenship in Trans–National Arenas

1)      External Citizenship: all national nonresidents (National Community/Trans-national Arenas, NT)

The concept of “external citizenship” is based on the prior citizenship in a particular national community, however it could transcend national borders between nations. Many countries permit emigration and keep their nationality valid for a certain period. In contrast to the past when nationality is exclusive, the current domestic



policies accept external citizenship which follows an ethnic-nationalistic including “natural affiliations”. Migrants are regarded as socio-economic agents which are highly valued now. According to democratic principles, since the rights and jurisdiction of immigrants and resident people are completed, residents tend to be concerned of losing authority and control over their society. From the republican’s perspective, there is no justification for permitting citizenship rights and status to immigrants who haven’t fulfilled their legal obligation and civil duty.

External citizenship can be criticized for its unfairness in claiming rights and benefit without performing civil obligations.

## 2) Fuzzy Citizenship: all affected (Universal Membership/ Transnational Arenas, UT)

In universal membership, it presumes the idea that all affected individuals should have the right to get involved in the domestic policies by political participation. It was called “Fuzzy citizenship” by Koenig-Archibugi. Robert Dahl, in his book ‘After Revolution’, suggested “everyone who is affected by the decision of a government should have the right to participate in that government” and asked “whether there is not some wisdom in the half serious comment of a friend in Latin America who said that his people should be allowed to participate in our elections, for what happens in the politics of the United States is bound to have profound consequences for this country”

However, this perspective has a bit of controversy and irony. The definition of ‘all affected’ also can be diverse. Held defined “all affected” as those who “significantly affected” by political decision, whereas Warren suggested ‘every individual’ who are potentially affected by a collective decision. However, these assumptions can be disputed in that who is going to be affected could be proved after a long time later than we expected. Secondly, the conclusion of this logic should end up with the

global democracy or global level decision which sound very unlikely to happen as for now. Moreover, the gap of political stance and among those affected could bring more social division because in reality, as the immigrant population increases, the tension between existing residents gets stronger regarding preserving political and economic advantages.

However, in the case of global warming and other environmental issues which are affiliated with many adjacent countries, it surely seems more plausible that political discussion and cooperation between nations are more in need.

The principles and implementation of this citizenship of “all affected” has not been proved enough yet.

### 3) Dual Citizenship: all people with multiple affiliations (Multiple Membership/ Transnational Arenas, MT)

Dual citizenship had been considered as bigamy until 20th century. However, today more states began permitting and even promoting it. More states are pressured to acknowledge the public’s need for international mobilization in the realm of businesses, education, leisure and culture. We still need to look more into transnationalism among the immigrant population. Despite the fact that Dual citizenship is not definitely required for transnational identity or phenomena, in both national communities, it is accelerated.

Some worry whether dual citizenship weakens sense of belonging and identity or even devalues the status of citizenship. Others positively prospect that dual citizenship can be a first stage to lessen the gap between those with legitimate policy and law-making rights and those without it.

Dual citizenship is somewhat expected to have an effect to democratize the transnational arena in which still “imperial relationship” is dominant. This

imperialism in the transnational arena tends to assimilate “peripheral state” of low developed countries into “core state” with more power and influence.

Koenig-Archibugi(2012) insisted that these powerful states should reflect representatives abroad and those who are affected. However, since migrant-receiving countries do not allow actual political right to vote, naturalization is an important prerequisite for the effective representation of affected externals by migrants.

“Dual Citizenship” is not suggested as an ideal or desirable new type of citizenship, rather a practical tool to voice the deficit of the cross-borders. It also brought positive effects on the nation-states and the supra-national arena as well. The idea of multiple citizenship is expected to be helpful to enhance political integration between those who are subjected to domestic law and those who are entitled to legislate a law.

Also, it is to expand the base to accomplish political negotiation among people with multiple citizenship. It will contribute to form the basis of transnational national solidarity. Multiple citizenship will promote a more cosmopolitan attitude among its citizenship holders and provide them with an open mind for potential supra-national society. Recognition and acknowledgement of dual or multiple citizenship is believed to help to overcome the exclusiveness of national identity and citizenship. Now, we can observe the growing acceptance and acknowledgement of dual citizenship compared to the past.

### Summary and Limits of Typology of Form of Citizenship by Blatter & Schlenker (2014)

Orig in of Citiz ensh ip	Membership in Universal Community of Humankind	Post-national Citizenship Disputed existence/dominant aspiration	Fuzzy Citizenship Non- existence/disputed aspiration	Cosmopolitan Citizenship Minimal existence/dominant but disputed aspiration
--------------------------------------	---	--	---	---

	Memberships in Multiple Communities	<b>Partial Citizenships</b> Growing existence/Growing acceptance	<b>Dual Citizenship</b> Strongly growing existence/strong acceptance	<b>Multilevel Citizenship</b> Existing but exceptional/ Strong acceptance
	Membership in One Particular National Community	<b>Westphalian Citizenship</b> Dominant but growing deviations/declining acceptance	<b>External Citizenship</b> Growing existence/ dominant non – acceptance	<b>Mediated Citizenship</b> Dominant but growing deviations/declining acceptance
		Domestic National Arenas	Trans–National Arenas	Supra–National Arenas
		Direction of Citizenship		

**Figure 2 The existence and evaluation of (new) form of citizenship**

#### Summary

Blatter & Schlenker (2014) have tried to suggest a plausible and well-organized typology of citizenship with a certain theoretical background which still has several limits in the definition and classification. The origin of citizenship is based on membership in various political communities as its fundament. The direction of citizenship is focused on the political decision-making process in the arenas with the point of citizenship rights, identity and practice on the other hand. It is meaningful in that it points out some mediate realm between national and cosmopolitanism arenas. Transnational arenas are a relatively new concept discoursed nowadays. With the rapid and enlarging growth of dual citizenship, it is expected to suggest a promising way for the democratization of transnational arenas.

Blatter & Schlenker's typology(2014) have tried to connect philosophical-normative classification with empirical-analytic literature. However, membership in a

particular or multiple national polity has not yet been clearly defined. In contrast, membership in the universal community of humankind, for some, still seems unrealistic and way too idealistic. As for now, the existence of a universal community remains in our normative realm. Due to the lack of concrete and experimental examples with individual types, it doesn't provide each type of citizenship with enough case analysis. The actual conflicts and discourses are not specifically mentioned. Therefore, in this typology, there are two limits that can be deficits in the study.

Limits of reflecting each own nations' diverse conflicts they are facing in a domestic realm by the controversies on citizenship. Very flat analysis based on a non dimensional context such as historical, racial, economic, cultural, religious context of its country. There are not many actual examples of each nation-state on this typology. More in a real world is needed to support and examine this approach.

### 2.3.3. Globalization and Citizenship Perception Change

As the convergence of the globe becomes accelerated, the borders of economy, cultural, political, and have been eroded. Therefore, globalization has been considered as one of the causing effects of weakening the nation's border of territory and social solidarity in each state. There have been two different predictions on how citizenship education should be like in the era of globalization.

Some scholars predicted the emergence of single consumer culture and disband of states' cultures. Others suggested that globalization will result in strengthening the role of each state and require more national and economic roles to defend citizens' rights and advantages of itself in the world-wide competitions and conflicts.

In the nationalistic perspective, citizenship education, so far, has focused on the discourse of emphasizing nation-states' power and intensifying the public's sense of

belonging. Through globalization, people observed that the transference of power from the local government to transnational or supranational organization or cooperation such as multinational cooperation. Therefore, nation-state seems to lose their exclusive source of legitimate power and globalization began to more earn economic, social, cultural and political dominance over the level of nation states.

Several scholars have warned these transforms of the traditional role of citizenships and its education. Delanty (2001) commented 'civic cosmopolitan' in the globalization era and suggested that this convergence of the globe has recast civic identity. However, Delanty still supports that the importance of a national state still remains essential due to the need of protecting citizens' political, economic, civic, legitimate, rights and freedom. He reconfigured the role of citizenship education in three major multilevel-subnational, national and transnational. (Delanty, 2001, *Citizenship in a Global Age*)

From these theoretical responses shows that there are two concerns in citizenship education. First of all, no state has a tendency to relinquish their domestic citizenship education in favor of transnational level citizenship. On the other hand, in preparing globalization, curricular changes have been accompanied with the knowledge of foreign language and understanding in diverse cultures and up-dated high-technology.

More and more countries are participating in the tension between world and local identity. Regional and national citizenship education is promoted to prepare students for global economic competition in school curricula in the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom. (Law, 2004) Regional and national citizenship education is promoted to prepare students for global economic competition in school curricula in the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom. Since the publication of "A Nation at Risk" in 1983, educators in the United States have advocated the education

of citizens and government to improve student citizenship and participation. In 1997, Australia introduced a four-year national citizenship education program to help students reinforce their identity as Australians.

## 2.4. Context and Background of Israeli Society

### 2.4.1 Israel' s National Identity as Jewish State and its Immigration Policy

Israel is relatively young state of seven million people and consists of 80% of Jewish and roughly 20% of Palestinian-Arab population. The State of Israel is an example of a multicultural, multinational country consisting of different cultural groups and two major national groups. Israel is a Jewish nation where the Arab population accounts for about 20% of the population. (Hanan A. Alexander, 2010 )

However, Palestinian-Arab population are unlikely to assimilate into Israel society and remain in minority group with different language and religion and cultural and historical background in Israel. For decades, Israel has been involved in intractable relations with the Palestinian went through several military conflict. Moreover, Israel society is highly divided.

Israel's very restrictive citizenship policy is the clearest indicator of the dominant national citizenship model. However, this policy has been challenged since the early 1990s due to the mass migration of non-Jew immigrants. Israel's traditional civil rights policy has not changed significantly since the 1990s, but two trends are evident: a much more restrictive policy for Arab immigrants; A rather comprehensive policy regarding other immigrants.

To illustrate how these conflicting trends coexist, the study identifies three key

features of Israeli policy.

- 1) widespread use of 'split and rule' techniques;
- 2) policy management through bureaucratic decisions;
- 3) To assimilate liberal and Republican principles to Israel's citizenship policy, while not damaging and strengthening the dominant national citizenship model.

This indicates that while Israel's dominant national citizenship model remains stable and can successfully address important obstacles, there are limited opportunities to include more specific non-Jew populations in Israeli politics. Israel is defined as Jewish and democratic state. These two definitions pose a great challenge in a curriculum. Being defined by 'Jewish state, its national identity is based on ethnic and religion. Along with national confrontations, internal divisions are reflected in Israeli education system. (Ichilov, Orit. 2003)

When Israel is declared a Jewish state, the option of establishing itself as a nation of all nations (the 'Israel' state) or as a bilateral state seems to be beyond question. Israel became a Jewish nation, an Israelite citizen shared equally by all members and a Jewish people identified with Israel and foreign nations abroad. Therefore, Israel adopted the model to return to Eastern Europe. The nationality originated in Eastern Europe is based on a shared origin and historical culture, but citizenship is mainly based on the humanist principle of free equality in Western Europe.

This dogmatic classification and the resulting normative assumptions have actually lost strength over the years but are still used as typology. Although not exclusive, it gave preference for Jewish immigration, but at this early stage the borders of the Jewish people were still vague. The nature and values of communities and countries are reflected in the way they define their boundaries and the means they provide for



those who wish to participate. Thus, immigration policies based on ethnic minority affinity point to societies anchoring collective identities in the past, and countries with rules based on individual citizenship requirements reflect a more open and comprehensive concept of nationalism.

Each country's immigration and naturalization policies are determined at the time of introduction, and the definition of these boundaries infuses real content into the vision. However, both the vision and its contents can be modified according to the historical situation. For example, the US immigration policy adopted after World War II is based on neutral immigration standards, reflecting the fact that citizenship is an individual-free based immigration agency.

Likewise, in the early 2000s, Germany incorporated citizenship principles into national naturalization laws to promote the assimilation and naturalization of veterans. On the other hand, since the fall of the Soviet Union, the nationality law of the Baltic States reflects the importance of the national and historical foundation of national identity from them by granting citizenship to the descendants of the people, even though they have lived abroad for many years. Israel's policy was also devised in an attempt to build a national Jewish identity based on the creative interpretation of religious traditions that focused on building a modern, comprehensive Jewish people when David Ben Gurion founded the country. However, in Israel, these changes did not replace the basic principles originally set up by Ben Gurion. Rather, they actually confirmed their continued commitment to these basic principles.

#### 2.4.2. Multiculturality in Israel' s Society – Four Divided Groups in Israel

Israel education is divided into several subgroups; One is for Secular Jewish groups;

another is religious Jewish groups and the other is education for Arabs. Due to these subgroups of different values coexisting in Israel, there are four types of schools; Hebrew State Schools (41.5%), State Religious Schools (14.0%), Arab-Israeli (27%), Ultra-Orthodox (17%) (Peter Lemish, 2003)

#### (1) Ultra- Orthodox Group

The ultra-orthodox community, which accounts for 9% of the state's population, lives in Israel, as elsewhere in the world, apart from non-religious Jews and non-Jews. In doing so, the community lives up to the maximum surviving survivors of the 'state in the state'. This means that community life is generally completely separate from all other parts of Israeli society, except occasionally at work.

Television is not normally included in the home, but media consumption in newspapers and radio is increasing. Community members live by the order of religious law but obey civil law unless the rabbi authorities declare that the law violates the religious law. (Lemish, 2003)

The citizen vision of the Haredina Orthodox Community is to enable members of the community to live a life of faith in accordance with the teachings and laws of Judaism. Thus, the ultra-orthodox community is most vague about the value of citizenship, the existence of the state of Israel, and democracy.

As secular Jews often complain, ultra-Orthodox organizations benefit from the benefits provided by rabbinically controlled political leadership, including the military-provided security and military service exemption for all women and most men, but the lives of members Resolutely opposes attempts to endanger or link Jewish values to the state.

Socialization from this comprehensive environment to 'citizen vision' begins with

ultra-orthodox families through lifestyle, customs and celebrations. Outside the home, synagogues and educational institutions develop children's identity and learn about common life. With the help of the state, the ultra-orthodox community maintains a separate educational system at all grade levels. Separate schools for men and women are provided at the beginning of elementary school.

Religious studies are dominant at all levels of school, but some secular studies are mainly included in the curriculum of advanced students such as mathematics and later science and computing. Citizenship as a formal discipline is not included in any level of curriculum.

## (2) Secular Jewish Group

The secular Jewish community, which accounts for 50% of the Israeli people, is the most dominant group in Israel as a dominant group in the upper and middle classes, as well as in the elite of government services, academia and media, educational and cultural institutions. The current division between the Likud Party and the Labor Party is due to a joint agreement in Israel's Declaration of Independence at the time of Israel's independence.

In other words, Israel follows the principle of being a Jewish and democratic state, but on the other hand, it is worth noting that attempts have been made to strengthen the democratic character of the state by the Labor Party and the Meretz / Citizenship Party. It is possible to point out some key characteristics of civil education pursued by secular Israelis.

- There are several forms of civic education. In fact, there are as many civic educations as the joint system. Each system is a 'total' in the development of a community-specific identity, value, and way of life and is literally injected from the

lives of Israeli citizens to the grave from the womb.

- The civic curriculum that begins in families and immediate communities expands in the learning process through the lives of children in schools and the military, so schools and civic learning are seen as integrated, expressed and socialized.

One of the specific outcomes and outcomes of civic education is that members of the community group understand their lives in Israeli society only when expressing their identity as an Israeli citizen, voting, events, conflicts within Israeli society, and Arab-Israeli conflict. Rather, they are constructively learning the special and interpretive lenses they use to interpret or give meaning to their 'universalism'.

### (3) National Religious Group

The ethnic and religious Jewish community, which accounts for 15% of the population, has been actively involved not only in the development of the state of Israel, but also in the Zionist movement of the whole country. They lived and worked in the city and suburbs of religious agricultural settlements with secular Jews, occupying the leader of the movement that began in 1968, and settled with about 100 million Jewish settlers in the Palestinian territories.

The group's Jewish state of Israel's survival as a nation is based on religious beliefs, lifestyles and values, as well as nationalist spirit.

The community is also very concerned about the nature of an increasingly secular, individualistic, and non-Jewish Israeli society and seeks to influence civil life through control of citizenship petitions, marriage, divorce, burial, and the Ministry of Education. They often try to use political strength with orthodox.

Socialization of civic-religious life, beginning in families and synagogues, continues in separate religious education streams, and increasingly there are separate schools for boys and girls. The curriculum at all levels is value-oriented and includes

extensive religious studies, Jewish history, Hebrew grammar and literature, geography, and some science. Citizens teach in secondary schools and students on the academic tracks can take math tests.

#### (4) Muslim Palestinian Group

Israeli citizens of Palestine lived on their lands for generations and are members of a historic community that remained in Israel after the 1948/9 years of division and war. Today, Palestinians make up 19% of Israeli citizens. The state defines them according to religious affiliations, that is, Muslims, Christians, Druzes, and Cherkessia, but more and more community members are taking ethnic political identities as Israeli Palestinian citizens. (Al-Haj, 1995, 2002). Most of the Palestinians live in historic villages or in separate neighborhoods within common cities such as Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Haifa, Ramli or Lord.

Many Palestinian people support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state within the territory currently occupied. On the other hand, it recognizes most Israeli citizenship and demands that Israel be transformed into liberal democracy. According to Maxim from Palestine Professor Knesset Azumi Bashar Ra, this is the state of all people. There are two double criticisms in this position: the debate over the state of the Jewish people against Israel's existing legal definitions; For example, against public services, against well documented secondary status and discrimination against Palestinian citizens in terms of vocational access, educational performance and economic success (Adan et al., 2000; Al Haj, 2002; Sa'di, 2002)

Palestinian students attend separate schools and teach in Arabic, but formal studies of Arabic culture and people's literature and history are limited. Their curriculum includes extensive research in Jewish history, Hebrew grammar, and literature in

secondary academic languages and English. Citizens study in secondary schools according to the national curriculum, and students on the academic track take the national math test for citizenship.

### 2.4.3. Israel' s Dilemmas in Citizenship Education

Shortly before the founding of the state of Israel, the founders of the state of Israel wondered whether they should reach a decision on national identity. Will it pursue a civil republic or a national Jewish nation? If it were a national Jewish nation, there had to be a standard for how to define the nation and how Arabs or other non-Jews could join the nation. It was a question of whether to consider the centrality of religion in Jewish history, influenced by secular birthplace and discrimination standards, or by rules established by Jewish law.

These basic questions turned into political issues when the immigration, citizenship and citizen registration policies had to be formulated. In a deeper sense, this fundamental ruling reflected the way Israel's policy makers tried to form a national identity and connect the historic cracks created by Zionism in Jewish history. Like other national movements, Zionism had to decide how to truly express its historical identity, but on the one hand it did not deny that it was a secular and modern phenomenon, but rather was re-created from the past.

Israel people are decisive in this initiative as the first prime minister of Israel's country, David Ben Gurion, formulates Israel's immigration policy based on a unique Zionist worldview aiming to design a new collective identity in a unique historical moment. Claim to have played a role. Ben Gurion claims that the government made some important decisions that have had a decisive effect on Israel's Jewish, democratic and secular nature, based on archives that were first released in the 1950s. Despite the complex linkages with religious traditions, these discussions are also

primarily historical, and there have been major changes since the 1950s, but Ben Gurion's basic principles remain valid to this day. The founder of the Zionist movement, Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl, appeared to represent a civil liberal approach formed in Western-Central Europe, and regarded the Jewish state as a place to realize the ideal of civil equality without discrimination. (S. Avineri Herzl, 2007)

As a result of this approach, Herzl defended his vision for the Jewish state by giving full membership and equality to non-Jewish citizens, including married families and offspring. In contrast to Herzl's liberal approach, the Jewish national ethnic approach originated in Eastern Europe and was based on the people belonging to the Jewish people. (A. Gal, 2010)

The national emphasis enabled people to advocate this approach. This approach was dominant in the main wing of the Israeli labor movement. The nationalist emphasis enabled advocates of this approach, which prevailed in the main wings of the Israeli labor movement during the pre-Israeli state, to unravel themselves from religious traditions and to develop the opposite approach, the diaspora culture they represent. Unlike orthodox anti-Zionists who considered national thought to be a secular modern departure from Jewish religious heritage, religious Zionists found a variety of ways to fit Judaism into the Zionist movement. This was to imagine the possibility that religious Zionists, in some cases, understood Zionism as a movement exclusively related to the physical structure, or in other cases through non-religious leadership, but encompassed the religious Messianic revolution.

But in general, even religious Zionists disagreed with non-Zionist coexists. Jewish group boundaries are subject to religious rules. Without them, Zionism would lose its basic legitimacy as a representative movement.

In Israel education issues, two opposite curricular pressures in the education system are evidently observable. The first pressure is motivated by the aspiration of an elite

group to be more adapted to global circumstances and have more cosmopolitan identity. The second motivation is an opposite tendency to solidify local social groups, strengthen their own identity and assure their own common agenda and challenge their own social status. (Ram, U., 2004)

Israel Educational policies attempt to form a social unity (Jewish population including immigrants from Europe, North Africa, and Americas, with different religious or secular orientations) and it was essential to maintain the existence of the nation-state. (Al-Haj, 2002) Since Israel is now faced with political and military conflicts in and out, the state's social cohesion issue is a big challenge for not only for curriculum developers but also for other authorities of education.

#### 2.4.4. Controversies on Israel Citizenship Education

The analysis of the role and learning of the two main citizenship myths, 'Israel is a Jewish and Democratic State' and 'Israel is a Jewish State', are not only how the learning in the formation of hegemony, such as civil militarism, but also the statistics and social curriculum of schools. It shows whether it is done through militarism of family, media, family, media, and citizens.

The Israel case study provides insight into understanding the limitations of citizen and citizen education to develop democratic oriented values such as human rights, freedom, justice, tolerance, citizenship, coexistence, pluralism and pluralism. Israel's civil life is seen as communal, participatory, controversial, demanding, dynamic, constantly changing, life-threatening, and therefore reversible. (Lemish, 2003)

On the other hand, democracy is a means of managing the political process, not the world of meaningful values, that of the citizens of Israel. There are three main mechanisms in Israeli civic education.

##### 1) Myth that we are a citizen



- 2) Interrelationship between the community or the common structure of Israeli society (government) and schools
- 3) Citizenship education in schools and the military, one of the major social institutions in Israeli society

Democratization can also be considered as another mechanism claimed by the Ministry of Education. Two major areas of conflict in Israeli civic education can be noted. (Lemish, 2003)

1) First, empirically and legally, Israel is a pluralistic society. 81% of citizens are Jewish and 19% are Palestinians with 300,000 foreign workers with temporary residence permits. Thus, the normalized meaning of Gestalt in relation to civil mythology (Israel as a Jewish state, Israel as a Jewish state) makes Israel's Palestinian citizens transparent, and Israel, one of the main goals of Zionism, in law as well as in everyday discourse.

As a Jewish state, the fear that this mythological goal will not be realized is shared across the political spectrum, as it reappeared in a recent parliamentary debate. It has led Palestine and Occupation in Israel to lead much of the 'free' part of the Arab Israeli community to find a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict so that the high birth rates do not cause demographic changes in Israel and the occupied Palestine. We believe that democracy can transform Israel into a multinational Jewish-Palestinian state.

2) Second, this myth, understood through the theory of hegemony, breathes life at every level in Israeli society. Therefore, we should be able to observe their implementation through the formation or mechanism of hegemony applied by

government, military, media, economic and welfare institutions.

In the ancestors of everyday practice and understanding, the Democratic Party is sublimated to the dominant Jew. In short, these are not two identical values. There is no paradigm for two people to work together. The controversial nature of the interrelationship between the spirit of nationalism and the value of democracy is one of the main issues that the Ministry of Education recently attended to citizenship education textbooks for use by citizens in all secondary schools.

World citizenship, which aims to equally embrace nationalism and more diverse people, can be introduced as the value of democracy. Rather, in the Israeli vocabulary, “democratic” refers to the political process in which ultimate citizen values and myths are achieved to keep Israel as a Jewish state. (Adan, H., Ashkenazi, V& Alperson, B, 2000)

In the second and third units of textbooks, we apply the political science approach to civic education. The first unit (e.g., democracy and government, political parties, states, local governments, etc.) presents different ways to understand the definition of a democratic and Jewish state and also the Gestalt that explains the myth of becoming a true Israeli. Critics of new textbooks such as Hazony (2000) and Polisar (2001) do not object to allowing students to study this discussion.

Rather, they were concerned about the historical need to ensure that Israel would become a Jewish state. It requires stronger grounds and expressions. These and other ideological critics of the new text, including the current Minister of Nationalist Education, may be concerned about the existence of the debate and may try to silence it through sanctions from Israeli society.

In 1994, the citizenship curriculum and ‘To Be Citizens in Israel’ shifted from a Jewish-Zionist monolithic interpretation of Israeli citizens (Pinson, 2000) to a pluralistic approach that takes into account the complex composition of Israeli

society. In accordance with the decision to integrate the curriculum at all state high schools, the Curriculum Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 6) suggest that the development of common citizenship should be based on the introduction of a political system called "dynamic and pluralistic".

Halleli Pinson (2007) explores how Israeli citizenship and citizen group members are defined by formal curriculum and textbooks for civic education, especially the tension between inclusion and exclusion and civic education as a space for national construction and national formation. The method was studied. Al-Haj (2005) and Levy (2005) respectively point out that when analyzing historical curriculum and educational policies, Israel's education is used to create a somewhat competitive national construction agenda and to develop a shared democratic civil society. In this regard, in the context of deeply divided and conflicting societies like Israel, civic education can be seen as a potential space to compete for universal and specific messages. (Ministry of Education, 1994)

Citizenship education: Curriculum guidelines for high schools in the Jewish sectors (general state schools and religious state schools), the Arab sector and the Druze sector. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education. Citizenship education in Israel between April and August 2001, in an analysis of 13 interviews with Ministry of Education officials involved in the design and implementation of the Citizenship Education Curriculum, specifically to promote the concept of plural citizenship in countries defined as 'Jewish and Democracy' This study examines how citizen education curriculum promotes the concept of democratic citizenship.

### **(1) “Nationalism vs Globalism” or “Universal vs Particularism”: Universality and specificity challenges**

We need to understand why citizenship politics entails a relationship between citizenship and ethnicity and how this relationship is structured convincingly.

As proposed by Heater (1999), seeing nationality and citizenship as twin concepts is a modernist idea that is closely related to the emergence of each country and the universal assumption that each country has its own decision-making power. This link between states and states creates an estimated overlap between citizenship and nationality, ethnicity and demo.

However, modern social and political changes, such as globalization, migration movements, and what is often referred to as the decline of the state-state, have heightened the need to conflict and challenge these assumptions and critically examine the relationship between this nationalism and globalism. Therefore, to overcome exclusion practices and include other forms of affiliation under the concept of citizenship, we have to question this link, and to do so, we need to understand how and why social space. Citizenship is linked to the state.

On the other hand, it is based on the principle of universality. "Everyone has citizenship" (United Nations, 1948) But at the same time, it is the process of determining who is the citizen and who does not include the exclusion mechanism that defines "us" and "us." (Arnot & Dillabough, 2000) In order to fully understand this tension, we first need to understand the tension between universalism and specialism. Laclau (1995) claims that the problem lies in the essence of universalism. He believes that universalism lacks concrete content, but universalism is a natural attribute in nature, but it seems that there is a contradiction that results in specialism as soon as it has a certain content.

The tension between Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism in the Israeli citizenship debate can be seen as the tension between universalism and specialism. Specialism in citizenship does not disappear by using the language of universal democracy or

assuming that specialism is universal. (Carter, Donald, & Squires, 1993)

Mouffe's "radical democracy" suggests that an appropriate citizenship model should include the concepts of individual identity, group identity and a common political community. At the core of Mouffe's radical democracy model is the concept of pluralism, where power relations must be considered, and differences should be realized rather than consensus.

Thus, radical democracy emphasizes the diversity and tensions of multiplicity of loyalty in a new global era, without giving up ideas such as equality and political communities. One of the main concerns of this model is how to organize the "us", the political identity of radical democratic citizens, on the one hand it is simply one identity, but on the other it is not the dominant identity.

## **(2) Zionism vs Post Zionism in Israel citizenship education**

Zionism is marked as the core of Israel national identity. The majority of Zionists view it as a movement of Jewish national self-determination and self-expression that has aimed to establish and maintain Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Zionist education has a two-sided mission that is central to Israel citizenship education. Post-Zionism, under the influence of Hegelism and critical historians, sociologists, philosophers and political theorists, challenges the consensus of view on Zionism. They conceive colonialist movements that impose Western hegemony on the native Arab people of Palestine and that leads to the oppressions of other groups, such as "Mizrahim" ("Oriental", or "Arab" Jews), women, immigrants from the former Soviet Union and non-Jewish foreign workers. Post-Zionists sharing left-learning Hegelian thoughts, criticizes Zionist education is coercive agent of aggressive ideology and threatens democracy in Israel and the Middle East.

### **(3) Transversal Citizenship Concept - From Monolithic to Pluralistic Definition on Israel Citizenship**

There was widespread consensus that education officials providing official Israeli curriculum, regardless of country or religion, should promote the definition of Israel as a nation and democracy. In particular, looking at their responses to the purpose of the curriculum on Israel's double justice reveals a variety of interpretations that significantly reflect tension and conflict. The starting point of the Israeli civic curriculum declares the established principle that Israel is a Jewish and democratic country. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, pages 29-30, original emphasis)

However, it is not necessary to say that there are no resolutions to the various conflicts arising from these two compatible definitions, and that conclusions are reached in the classroom. People still have the view that this is not possible, but Israel's new civil education curriculum asks open questions in the classroom about what it means to be Arab in the Israeli state and to be democratic and at the same time being Jewish.

Unlike previous civic textbooks that defined the state of Israel as a Jewish state and consensus on the issue between nationality and citizenship, 'To Be Citizens' seems to have taken a different perspective. The effort to expose the various conflicts in Israeli society under the curriculum's direction appears to have adopted a multi-disciplinary approach interpreted by Mouffe(1995), which presents a complex picture of the various positions in Israeli society. Israeli students exposed to various interpretations, such as the above excerpt, may argue that they are likely to develop a critical understanding of the tensions inherent in the Zionist discourse of Israeli citizenship, and at least respect or alternatively allow it. The textbook claims to be

designed to encourage cross-citizenship concepts by engaging students in dialogue. (Yuval-Davis, 1999)

The arrangement of the methods discussed shows that this textbook takes a clear stand on the desirable definition of Israeli citizenship. The 'cross-citizenship' concept introduces a fictional continuum between Zionist and democratic citizenship, and the textbook is an approach that clarifies the boundary between central Zionist interpretations and rejects the Jewish character or democratic justice of the state. It is pushed to the edge of this virtual continuum. The suggestion of multiple approaches to this continuum as a distinction between center and periphery can be interpreted in terms of the tension between inclusion and exclusion, in which the concept of citizenship is inherent.

Positioning different views of citizenship and the existence of groups in the perceived continuum acts as an exclusion practice, while alternative views of Zionists face limitations and Zionist interpretations link Israel's collective ethos with the masses. It remains unresolved in the ring. As seen in the example below, the tension between Israel's society and the desire to use a civic curriculum to develop a perception of critical ideology and a variety of ideologies, and the tension between the desire to strengthen the hierarchical structure of a Zionist approach, as seen in the example below. Expressed by officials. But the ultimate goal of the curriculum is not only to develop critical thinking, but also to accept and legalize the national framework as a Jewish and democratic state. Focusing on national-state discourse, education officials view the dual definition of the modern Israeli state as the only acceptable approach, excluding other alternative approaches as 'anti-national'.

#### **(4) Between Democratic Citizenship and Nationhood, -From Monolithic to Pluralistic Approach**

Between Democratic Citizenship and National Fidelity and from a Singlism to a Pluralist Approach, Citizenship Education Curriculum 'To Be Citizens' in 1994, consisted of a more Pluralistic account of the complexity of Israeli society in a single interpretation of Israeli citizenship in Jewish Zionism.

As the state's high school curriculum is set to unify the curriculum, the curriculum guidance should be based on the introduction of the Israeli political system in which general citizenship development is 'dynamic and pluralistic' and exploration of the various political and social perspectives of Israeli society. Suggested. And Israel's civic education textbook 'To Be Citizens' discusses different approaches to the definition of the state of Israel

#### 2.4.5. An analysis on Israel Civic Curriculum – ‘To Be Citizens in Israel’

However, since the establishment of Israel state 1948, Israel's national ethos has been following Jewish based Zionism. Education was a very important instrumental tool of nation-building and the burgeoning educational system as a means of advancing important policy objectives such as building a viable nation-state and furthering the ‘ingathering of the exiles’ from all over the countries. (nearly 1000 000 new immigrants arrived in the country between 1948.-1960)

However, in recent decades, the authority and power of the central educational government has weakened going through political accidents and civil war within the countries against Arabic residents. Consequently, formal schooling in Israel is marked by less centralization and standardization.

National education system once was used as a means to strengthen homogenous



identity in a national community within geographical territory. However, Israel education also promotes internalization agendas in their curriculum and institutions.

To Be Citizens is an Israeli civic education textbook, the following quote illustrates the emergence of democratic education as a central theme in education in Israel in 1980s:

*The education system calls for a comprehensive, extensive and constant educational action for reinforcing democratic values in the education we provide .... There is a need to develop among our students the ability and the willingness for co-existence despite the differences between us. Educators should act constantly to abolish prejudice amongst students. (Ministry of Education, 1984, p. 1)*

In 1989, the Minister of Education formed a new curriculum committee for citizenship research with the prospect of designing a new, comprehensive and democratic, centered civic curriculum. In an interview with the Interior Ministry officials who participated in the committee, the following two excerpts stated:

The decision to take this move that says "Let's examine the curriculum" was taken when Izthak Navon was the Minister of Education and the emphasis that he made, at least symbolically, by creating the Department for Democratic and Coexistence Education. As well as the background of the Kahanist challenge, what it means is that everything was as a result of the events that took place in the 1980s which underlined the decision to call the committee. The work of the committee was carried out in light of these critiques that most of its members shared. The aims were not to update the ideas underpinning the old curriculum, but rather to deal with those challenges.

In the 1990s, Israeli democracy gradually changed, and they also wanted to accommodate the needs of the Israeli minority and the needs of the majority of Israeli Jews. Also, in Israeli society, especially after 1973, other social changes brought about a "dream" like a melting pot problem.

The issue of division in Israeli society, the idea that we should take revenge, and the 'multicultural' approach rather than the one like "Melting Pot" also influenced the need to change the curriculum.

As seen in the comments of the two committees of the Ministry of Education above, the need to reconsider Israel's citizen curriculum emerged as the Ministry of Education's awareness increased. Forming citizenship education as a need to address the educational challenges that create these tensions can be interpreted more or less as a perception of the tension between Israel's conception of citizenship and its inherent acceptance and exclusion. It is especially strengthened if it is derived from the relationship between Israel's definition of a Jewish nation and its accompanying citizenship and patriotism.

Accordingly, the Commission's major innovation proposal, which completed its work in 1994, was the recommendation to create the first integrated curriculum for all state high schools (ie, general, religious Jewish and Arab schools). It explicitly required that the education system support a more comprehensive concept of civil education.

*"Students also should acknowledge the existence of the Israeli state as the state of the Jewish people and understand its commitment to the Jewish people in the Diasporas" (Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 7)*

*The new curriculum offers a broad common citizenship notion to all students .... [Thus] there is no justification for maintaining separate curricula for the different state school sectors ....*

*This curriculum for civic education is intended for all high schools in the academic route and is common to all sectors of the education system: Jewish education (general and religious), Arab education and Druze education. (Ministry of Education, 1994)*

Two officials from the Ministry of Education, who were involved in the design and implementation of the curriculum, interpreted it as an opportunity to use the curriculum unification to alleviate the segregated features of the Israeli society and the educational system. And they thought it would be possible to reduce conflict in conflict through this unified civil education curriculum. Finally, the excerpt below may suggest that in an interview with one of the committee members, I understand that there is a need to build a common political identity behind the decision to integrate the civic curriculum.

*"I think that it is very important that there would be at least one curriculum subject that is common to everyone. It is hard to imagine that we live in the same state and have different citizenship"*

"Because I don't want us to become a sectarian, tribal society in which everyone's for themselves, Arabs, newcomers, Ashkenazi, religious, ultra-religious. You know what? I want to build something common to all students in this state, and it is a good thing, because otherwise we will turn into Lebanon."

However, Heater (1999) claims: "You must express simple statements that schools can use to make disparate people a nation. But don't tempt readers because this is a

simple process." 'To Be Citizens' explains the complex meaning of Israeli citizenship at the beginning, and the declaration of independence in the introduction symbolizes the establishment of the state of Israel.

*The different approaches in relation to the definition of the State of Israel could be presented on a continuum. On the one end, one can find the approach of the State of Israel as a Torah State .... On the other end one can find the approach of the State of Israel as a state of all its citizens, a state which does not identify with the Jewish nation but is rather a democratic state that is committed to full equal rights for all its citizens.... Between these two ends one can find the Zionist approaches which follow the Statement of Independence and acknowledge the fact that the State of Israel is a Jewish and democratic state. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, pp. 29-30, original emphasis)*

Curriculum Guidelines: "Students must also acknowledge and understand the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish nation."

The Israeli government's official curriculum presents two perspectives on the definition of the state of Israel. The diversity of perspectives expressed by education officials regarding justice as a Jewish and democratic state must also be discussed in the civic curriculum, and the concept of Israeli citizenship and citizenship will resonate with society in a way that is discussed in textbooks. The complex meaning of Israeli citizens adopted by 'To Be Citizens' for the citizenship curriculum is introduced as follows.

The starting point of this book is the Declaration of Independence-the Statement

of Independence-that symbolizes the establishment of the State of Israel. This statement.

*The starting point of this book is the Declaration of Independence-the Statement of Independence-that symbolizes the establishment of the State of Israel. This statement expresses the vision of the founding fathers with regard to the desirable nature of the state as a Jewish and democratic state, a state of all the citizens-Jews, Arabs, Druze and Cherkasy, who live within the boundaries of the state and also the state of the Jewish people who live in the diasporas and are not citizens of the state. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, p. 5)*

The Jewish people here refer to those of the Jewish people before the status of citizens of the countries living in Diasporas around the world. However, this quote is rather ambiguous. Israel is portrayed as a nation of all citizens and is an idea that leads to liberal democratic citizen discourse that understands the members of politics according to universal standards. At the same time, Israel is described as the home of the Jewish state and the entire Jewish people. Supporting this approach is the key to the nation gathering diaspora and the relationship between the Jewish people and the land of Israel. It represents a specific, exclusive approach to Israeli citizenship and constitutes a political community centered on kinship. (Halleli Pinson, 2007)

Is it possible to educate inclusive citizen identities for future citizens, defined as the state of the Jewish people? The partial answer to this question can be seen through another educational goal as outlined in the curriculum guidelines.

*The concept of citizenship refers to the relationship between individuals and the state they live in. Citizenship in a democratic state*

*is one of the expressions of the idea of the social contract: it expresses the nature of the mutual relationships between the individuals that form the society and the government, and also the nature of the relationship between the individuals themselves, which allows everyone to live as a human being within a state, or in other words, to assert their natural rights. (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 269, original emphasis)*

The state also shares its nationality to those who were not citizens and is structured according to its pursuing values. Israel's civic education textbook 'To be Citizens' strengthens the exclusive link between Israeli citizenship and Jewish citizenship. This complex and diverse discourse is clearly expressed when examining other interpretations of citizenship of 'To Be Citizens'. As a concept of abstraction in defining citizenship, discourse developed by textbooks can be identified as free democracy. The emphasis on individual rights, along with the use of terms such as the construction of the concept of citizenship in terms of personal and national relations and individual natural rights, indicates that textbooks are based on liberalism.

However, despite the declaration to make citizen education pluralistic and inclusive, the Zionist state discourse still stands out in the formal debate. In the discourse of democracy, however, a more ambiguous attitude appears when textbooks discuss the concept of citizenship in the Israeli context. For example, 'To Be Citizens' says as following at 'The Law of Return' (1950)

*Many people see the Law of Return as the heart of the Zionist ideal and of the Zionist state. In this law, the founders of the state seek to implement the idea of "the natural right" of each Jew to live in his own*

*state, if he wishes to .... The aim of the Law of Return is to execute the goal that was set by the Declaration of Independence: to establish a state for the Jewish people. (Ministry of Education, 2000, p 266)*

In a rather paradoxical way, being a citizen relies on a free democratic language to define Israel as a Jewish state and explains the importance of one of the most important legislation to secure the majority of the Jews: The Law of Return<sup>8</sup>. The legitimacy of the natural rights of the Jewish state is very different from the interpretation provided by textbooks of previous generations. (Pinson, 2000)

To Be Citizens refers to the notion of "a state with a right to a state" provided by Resnik (1999), thus universalizing the unique and special relationship between Israeli citizenship and Jewish citizenship. However, Israeli society is already called a multicultural society. Citizenship education textbooks emphasize the importance of embracing diversity and discussing differences. The ambiguity of comparing the diversity of discourses with the formal discourses of civic education may be due to the simultaneous use of exclusion and inclusive practices when referring to the

---

<sup>8</sup> The Law of Return (Hebrew: Hawk Hab) is an Israeli law passed in July 1950, allowing Jews to come and live in Israel to gain Israeli citizenship. Article 1 of the Return Act declares that "all Jews have the right to come to this country as Ole [immigrants]". The Law of Return (1950) strengthens the legitimacy of the founding of Israel and guarantees the right of all Jews or descendants of the Jews to "return" to the land of Israel. It applies to laws that establish and strengthen Israel's relationship with Israeli citizens. The Israeli state regards Jews scattered around the world as diaspora as 'exiled Jews' according to Zionist principles and as potential Israeli citizens. (Kretzmer, 1987)

Effectively, it means that the right to belong to the nation of Israel has been extended to all Jews around the world. Thus, the state of Israel is regarded as a potential citizen by all Jews. (Kimmerling, 2001). Israel's return and citizenship laws are conceptually bound by law. This is an important exclusion mechanism designed to sustain the Jews and their Jews in the state of Israel, the link between the process of naturalization and the principle of asylum that supports the law of return.

nature and boundaries of Israeli society and the positions of other social groups within it. When dealing with the principles of the democratic system, 'To Be Citizens' emphasizes the importance of the concept of pluralism and gives students a definition that looks like the concept of Mouffe.

*Pluralism is a fundamental democratic principle. It means not only the existence of diverse groups in the state, but also the recognition in their right to express their different worldviews, interests and lifestyle .... Pluralism allows different groups to preserve their unique identity while maintaining a common and shared basis of society as a whole. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, p.110)*

Emphasizes that Israeli society must recognize and respect the diversity that can arise from being exposed to different cultures and languages for many years under the commonality of the Jewish people. Diversity in To Be Citizens refers to pluralism that presupposes respect for one value.

*The extent to which Israeli society gives legitimacy to social diversity in general, and national and religious diversity (Arabs and Druze) in particular, will be discussed. (Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 16)*

*Israeli society is a heterogeneous society. The diverse groups that comprise the society are different from each other in their national, religious, ethnic, political and class origin and belonging .... This is why Israeli society is defined as a multiethnic and multicultural society with a national minority. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, pp. 276-277)*

It is interesting to note, however, that textbooks are presented as a challenge facing



Arab-states, even if they do not ignore the difficulties faced by the Arab-Palestinian minority of Israel.

As you can see from the textbook excerpt above, there is a difference between Israel as a multicultural country and Israel's ethnic minority. This distinction refers to the multicultural nature of Israeli society as diversity within mainstream Judaism, but the Arab-Palestinian conflict is defined at a slightly different level of multicultural and multiethnicity within Israeli groups.

Another tension in inclusion and exclusion in the civil curriculum emerges from the way it refers to the state of the Palestinian people. While the old textbook emphasized that Israel is a homogenous society, the new textbook describes the Palestinian minority in Israel as a religious minority. Meanwhile, this textbook recognizes the Arab-Palestinian minority as a national minority and recognizes their marginal position within Israeli society. The civil education textbooks never ignore the many difficulties faced by Arab-Palestinians. It has been suggested as a cause of cracks between Palestinian citizens or Arab-Palestinian and Jewish Israelis, but it is not even a challenge to Israel's democracy.

On the one hand, the Palestinian people are regarded as a minority issue in Israel and also acknowledge their alienation in Israeli society. On the other hand, however, the issue is addressed without challenging the discourse of citizenship as a member of the Israeli national group. Therefore, he is exclusive to all who do not belong to Israeli citizenship. The tension between some degree of inclusion, while strengthening the exclusion principle derived from the relationship between Israeli citizenship and Jewish groups, is even more important in the following example.

*Certain groups in the Jewish population mistrust the Arab because of their identification with the Palestinian struggle for a Palestinian state*

*alongside the State of Israel. One expression of this feeling of mistrust is the call of parts of the Jewish sector to deprive the Arab citizens of their right to participate in some of the crucial political and public decisions, such as the decision regarding the future of Judah and Samaria ... It is important to state that these views contradict the democratic nature of the State of Israel. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, pp. 289-290)*

*The ideological-political cleavage in Israel expresses the dispute in Jewish Israeli society about the solution for the Israeli-Arab and the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts, since the implementation of such a solution is a resolution with regard to the boundaries of the State of Israel. (Ministry of Education, 2000b, pp.332)*

These two parts reveal the ambiguous stance of citizenship in Israeli society in To Be Citizens. On the one hand, the exclusion of Palestinian citizens in the decision-making process of Israeli society was also described as non-democratic. However, even within Israel, the gap between the right and the left is only referred to as an issue within Israel, when discussed. Arab-Palestinian citizens are still outside this debate and are therefore at the edge of Israeli society.

The official position expressed through textbooks classifies citizenship education into two areas. First, education for Jews focused on developing a sense of belonging to the Jewish community by bringing ethnic discourse with an ethno-national approach, and second, education for non-Jews who have been drawn from a liberal-democratic approach to citizenship. In these two rather distracting frameworks, the formal position pursues two ways of civic education. This distinction is consistent with the hierarchical structure of Israeli citizenship.

#### 2.4.6. Globalization and CE Issues in Israel National Curriculum

As most countries are under the influence of globalization, Israel is also in between the nationalism provoked by regional ongoing conflicts, and anticipations to jump on the bandwagon of the global economy. Israel defines itself as a Jewish and democratic country, which seems paradoxical. Smootha (2002) believed that Israel does not exactly fall into a category of Western liberal democratic country rather, it belongs to a model of ethnic democratic country. Renik(1999) previously had shown her concern about the historic perspective reflected in Israel National Curriculum based on Jewish nationalism somewhat excluding universalistic perspective.

As Ram (2004) argued, the debate of public and academic over education policy has already shifted from global dichotomy to multi-level structural composition. While globalization is dominant at the structural and institutional level (as Meyer [2007] points out), Ram claims that localization (Ram's term "iron oil painting") dominates the discourse at the symbolic level of expression. In this respect, globalization is thought to be more prominent at the level of policy and governance, while other aspects of the education system are more influenced by more regionally oriented and political pressures.

Thus, the state partially nationalized its institutions to promote transnational economic, political and social activities, while local groups gained more power to influence the educational system.

Steiner-Khamsi (2012) treats this phenomenon as an ongoing process in which various local actors reinterpret after interpreting, adjusting and correcting global issues. Globalization, itself can provide different political, economic, cultural and

social meanings and contexts with individual room for expression in each area. Localization or, according to some arguments, “glocalization” is expressed in the study of the history and traditions of ethnic and cultural minorities in the national education system. “The modern education system thus faces an institutional contradiction between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.”

Nationalism puts “state” ahead of other nations, and thus justifies reforms that are consistent with educational policy, school curriculum, and logic. Conversely, globalism prioritizes the “world” and the transnational or transcultural category and legalizes discourse and practices that transcend the state. Mapping the dynamics of educational globalization, the tension between cosmopolitanism and nationalism, can motivate many content-oriented educational reforms. Therefore, an analysis of the situation in Israel is beneficial because there are strong pressures in both directions at the same time.

Aviv Cohen(2018) analyzed official documents and curriculum written by the Ministry of Education including textbooks, maps, criteria. The historical analysis of the examined data was divided into three main periods: (1) nationalism — from 1953 to 1968; (2) individualism – from 1968 to 1977; And (3) contradiction — from 1977 to the present date. It is clear from these three periods of evaluation that the citizens' goals of teaching the land of Israel have changed and changed over the years. (Aviv Cohen, 2018)

Yemini(2013) investigated the perception of Israel history teachers’ on the history contents in Israel school in aspects of national versus global and cosmopolitan perspective. They conducted an on-line mixed quantitative and qualitative survey. According to this survey, the finding showed that teachers tended to equalize the portion of local contents and international contents with slightly more inclination toward the local oriented contents. Since the officially manifested curriculum

constituted approximately 80% of local oriented contents and required them as an evaluation standard. (Hoffman, 2007).

Teachers regarded local history as 'nationhood glue' and took great consideration into them especially in a conflict-ridden society like Israel. It was proved that Israel teachers preferred more international contents and portions in their national curriculum. (Woodward & Skbris and Bean, 2008) The survey by history teachers' perceptions on current history curricular contents might reveal tension between international and local subject-matter that Israel teachers now face. (Miri Yemini, 2013) By Yemini's research question investigates teachers' perception on contents and composition of Israel History Curriculum in the aspect of international vs national perspective. As economic and institutional internationalization strengthens, the decentralization of government also is facilitated.

In many countries, decentralization from top-down accountability to bottom-up manners are accompanied by high-stake of government and school accountability. The debates over what is the desirable form of national curriculum in the era of globalization have become fiercer. It is not true that schools in Israel and its curriculums always correspond with a top-down dominant stance. It has struggled to achieve global orientation and equip students more competitive in the global market. At the same time, it also was under the pressure of emphasizing strong national identity. The increasing effects of internationalization and demanding to internalize are not only applied in higher education but rather it affects even to kindergarten level (Yemini 2012). A study of Prof. Yemini's analysis of the state of nationalism vs cosmopolitanism in Israel's curriculum shows that over the years, globalist content has been reduced in the curriculum, leading to a more aligned national curriculum in the Jewish secular education sector in Israel.

This decline in cosmopolitan content was particularly facilitated by the merger of

Jewish and general history, which allowed examiners to gradually replace questions about general history with questions about Jewish and Israeli history. The decline in the share of global content in the unified history survey continues even beyond the year when the Jewish and general history merged.

## Chapter 3. Research Design

### 3.1. Research Method

The main methods for data collection were conducted by in-depth interviews. Research design, research method and data collection and analysis are presented to investigate Israel in-service and pre-service teachers; teachers' perception of cosmopolitanism vs. nationalism in Israel curriculum.

Teachers' perception on nationalism in school curriculum and the relations of national identity and cosmopolitan perspective in the curriculum was the main focus of the data collection. Teachers' response was all transcript and their general experience while teaching and personal perspective were analyzed

Through the analysis of teachers' perception, we'll look into what types of citizenship Israel teachers are perceiving two different directions of citizenship that seem contrastive as a delivery of national curriculum in a classroom circumstance. The data from the interview will also be applied into the typology of Andrea & Joachim's analysis of citizenship types to find out how teachers' citizenship perception falls into the category.

### 3.2. Research Targets

Data for this study was collected by 6 interviewers who are currently in-service

teacher and pre-service teachers mainly in social study subjects (Civic Education, History, and Economy) from 3 different types of schools; International School, Public High school, Public Elementary School, Jewish Orthodox School.

The collected personal information is; gender, region, major subject, school type, target students, teaching experience and personal educational background and civic education they experienced when young.

### Interviewers' Background

Cod e	Gende r (M / F)	Region	Major Subject	School Type (Expected)	Teaching Experience (Year)
A	M	Tel Aviv	Economy	Public International High School	10
B	M	Jerusalem	Civic Education	Public High School	8.9
C	F	Tel Aviv	Special Education/Civic Education	Public Elementary School	7
D	M	Tel Aviv	History	Jewish Orthodox Middle School	17
E	M	Jerusalem	Civic Education	High	Not Yet
F	F	Jerusalem	Language	Secondary	Not Yet

4 teachers are experienced teachers with several teaching careers and have further interest in civic education and international education. 2 pre-service teachers are doing their 'teacher certificate program' in Hebrew university and expected to be a high school teacher in civic education and English language each.

'A' majored in economics and had 10 years teaching experience in a high school and is currently teaching in a public international school with relative autonomy over curriculum openness to global education. He is very concerned about a lot of educational ongoing issues in Israel civic education and finished two master's degrees in Tel Aviv University and now continues his study as an education researcher. He is the director of a public international school. He frequently gets involved in several education research led by the municipal education office.

'B' majored in special education and later got a certificate as a civic education subject after teaching 5 years in a special education field.

'C' is a vice-principal of Jewish Orthodox school in Tel Aviv with 17years teaching experience. His subject was history.

'D' has been working in a Jewish Orthodox Religious School Teaching History with 17 years of experience. He used to teach in the U.S when young but later returned to Israel and continued to teach in Tel Aviv.

### 3.3 Research Questionnaire

Interview Questionnaire	
1.	Personal experience and observation on the perception of nationalistic and cosmopolitanism approach.



**1) Interviewee's educational experience**

Since 1990, Israel's national curriculum has transformed from Zionism nationalism and Hebrew ethnic approach to multicultural, inclusiveness to other ethnic groups and global citizenship approach. What kind of approaches were you mostly influenced by as a secondary student? What were the main focus and purpose of it?

**2) National identity in curriculum and its impact & necessity**

What do you think is the impact of nationalistic education such as Zionism and Jewish based? How did it contribute to the formation of traditional Israel national identity? How much do you think it is necessary?

**3) Citizenship curriculum in Globalization and its impact & necessity**

What do you think is the impact of cosmopolitan, global citizenship education which acknowledges diversity and other ethnic groups?

How did it contribute to the formation of Israel's new civic identity in Israel?

How much do you think it is necessary?

**4) Personal experience and observations**

Have you ever met colleagues, teachers who were critical about the contents or focus of the current Israel national curriculum? What are the main points of their critique?

2      **2. Analysis of Teachers' perception on nationalism and cosmopolitanism approach in Israel National Curriculum.**

1)      **Change in direction of Israel national curriculum & its impact on national integration**

Since 1990, Israel's national curriculum of social studies (history, geography, civic education) has transformed from Zionism nationalism and Jewish perspective to multicultural, inclusiveness to other ethnic groups and global citizenship approach due to its politically sudden changes. Under these backgrounds, what do you predict

will influence the formation of Israel citizens and national integration? (Positive, Negative, Neutral?)

4) **Students' response and reflection on nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism perspective in curriculum.**

Do you think Israel secondary students will accept and agree without any confusion or discrepancy between nationalism and cosmopolitanism perspective? If not, what are the main struggles of it?

Ex) Regional conflict between Israeli and other ethnic groups,  
Social issue such as immigrants, Israel's special security crisis,  
Teachers or parents' perceptual discordance on national curriculum.

4) **Regarding Israel's institutional choice on the national curriculum.**

Globally, there are some countries that stick to 'nationalism-based' curriculum at the expense of cosmopolitanism & global citizenship. Do you think Israel should have national identity and cosmopolitanism; multiculturalism should be equally emphasized in its curriculum? If so, or if not, what is the reason?

3. Reflections and suggestions on the relations between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

1) **The Relation of nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism perspective**

What is the relation of 'cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism civic identity' vs 'Jewish Zionism national identity'?

2) **Curriculum Fidelity**

If you become or are a teacher, are you going to be loyal to the national curriculum having harmony with it, or a critical teacher encouraging students to have more

critical ideas?

3) **Future direction of Israel national civic education**

What do you predict the future Israeli national curriculum should be like? (freely)

What do you think should be supplemented to coordinate the tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism approach in the curriculum?

## Chapter 4. Research Findings

### 4.1. Israel Teachers' Perception on Nationalism vs Cosmopolitanism

#### 4.1.1. National Identity in Curriculum and its Impact & Necessity

The question was about 'nationality identity now melted in the current national curriculum in Israel' and its impacts and necessity as essential parts. Overall, participants responded with positive answers and its reasons were also concrete.

'A' showed inner dilemmas that he personally considered for Israel society. Admitting that Israel is a military state, it is just one of the strategies for Israel to survive. School and military were considered to be one of institutes where national identity was naturally, and conceptually embedded in Israel citizens. They perceive they are contributing to their country.

*"Yes.. very much so. There was a distinctive type of, what is to mean in Israel, you can the land of Jews and the Jews as a chosen people, we were... there was a sense (in which) we grew up together, it was not a criticism, it was not development... Nobody asked us "Oh, is this the right thing to do?" concretely..."*

Of course, teenagers started to question things about national identity and also shared his own experience that when teenagers he also didn't feel very comfortable with this conventional norm on nationalism. 'A' confessed that, for Jews inevitably, 'Zionism' is still defined as the fundamental and ultimate conscient foundation of their mind describing it as 'something that they grow up with'. Zionism is a complicated movement of competitive and sometimes contradictory ideological positions. However, the majority of Zionists see this as a movement of self-determination and self-expression of the Jewish people aimed at establishing and maintaining a Jewish and democratic state in the homeland of the ancient Jewish people.

*"When you are a high school student, you start to question things. you start rebelling against your teacher and your parents. I thought, for me it was obviously I don't feel very comfortable with a national narrative and question a lot. question the nature of these perceptions of superior people. It's a benefit of value winning war instead of making peace. I think this was something that is exceptional. Teachers didn't speak about what they really think..."*

When asked about the personal experiences of teachers who have experienced Israeli civic curriculum, when he was a student, he questioned the curriculum emphasizing the nationalistic position, but teachers said that he did not show any special disagreement about the curriculum. It was said that the social atmosphere of the time was more about the intoxication of victory in the war against neighboring countries than questioning the national agenda.

He also admitted that Israeli tend to believe that they are contributing to the nation by serving in the army. He disagreed that Israel is so-called 'a melting pot' however, it's true that Israel immigrants are returning to all different backgrounds and previous nationality. He said this diversity is what makes Israel really beneficial and strong. This question was not unusual for many other Israel citizens because the value democratic and ethnic do not seem to match at a certain point.

As Ghanem mentioned, critical sociologists question the democratic nature of the state of Israel and its ability to maintain its democratic character by defining itself as a Jewish state (Ghanem, Rouhana & Yiftachel, 1999).'

The country has historically served as a cornerstone of Jewish life with religion, serving as a modern expression of political identity. Alan Dershowitz (2003) called this the "consensus view of Zionism". From this point of view, Zionist education has two missions that are central to the education of Israeli citizens. In Israel, we want to raise the awareness of Jewish Israeli young people's historical relevance to the land of Israel and assert their self-determination and their obligations and interdependence to Jews around the world. Diaspora awakens young Jews to recognize this collective aspect of their heritage and encourages them to risk their lives in Israel or maintain and maintain lasting relationships with the land, nations and people of Israel.

*"it was a very clear controversy... in a sense that in order for Israel to survive and live in peace one of the attributes in order for people... to go for the army. it's compulsive to go for the army. that you contribute to the for yourself this allows you to conjugate the education system. This is not a melting pot. People are very well trained in the education system and in the army people had a sense that they are contributing*

*to a society so they could think that they are contributing to the society, you can see people coming from many different backgrounds and agree that this is a very very beneficial thing for Israel.”*

In Israeli society, education is understood as a tool to reproduce socially based ideologies and values, such as the military. While Israeli society is never pursuing a multicultural society, it is the position that the diversity of the people of society can benefit from Israel's national agenda. As far as military and security matters are concerned, Israelis have to take a nationalistic stand. And in that sense, Israel is not viewed as a 'melting pot' for diversity like the United States. Multiculturalism and Cosmopolitanism, understood in Israel, can still be seen as dangerous and risky for security and safety issues. However, the diversity that comes from diverse backgrounds of the social members within the country itself is not perceived negatively. Rather it is expected to be more beneficial to contribute to the country's growth.

*“In order to do that, you should establish the whole social structure the downside Israel becomes militarized. The army is a part of life here at.*

*You can see that this is a natural part of their lives and life and the life of their children. so, they reproduce themselves. You would not need an army in twenty or twenty-five years and people tend to think that this might not be a good thing for the nation.”*

In establishing social structure, he said, Israel needs to be militarized and it is part of life in Israel. They reproduce their belief themselves and this passes down on to their children as well through education. However, while troops are seen as essential in special conflict situations like Israel, after twenty or twenty-five years, they will not

necessarily be seen as necessary for national security. Rather, it can be expected that the development of citizenship and a broader understanding can benefit the development of the nation of Israel.

Building on a common foundation, Israel civic education continues through two major institutions of civil socialism: the militia and the school system. The militias are normalized in Israel so that all children can recognize the military nature of Israeli society. Fathers, neighbors and relatives wear military uniforms and disappear while serving in military uniforms. Army generals move from military to senior citizenship to become politicians, government ministers, and more and more secondary school principals. (Peter Lemish, 2003) Through this, the students themselves will also grow and serve in the military, and tacit knowledge (you may also die of military action `` for the country ") tells Joseph Trumpeldor, the heroic Zionist warrior, according to the commonly applied mythical maximums Therefore, the perception of the ultimate action of civic responsibility can be regarded as one of the cornerstones of citizenship and education for all Israelis.

*"I am not saying that Israel is the only actor here. The desire of the government of Israel is not what makes things happen here necessarily. The overall approach of the government over a decade was that the army must be very strong."*

‘D’ as a member who went through a lot of military conflict back in 1990, recalled that school education of national identity as Zionism and nationalistic approach was almost ‘brain-washing’. To the question of how much such nationalistic approach affected the formation of Israel, he viewed that strong identity based on a national perspective was considered to be a process and qualification of becoming a ‘citizen’ of Israel. Based on ‘D’s personal background, he had gone through nationalistic era and religious perspective back in 1990. He also confessed that in 1990, there was

little discussion or understanding on global oriented or human rights issues because they struggle to keep their rights to defend themselves and fight for Israel state.

*“So, the one I grew up in there has a religious system. What they used to teach us is a lot about nationalism, very nationalistic, and very religious adopted version was. They all wanted to be all in a vision of religious Jewish faith. So, I remember it was very political and they encouraged us politically to the right wing, I grew up and I graduated 1994 and to 5. but it was very passionate in Israel. The prime minister Rabbi did the orthodox. I think a couple of years after I graduated, he was murdered, he was assassinated by religious groups.”*

The third and most important event in the 1990s was the shocking assassination of Prime Minister Rabin by the Jewish right. Rabin's assassination caused Israel to panic and shock and deep anxiety. The diversity and controversy' in Israeli civic education directly referred to Rabin's assassination. 'The assassination of Prime Minister Rabin is a tragic warning sign of what could happen in our society if we did not learn to deal with deep and painful debates in a thoughtful way.'

But Rabin's assassination appears to have little direct effect on civic education, echoing the observation that the suppression of public discourse after the assassination did not form an Israeli collective memory or promote the re-creation of the Israeli group'.

*“It was very much nationalistic very. Israeli education system is divided into roughly three subgroups; the secular group, religious education system, the Arabic education system. They don't teach the same curriculum. They have differences...”*

Although Israel's civic curriculum is a national curriculum, the Ministry of Education is divided into three sub-groups to allow autonomy to enable education



to suit their identity. So, it is not completely controlled by the state, and the state-led curriculum of nationalism is quite limited.

*“So, I graduated from school... regarding how the political future of Israel will be. So, we had a very, very strong message everything was converted to political discussion and was very (politically) oriented, right wing nationalistic. As I understood. It is very clear I remember myself in school. I was gone to protest the government.*

*Basically, I remember that my last year at school, I remember policies and that I was going to protest. I was running the protest in my city against the government. I mean I am not sure about protesting against. But I knew that that's the right thing to do. So that's how I experienced.”*

In his childhood life in Israel, nationalism was tied to the school's formal curriculum, social atmosphere and personal experiences. In the school, he was educated with a strong nationalistic disposition, the social and political opinions of the time were strongly furious, and a strong nationalist perspective was internalized through frequent demonstrations and events.

*I don't remember then talking about democracy for sure not about the values that are like global oriented or responsible humankind as because not is that a located, focused about our right on the land of Israel and how we should fight for it. That's Jew state, Israel state. That's what we learn, that's what I remember.*

'D' reflected that nationalism in school education back in the 1990 was an impulsive and one-sided perspective. Concerning the experience, he called it 'brain-washed'.

Education of strong national sentiment was considered more important than cognitive aspects of citizenship education. Nevertheless, educators knew the dangers of emotion-based education. 'In school, I tried important national emotions instead of propaganda emotionalism.' Depart from the sensory qualities of propaganda and emphasize emotional maturity through education. "

*For me, it was almost like a brain wash. When I am thinking about how they educated us from 1990 to 1995, they sent us to become politically affiliated with the right wing. That's not reasonable, that's not brainwashed. Obviously, because everyone thinks the same thing. That's um... for us as an adult, everything was very clear that we are belong to the nationalistic in the political map our opinions were our claim that, claim for rights over the state of Israel against the Arab. It was really head shaped, I mean, it was something that was created, you know, many of us went to live in the occupied territories, many of us including myself. I was after being schooled; I was very dreaded.*

For him, to be a citizen of Israel meant to live in an occupied territory and go to the army, to claim for rights. And He also felt it was a 'dreaded' experience. He once thought it was a process to be a 'citizen of Israel' and it was remembered as an emotional 'passion' and 'strong education' which overwhelmed him at that time.

*"I moved several in the occupied territories because it was what we thought being a citizen is about. For us, to be a citizen was to fight for the land against the Arabs. Yeah. Going to military, serving the military to go and live in the territories that are going to be debated between*

*Israel and Arab, the impact that how education is, was extravagant, it is unbelievable. Until you do, talking to friends, you see, most of them still have those concepts. It's a very strong education, and it's a very passionate education."*

When young, by the effect of school education (religious Jewish school) once he became an extreme nationalist regardless of his family background. However, when grown-up, at some point of his life, again, he gradually moved his political stance step by step from the right wing forward to a more plural and liberal way.

*"I mean, it is not all then that. Probably I am educated because of that too. Because they still think about the missions and what the nation has to do. That was the way of thinking. I went to an education course at the age of 25 years, I believe. For the most part, it was because most of my thinking is this is what, this is how we can help the nation, this is what I am going to do for the nation. I am not thinking that way anymore, but you know, you can't deny that all education is not useful. I am happy with where I am."*

The Israeli civic curriculum, established before the Jewish State Declaration, defined this dual justice of Israel as a Jewish democratic state, which resulted in numerous conflicts with regard to the goals of civic education carried out in the development of the curriculum and textbooks. (Alexander, Pinson, & Yonah, 2012; Pinson, 2007) Ichilov et al. (2005) shows that from the pre-Israel State Declaration to the recent changes in the civic curriculum reflect the ongoing interactions between the state's Judaism and democratic justice, and that each doctrine sometimes obscures another. It concludes that Israel's civic education has shifted

from a very emotional nationalist focus centered on citizens' obligations to a more cognitive and trained centered civic education with greater awareness.

D is a person who experienced Israeli emotional Zionist-centered civic education, and although such education was not useful, he warned against civic education that could become too political in school education. 'B' as an elementary school teacher, now observing the incoming young immigrants' population and directly feel that diverse and multicultural Israel society nowadays.

*Yes, I think it is very important. Because in this field, in Israel, because we are all immigrants, I can say 2/3 of the population or more are immigrants originally. Then in the first year there has been an agenda that will cancel all the global properties. So, the students will change their names, Russian names into Israel names. Something is that it is not happening today. The agenda is more multiculturalism. More maintaining and respecting where students were originally from because these (diverse cultural backgrounds) are their strength, not their weaknesses.*

The multicultural and ever-changing texture of Israeli society is largely due to a constant flow and sometimes a huge wave of immigrants from all over the world. This wave of immigrants creates a mosaic of races that not only merge ethnic and socio-economic cracks, but also crack the gap between veteran Israelis and newly arrived immigrants. (Ichilov, 2005)

*And in large their advantages over other students that they don't have second language, or third language and system can be varied. I mean, these are the policies. Policies don't have it to be more multicultural.*

In Israeli civic education, the issue of diversity in Israeli society is not recognized as an impediment to nationalism. In addition, various cultural backgrounds are

emphasized to students as strengths, not weaknesses. Their diverse cultural background is expected to contribute more to the development of the country, and policies are also in the direction of promoting awareness and education of such multiculturalism. However, teachers who teach and encounter multiculturalism in the field still believe that policy support for such multiculturalism in the curriculum and policies is insufficient.

*But sometimes I think, at the school level, I think the policy is different. I think even more talk about the policy has a role to them, rule the line which dispose and sometimes it is interesting in their name, they want to be called like Israeli so it's very complicated. I mean, I feel like Israeli society is afraid of losing the good people, the good brain you know the smarter you get the more global you want to be. Globally want to go and you want to see, and I think the system is very afraid of it. (So, do you think the government promotes national identity in their curriculum?) I think that is the more national aspect, international aspect in the curriculum yeah, I do think that.*

She agrees that the Israel government would have its own propaganda and purpose for promoting national identity in composing national curriculum as a national agenda. She understands the states' need to preserve a strong national curriculum in maintaining its existence. The state needs to preserve it strong.

*"It is important. I mean, important. I think they try to find their nationality behind this assumption that Israeli is the only Jewish country in the world and it is against the world. We have to be the best we can, we have to work as hard as we can to preserve society because it is a miracle to exist. And it's not my point of view personally but I do think this is the agenda that stands behind the policy. We are*

*in danger of not being here so it is important to have a strong national curriculum there would be long to belong here.*

#### **4.1.2. Citizenship Curriculum in Globalization and its Impact and Necessity**

‘A’s’ a civic education teacher in a High school, ‘B’ commented on the contents and importance of globalization in Israel national curriculum.

*Regarding how we perceive the world relied on and how to receive the world, I think we have taught cosmopolitanism thought. There’s only one very tiny part of the curriculum talking about globalization. But as the citizenship teacher, I don’t really teach it. I think there’s a little part of it and go on. I think regarding the national identity, I think the Israelites once pass the military service-there’s military service in Israel- once they pass it, they are 22-23. They don’t engage in nationalism. Most of the population are engaged in cosmopolitan.*

A mentioned the digitalized era as another factor that affected global citizenship education. He presumed that we already passed the era when school curriculum is the only crucial and influential factor and is able to effectively form students’ perception.

*My assumption and thinking are that because we’re very much exposed to the internet, everybody has a smartphone in Israel. Most people have a laptop. Wherever you enter, you see computers and screens. We’re very digitized in a way. Because Jewish people have been diaspora. eight million or twelve million... we’re all around the*

*world so we travelled a lot... we don't really like each other here... When Israelite want to travel to the U.S, Europe even in the far east. What I meant to say is that in the last decade the price of aircraft has dropped dramatically. If I use fifty dollars I am in Europe. People travelled abroad several times on a yearly basis. All this means that people are more exposed to other cultures. These things are happening in the world to the anarchic ways of flight and to the quality of flight, to the level of flight. The government thinks that if we don't streamline the young people in an education system. then it is going to lose control...and in order to gain these controls. They're nationalizing the curriculum even more...I see this happening right now.*

'A' also assumed that the government also wanted globalism in the aspect of economic profit and growth. Israel already has a great diversity in population. Due to the development in technology and communication devices, the cost of transfer and opportunity was maximized therefore, much more information and knowledge are coming back and forth. Each member of Israel society can make reasonable judgement in favor of their economic benefit regardless of governmental policy and propaganda.

*My assumption, my thinking, you that, because we are very exposed in Israel to the internet. Everybody has a smartphone. Those people have laptops, whoever you enter you see computers, and screens we are very digitized in way. Okay? It's because the Jewish people have a diaspora, still eight million or twelve million are living around the world, so we travel a lot.*

*Because our neighbor is here, we don't really like each other here, so when the Israeli want to travel, they usually go abroad for Europe or you know, the states to very popular destinations or Australia or you are going too far in the east.*

*What I am interested in is that, in the last year, probably the last decades, prices of airplanes dropped dramatically. For me today to travel to Europe, I could go with the plane like I don't know 15 dollars, 100 dollars I mean Europe. Used to be like, 4 times more expensive, 5 times more expensive, so they would think differently. People travel several abroad on a yearly basis.*

The decrease in cost of transfer and learning new information allows people to think differently. As a result, the effects of government-driven education and curriculum has been decreased, inversely proportional to it.

*"All this means that people are more exposed to outer cultures to, you know, happening in the world to alternative ways of flight to the quality of different outer countries to the level of outer countries. To watch, they expect from their government, it's so and so for. Right? So, the world is opening, and I think in many ways, Israeli government would feel that there are no strain line citizens, the young people they are going to the education system, that are going to lose control. And in order to gain this control, it is nationalizing the curriculum even more.*

The above teacher intends for the state to control the people through the curriculum in a global age when it is inevitable to accept a variety of views and cultures of the outside world because the national curriculum of Israel can never give up on the curriculum of citizenship education. It was because there was.



*I see this happening. I think it is part of what is happening right now. And you ask me what the integration is, I think that there are always contradictory forces that are at work here.” The government wants people to be more global because they can compete better in the global economy and better workers, they should be that government wants hi-tech and wants engineers and everything they can be more global. Israel wants to sell their companies to international firms and the innovations going around Israel contains everything else this means that people need to be more global.*

Although the school has historically served as a facilitator of national socialization and civic training aimed at fostering intergenerational continuity of national affiliation and national identity (Gellner, 2006; Hobsbawm, 1990; Smith, 1986), schools and universities are increasingly responsible for producing social and academic higher education functions that develop students' specific competencies, and functions that converge and assimilate, in other words, employable 'worldwide' graduates. (Gacel-Ávila, 2005; Robson, 2011).

Teichler (2004a) argues that “internationalization” is a more appropriate term for the basic and natural international activities of a university that has been stopped by nationalism for the past 200 years. At the school level, neoliberal (and other) mainstreams in favor of school selection and competition support international capital implementation and support internationalization implementation to meet the new needs of the international job market (Doherty, Luke, Shield, & Hincksman, 2012; Resnik, 2012; Weenink, 2009).

*And at the same time, you go more global in the sense they might actually come, this society might be integrated. It's real I just don't believe in it. I think the benefits we can have from building the*

*curriculum and getting a critical approach is much larger than we are seeing now. I think that people are learning Israeli essence? there are many people who live here because this is their choice.*

*And many people you have to remember that because of this historical situation and history of Israel many people have two passports. I, for example, have a European passport, my part of the family. a German passport because my family, we are survived the Holocaust. But they all have the German passports. I have a UK one but don't really matter. And my wife was born abroad in Canada. My kids have Canadian passports. Accentually If you want to move, we do that. You know, I can take Ph.D doing anywhere. It's not a problem. I can teach Div.D programs everywhere. I am here because I want to be here. I believed in this country. Regardless of the national curriculum. Even we despite the national curriculum sometimes. Okay?*

Looking at the Israeli citizenship policy, Israel allows citizens to have dual (or plural) citizenship. Dual citizens are considered Israeli citizens for all purposes and have the right to enter Israel without a visa, stay in Israel at their own desire, engage in a profession and cooperate with employers under Israeli law.

(Wikipedia) There are two exceptions to Israel's dual citizenship principle. In accordance with the additional laws added to the Basic Law: According to Knesset members (applicable 16A), Knesset members cannot swear allegiance unless they are canceled according to the laws of their country. Israeli citizenship cannot be acquired in naturalization unless you give up your former citizenship. This dual citizenship policy can be viewed as creating a new perspective on the sense of national belonging and identity different from before in the era of globalization for Israelis. This dual citizenship policy can be viewed as creating a new perspective

on the sense of national belonging and identity different from before in the era of globalization for Israelis.

*You ask me what the integration is about. I think they're always contradictory forces that are working for here. The government wants to be more global. Then they can compete in the global economy and can be a better worker. The government wants high tech and engineer everything and international films and then, then the innovation going around in Israel and everything else and they continue everything, and this means that people need to be more global at the same time.*

C as a public elementary teacher and asserted that there needs to be more cosmopolitanism in their curriculum for the increasing immigrants from all over the world. Israel is itself a nation constituted of a great number of new immigrants from all over the world. It is still promoting Jewish immigrants from all around the countries and its number is increasing now. She thought that the educational government needed to set a more practical agenda for those incoming young people.

*“Yes, I think it is very important because in this field, in Israel, because we are all immigrants, I can say 2/3 of the population or more are immigrants originally. Then in the first year there has been an agenda that will cancel all the global properties. So, the students will change their names to Russian names in Israel names. Something is not happening today. The agenda is more multiculturalism. More maintaining and respecting where students were originally from. Because these are their strengths, not their weaknesses.*

Israeli teachers are also struggling to help students from multicultural backgrounds successfully adapt to Israeli society, while passing on their common identity and values. Israeli teachers already recognize that multiculturalism is an agenda for Israeli society, even within the educational environment.

*And in large their advantages over other students that they don't have a second language, or third languages and system can be a very. I mean, these are the policies. policies don't have it and be more multicultural." But sometimes I think, at the school level, I think the policy is different. I think even more talk about the policy has a role to them, rule the line which dispose and sometimes it is interesting in their name, they want to be called like Israeli so it's very complicated.*

*If you weren't, I think the Israeli students have the fear like, they can go out forces that don't stay here. I mean, I feel like Israeli society has a fear of losing the good people, the good brain you know, the smarter you get the more global you want to be. Globally want to go and you want to see, and I think the system is very afraid of it.*

However, she thinks that Israel government has a definite agenda for achieving national identity through their curriculum. Because the state needs to promote its national goal to the citizens and achieve social integration so that they don't lose people in their state. Therefore, she understands that it doesn't have a choice but to concrete their national identity and incorporate their nationalistic perspective in the curriculum.

*(So do you think the government propagates the national identity in their curriculum?) I think that is the more national aspect, international aspect in the curriculum yeah, I do think that. It is*

*important. I think they try to find their national background. This assumption proved that Israeli is the only Jewish country in the world, and it is against the world. We have to be the best we can, we have to work as hard as we can to preserve society because it is a miracle to exist. And it's not my point of view personally but I do think this is the agenda that stands behind the policy. We are in danger of not being here, so it is important to have a strong national curriculum. there would be long to, belonging here.*

Israeli teachers were aware of the crisis situations in which Israel had to struggle for national existence both internally and externally and understood that Israel was using national propaganda as a policy. They recognize that it is an essential element of the approach to nationalism in this curriculum for civic education.

Israeli teachers were aware of the crisis situations in which Israel had to struggle for national existence both internally and externally and understood that Israel was using national propaganda as a policy. In addition, the nationalism approach in the curriculum for citizenship education is considered to be a rational factor.

#### **4.1.3. The Relation of nationalism vs. cosmopolitanism perspective**

The concepts nationalism and cosmopolitan globalism seemed contrastive and was predicted whether two are contradictory and opposite or binary which has to be chosen for the sake of the other. Teacher 'A' supported that these two are not contradictory perspectives rather reveals the reality itself.

*I don't think it is not contradictory, I think it's done and growing and... more and more people will experience that. What causes shedding between us. Actually, get many people from many places to be very*

*good friends. So, I think the reality show is not very contradictory. The reality shows that, actually, the "reality".*

Instead of seeing these two concepts as contradictory, Israeli teachers viewed them in two ways, reflecting Israel's economic, security and social 'reality' of Israel society. Israeli society, like many societies, acknowledges that it has experienced many exchanges and enjoyed economic benefits through it. While acknowledging the view of nationalism, which has been traditionally adhered to, it flexibly embraces both the premise that it must take advantage of globalism.

*It's not a simplistic way of thinking about it. It's just, this is life for us. So, I would spend much of my time in my social engagements and actually through skype. Lots of friends live abroad. So, for me, as an educator and as the principal of an international school, the international is a part of my life. And I don't think I myself is special. see myself, as a regular civil in Israel. Just it happens to many, many people. so no, it's not contradictory.*

Already, Israeli society enjoys an international network through online SNS, and Israeli students are living more closely connected to the outside world through the Internet and smartphones than anyone else. Teacher A acknowledges that cosmopolitanism is a way of life and nothing special about living in this connected world.

*Of course, they come from time to time you will find that if you talk or discuss I don't know but dilemmas, radical dilemmas will happen in the world, found also contradictory values. But let me tell you something about it in order to find contradictory values. I don't need to go abroad. I can find it in my home. Okay? Like, this is life.*

However, 'A' said these nationalism and cosmopolitanism were not contradictory but just a part of their lives as if living in Israel talking with friends abroad through Sky is compatible at the same time. It's just part of their lives. B as an experience teacher, said now current curriculum is still tilted toward nationalistic approach and more openness or global contents are too little compared to its importance.

*So, it is like a paradox. It was in the past, if you speak about it more Jewish, Zionist nation. People can still say it is not a progressive thought because you are excluding the minorities. Some of my friends give this kind of criticism because we still have Jewish majority and Jewish symbols. Doesn't mean we are excluding our friends, our neighbors, every other group other than Jewish. But we are very tilted toward Jewish nation.*

*This is my main criticism and also my friends'. But in the general, general wise, they use multi-culture. You can speak your own opinions and criticize your teachers in class and outside class. As long as you do it in a polite and civilized manner.*

'D' said national identity and international education is not in a contradictory or contrastive relationship.

*I believe that there is no conflict between national and international education. Saying that my daughter who is in Austria is calling me, so it's the event of 'Shineme' (Service Program Providing Non-Military Service in the Army) So my daughter now lives in Austria in Europe. In Israel, after you graduate, you have to go to the army. For religious girls, there is an option to go to the military army or doing national service. National service is through assisting hospitals mentally help*

*retargeted kids and volunteer for 2 years instead of the army because you need to volunteer, you need to serve them, and they have the program to go and volunteer all over the world for one year in Jewish community.*

*They go as a representative, you're representing well and go to Jewish community, and you volunteer there. She is now in the program she went for a year to volunteer in Europe. And it's very interesting. it's a very, very national program, national service, she is doing it abroad. It's an international national service. It's not a conflict...*

D mentioned one military service program that his daughter participated in. Israel women are to serve in the army and during the period they can apply for going abroad. They have to teach at a Jewish school and promote Israel citizenship so that those Jewish people can migrate to the Israel country. They believe that is one of cosmopolitanism's ways of life. Cosmopolitanism is not being diluted into other cultures and losing their identity but rather promoting their national identity more globally.

## Chapter 5. Discussion

This interview was conducted in in-depth interview with a certain question, however, later on could induce teachers' own narrative story as well. Israeli teachers with teaching experience of many years tend to agree that their national identity was greatly formed by school education, however their national identity was not only affected by school experience but other factors like military environment or political situation in Israel society. Some teachers still agreed that the state rely on the national curriculum to promote and strengthen students' national identity, and furthermore, the state even has a duty to promote it for the sake of the state's agenda.



However, due to the development in communication technology and increase in information exchange through online, outside the school, they assumed that the national curriculums' effects will not be the same as the past. Concerning cosmopolitanism in the national curriculum, teachers agree that the quantity and portion is too little compared to its importance. Regardless of the school type of student level they're teaching, they acknowledge the multicultural phenomena and diversity in Israel. They viewed Israel itself as a multicultural society due to its immigrants all around the world with diverse backgrounds. Israel is divided into several sectors by different racial and religious backgrounds. They confess that in school curriculum, it lacks cosmopolitanism perspective and contents, still they regard national identity as an essential part of civic education even if it requires more reflection on the method and approach.

However, the perception of the definition of cosmopolitanism in Israel education is quite different from what is typically considered and discussed in global citizenship education. They perceived that the citizenship referred to in Israel national curriculum was more national-based and rely on westernized culture such as the U.S and Britain rather than global equality and post-colonial issues in the critical citizenship discourse.

They don't think national identity and cosmopolitanism are in contrastive or binary relations. Rather, they agree that they can approach more 'Diaspora'<sup>9</sup> Jewish and newly incoming immigrants in Israel around the world through promoting Israel nationality. Their cosmopolitan citizenship seems to be heavily based on their national identity.

---

<sup>9</sup> The Jewish diaspora (Hebrew: Tfutzta, תפוצה) or exile (Hebrew: Galut, גלות; Yiddish: Golus) refers to the dispersion of Israelites or Jews out of their ancestral homeland (the Land of Israel) and their subsequent settlement in other parts of the globe.

## **5.1. Complementary Relations of Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism**

Through interviews with teachers, it can be seen that teachers' perceptions of citizenship for Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism are never confrontational, and the relationship between the two is rather broad and complementary.

First, there were two peculiarities about the perception of Israeli Cosmopolitan. However, the perception of the definition of internationalism in Israeli education is quite different from what is generally considered and discussed in global citizenship education. They recognized that the citizenship mentioned in the Israeli national curriculum is more state-based and that it relies on Western cultures such as the United States and the United Kingdom rather than global equality and post-colonial issues in important citizenship discourse.

They do not think that national identity and internationalism are in a contrasting or binary relationship. Rather, they agree that by promoting Israeli nationality, they can reach more 'Diaspora' Jews and newcomers from Israel around the world. Their international citizenship seems to depend heavily on the identity of the country. Regarding the internationalism of the national curriculum, teachers agree that the quantity and portion are too small for their importance. Regardless of the student level or the type of school they teach, they recognize Israel's multicultural phenomena and diversity. They saw Israel itself as a multicultural society because of immigrants from all over the world.

## **5.2. Cosmopolitanism within Nationalism**

Within the Jewish people, the definition of Cosmopolitanism can be external, but internal, because there are already so many different languages and cultures that

coexist, except for Jewish identity. The Israeli population is already ethnic, religious, and culturally diverse within the Jewish community, in addition to the Arab population, which is an outsider, so the concept of multiculturalism they think is different from simple multicultural structures such as the United States and Europe. Rather than a conflicting concept that Cosmopolitanism weakens nationalism and threatens national identity, it has the identity of a citizen of the world who has lived with the identity of Jewish and Cosmopolitanism.

Israeli civic curriculum teachers, under Jewish identity, have learned about the culture and language of the country for over 2,000 years around the world, referring to the history of their people who have already lived as immigrants, and they have already experienced World Citizenship earlier than anyone else on earth. For the Jewish people, global citizenship, which must preserve their ethnic, religious, and linguistic identities in various cultures and survive in different cultures of the world, is by no means an unfamiliar concept for them. They see that we understand and experience Cosmopolitanism more than anyone else in Israel, an immigrant country that has already acquired diverse cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds in Israeli society and gathered again. It is considered that there are Jewish immigrants from all over the world in Israeli society, and that they are trying to recognize multiculturalism and also try to unite them in Israeli identity in a society.

Even within the Israeli curriculum, the two objectives are to strengthen the existence of a nation-state while meeting the expectations of internationalization and globalism while balancing the Nationalism approach that emphasizes Jewish national identity and the Cosmopolitanism approach that claims to spread democratic citizenship. They seem to try to achieve at the same time.

There have been two opposing curriculum pressures in the education system in response to common global processes in recent decades. The first is expressed by the elite group's desire to participate in global discourse and adopt a global

international identity. The second pressure tends to oppose attempts to define a community group that attempts to define one's identity and to ensure a common agenda with a desire to change one's social status (Ram, 2004). Israeli policy attempts to form a basic social unity (a group of Jews, including immigrants from Europe, North Africa, and the Americas, at least with different religious or secular orientations) deemed necessary to ensure the existence of the nation-state. (Al-Haj, 2005). However, Yemini (2014), in a study examining the history teacher's perception of Israeli curriculum content, shows that the teacher's perception of a desirable curriculum balance between regional and international content differs significantly from the actual balance of formal curriculum.

The two seemingly contradictory concepts of Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism that teachers face in the educational field were perceived as complementary to each other in the students' school space.

First, it serves to help them understand their Nationalism Jewish identity more internationally and macroscopically. For example, while students learn about Israel's Jewish values and identities, on the other hand, they are always curious about how these Jewish identities are reflected in neighboring Islamic countries and in other cultures and countries farther away. In this regard, teachers use Cosmopolitanism with understanding and perspective as a means to understand Jewish history and traditions in a more objective way in the course of world history. These are the means to see the unique identity of the isolated nation of Israel and the stories of the founding nation in a more objective way.

Second, when you have a nationalism perspective, cosmopolitanism becomes a more tolerant understanding of Nationalism. Through the conducted interviews, we could see that teachers in public schools, in particular, help immigrant children unfamiliar with English and Hebrew in education, especially African and South American immigrants such as Ethiopia and Mexico, low-income social groups, to learn Israeli names and lifestyles. They believe that the current curriculum should

be more inclusive to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts caused by cultural backgrounds.

Education and efforts to understand various cultural backgrounds and settle with Jewish identities are important. However, the recognition of diverse cultural backgrounds and languages is viewed as a process to ultimately become a loyal and wholesome citizen of Israel. Teachers never see globalization as a weakening factor in Jewish identity. Therefore, the inclusive discourse of Cosmopolitanism that they understand in the field of education that teachers face every day is not simply an ideological concept but is understood as a foundation that instills an identity to integrate students from multicultural backgrounds into Israeli citizens. Public school teachers are pondering ways to cultivate citizens' qualities by respecting the diverse composition already existing in the Israeli population to students who may still experience isolation and alienation due to cultural differences in Israel.

A practical Cosmopolitanism perspective is used as a framework for another recognition of and understanding multicultural and cultural diversity within Israel, as well as internationalism between Israel and other countries. Understanding the tension between different forces influencing curriculum development and, in particular, other forces influencing teacher perception, represents an important form of knowledge in schools by those responsible for passing the curriculum to the classroom.

### **5.3. Cosmopolitanism to support Nationalism**

Israeli teachers recognized Cosmopolitanism as a factor that could further strengthen Nationalism. Through globalization, it was very open to promoting economic exchange by more responding to internationalism, and it was not

recognized as a factor that could threaten national identity due to the conflict between the two.

Israeli society considered that the influence of the school's curriculum education on the national identity and nationalism perspective was more sensitive to Israel's security and political changes than to the tensions and political instability of neighboring countries. Given the serious political and military conflicts, the state continues to face social cohesion, which poses a strong challenge not only to curriculum developers, but also to other educational practitioners.

Due to the confrontation of various neighboring countries, Israel's curriculum must be sensitive to political and security unrest, and whenever faced with this crisis and tension, nationalism-oriented education that strengthens internal solidarity must be emphasized.

Meanwhile, Israel continues to have an Aliyah immigration movement<sup>10</sup> that encourages the migration and settlement of Diaspora Jews from around the world. Israel is currently encouraging return to Jewish people scattered around the world to increase its population. This is another national agenda for Israel and promotes the aggressive acceptance of foreign immigration. Israeli girls can optionally serve as an assistant at Jewish schools abroad for one year during their three-year mandatory military service. Conducts cultural activities that teach Hebrew to

---

<sup>10</sup> Aliyah (US: /ˌæliˈɑː/, UK: /ˌɑː-/; Hebrew: אֲלִיָּהּ aliyah, "ascent") is the immigration of Jews from the diaspora to the Land of Israel. Also defined as "the act of going up"—that is, towards Jerusalem—"making aliyah" by moving to the Land of Israel is one of the most basic tenets of Zionism. The opposite action, emigration from the Land of Israel, is referred to in Hebrew as Yerida ("descent"). The State of Israel's Law of Return gives Jews and their descendants automatic rights regarding residency and Israeli citizenship. For much of Jewish history, most Jews have lived in the diaspora where Aliyah was developed as a national aspiration for the Jewish people, although it was not usually fulfilled until the development of the Zionist movement in the late nineteenth century. (Wikipedia)

foreign Diaspora Jewish students or introduce them to the nation of Israel. Their role is to promote and promote Israeli settlement.

The Israeli government has implemented policies and policies at the level of the Aliyah movement, which actively encourages foreign diaspora Jewish immigration.

In Israel, troops and schools use the military service system 'Shrut Leumi'

<sup>11</sup>(Service Program Providing Non-Military Service in the Army) and curriculum as important tools to strengthen this nationalism. It is in the midst of active Israeli immigration acceptance policies and embraces the Cosmopolitanism perspective as a more inclusive understanding of Jewish students who live by learning cultures and lifestyles abroad. For them, the attitude of Cosmopolitanism and the mindset of consciousness can contribute to strengthening their longing for Israel and their identity as Jews.

There are external factors affecting curriculum development and factors affecting teachers' perception of curriculum. (Miri Yemini, 2014) Factors affecting the teacher's understanding of the curriculum can include various factors such as the teacher's personal experience, political tendencies and values, religion, family background, educational background, and relationships with the group. Teachers' understanding of this nationalism and Cosmopolitanism as a complementary relationship is likely to influence the direct implementation of the civic curriculum developed in accordance with government guidelines.

---

<sup>11</sup> Sherut Leumi (Hebrew: **לְאוּמִי שִׁרְוֹת**, lit. National Service) is an alternative voluntary national service in Israel for those that cannot or do not wish to serve in the Israel Defense Forces. The majority who receive an exemption from the obligatory army service are Jewish women from the Religious Zionist sector, and they receive it by declaring religious observance, as they maintain that a large number of religious observances for women cannot be upheld in the military, such as dress codes and modesty issues. (Wikipedia)

#### **5.4. Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism in the Curriculum**

Since the 2000s, both the nationalistic Zionist and Cosmopolitanism perspectives in Israeli curriculum have been balanced and tense in both weight and volume, but teachers are actually influenced by the internationalization of the school's civic curriculum itself. We believe that the enemy's influence is decreasing.

As mentioned by an international teacher, Israeli students are already free to access news and information from home and abroad in Israel through social media and the Internet. Although the civic curriculum plays the role of propaganda in the country, the impact on students is expected to be weaker. However, there are teachers who view that the paradox should be clearer from the viewpoint of Nationalism in the curriculum as the role of government to keep the state paradoxically. Students say that after military service, they have critical thinking and their own political and religious subject in many ways rather than blind loyalty to the state. He criticizes the government's Zionist policy and seeks curiosity about the outside world and Israeli social change.

Many Israel teachers were convinced that Israel was a Jewish country, but they thought that the internationalization in the curriculum and the globalization and weight of the curriculum had to be increased so that students were not isolated only to their identity within Israel. In addition, even within the curriculum, it is never thought that these two concepts were ever contradictory. Also, it was considered that the method of realizing the curriculum in the classroom was aimed at cultivating citizens who can democratically and respectfully discuss the citizenship of Israel.

#### **5.5. Citizenship Typology Analysis of Israel Teachers' Perception on Citizenship in Curriculum: Limited type of 'Dual citizenship'.**



In an era of transnational flow and interdependence, democratic citizenship can no longer be conceptualized only within national boundaries. The members of the universal community of mankind are widely accepted in the discourse of theoretical norms, but I think they are virtually nonexistent. In addition, the discourse of citizenship established throughout modern Western history was challenged by new trends through international cooperation and the power of state agencies to the state.

On the other hand, qualification as a member of several communities is not only an increasingly real reality that is approaching, but it is also necessary to define the democratic citizenship as a norm in the increasingly transnational world. Blatter & Schlenker's (2014) Citizenship Type Model provides a conceptual map to track emerging and proposed citizenship in and around the country in a comprehensive and differentiated way. This category has two criteria: membership in the political community as the basis of citizenship and Distinguish political decision-making as a focus of citizenship rights, identities and practices. Teachers' perceptions of citizenship in Israel, seen through interviews with teachers, are more open to the definition and exercise of citizenship than in the past.

### **5.5.1. Aspects of the Origin of Israeli Citizenship**

Israel's citizenship arises from a strong Zionist perspective. Since the 1980s, the discussion of citizenship in Israel, looking at the Israeli citizenship education curriculum through analysis, initially tried to maintain the national identity and practice of nationalism. In the model of citizenship proposed by Blatter & Schlenker (2014), Israeli citizenship curriculum that emphasizes Zionism as a member of the political community has been restricted to Jewish immigrants by emphasizing the identity of the national Jewish state.

However, since the debate on democratic citizenship in Israel has expanded since the 2000s, and the voices of various members in Israel have become more concerned about democratic citizenship, the concept of qualifications of political members has changed. It is a movement that seeks a more flexible and broader definition of Israeli citizenship, such as cross-citizenship.

This is also seen in the perceptions of teachers, who have embraced the concept of open Cosmopolitanism in the era of internationalization, in Israeli citizenship, confining Israeli citizenship, which is limited to Nationalism. However, these two concepts are never understood as complementary relations that are contradictory and not dichotomous.

In the past, Israel's citizenship debate was limited to Jews living in Israel. Israeli citizenship, however, recognizes the cultural diversity of various groups in the Multiple Communities, including secular Jews, religious Jews, Palestinian Israelis, and immigrant Jews who have settled in various cultures.

Origin of Citizenship	Membership in Universal Community of Humankind	<b>Post- national Citizenship</b> (All inhabitants) UD	<b>Fuzzy Citizenship</b> (All affected)  UT	<b>Cosmopolitan Citizenship</b> (All humans)  US
	Memberships in Multiple Communities	<b>Partial Citizenships</b> (All migrants) MD	<b>Dual Citizenship</b> (All people with multiple affiliations) MT	<b>Multilevel Citizenship</b> (All members of member state) MS
	Membership in One Particular National Community	<b>Westphalian Citizenship</b> (All- mono- national residents) ND	<b>External Citizenship</b> (All mono- national non- residents) NT	<b>Mediated Citizenship</b> (All mono- nationals through their nation state) NS
		Domestic National Arenas	Trans- National Arenas	Supra- National Arenas
Direction of Citizenship				

Through this, if there was a defensive citizenship perception that confronted the relationship with Palestine in the past and conservatively secured the viewpoint of

Nationalism, now it is also recognized by the dual citizenship of the world's Jewish diaspora population, thereby promoting a more multinational and open inclusive attitude. It can be seen that citizenship is being transformed into discussion and policy of citizenship. In addition, teachers in regular schools will have high acceptance of external citizenship due to a receptive curriculum that helps immigrant students to settle and adapt in a multicultural class environment where 2/3 of the population is composed of dual immigrants.

### **5.5.2 Direction of Citizenship in Israel citizenship**

Citizenship direction means the rights, practices, and identities of citizenship. When looking at the combination of nationalism and Cosmopolitanism that teachers understand, Israel's citizenship is understood as an open concept for diaspora generations from all over the world who are migrating from various places in Israeli society, and also about cultural diversity in Israel. He is very active and inclusive.

Israel's immigration policy promotes their identity, implying that these rights and practices are given to the world's Diaspora Jewish people who can become potential Jewish immigrants. This extended discussion on Israel citizenship seems to be classified according to the classification of Blatter & Schlenker (2014) from the category of Westphalia Citizenship, which took the position of conventional and exclusive Nationalism, to which conservatively secured the citizenship of Mono-national residents.

Just as South Korea considers North Korean refugees as potential candidates for Korean citizenship and issues their nationality, Israel is in the process of permitting many dual citizens if the nationality of another country can prove that they are Jewish through the Return Act. Particularly, in order not to lose the population due

to national needs, dual citizenship is more widely permitted. This attitude can be seen as a broader Cosmopolitanism policy to achieve the Jewish State agenda of population growth and state maintenance. Israel has faithfully implemented the Cosmopolitanism Movement with the definition of the people as All people with multiple affiliation, without losing the nationalism perspective.

## Chapter 6. Conclusion

In this paper, the analysis of teachers' perception of Israeli citizenship was conducted in two ways. First, we examined the perceptions of citizenship of Israeli teachers from the confrontational or compromising perspective of Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism discussed so far. Second, based on this, we classified the citizenship type model of Blatter & Schlenker (2014), which analyzed nine types of citizenship through the relationship between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism. Teachers in Israel who have had experience in citizenship education have a nationalism and a cosmopolitanism view coexisting in the current curriculum, and these two seemingly contradictory views reinforce each other according to the diverse immigration and multicultural and inclusive views within Israel. It was thought that a complementary interpretation was possible. In addition, there was a voice that the Israeli Ministry of Education should further strengthen the internationalist perspective in the civic curriculum, but also the nationalism perspective in the curriculum as a role of national-led agenda and propaganda that cannot be conveyed by other media, media, or social education institutions outside the school. Some comments were considered inevitable.

In this paper, although the group of teachers participating in the interview is not uniformly controlled. However, it was aimed at teachers participating in the Israeli

Citizenship Curriculum, it was possible to hear deeply in-depth interpretation and opinion.

# Bibliograph

ADAN, H., ASHKENAZI, V. & ALPERSON, B. (2000) To Be Citizens in Israel: a Jewish and democratic state (Jerusalem, Ma'a lot)

A. Gal, World Regional Zionism: Geo-Cultural Dimensions (Jerusalem: Shazar Center, 2010, in Hebrew), pp.17-20.

Agbaria, Ayman K. 2016. "The 'Right' Education in Israel: Segregation, Religious Ethnonationalism and Depoliticized Professionalism." *Critical Studies in Education* (Ahead of print). Doi 10.1080/17508487.2016.1185642.

AL-HAJ, M. (2002) Multiculturalism in deeply divided societies: the Israeli case, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26 (2), pp. 169–183.

Al-Haj, M. (2005). National ethos, multicultural education, and the new history textbooks in Israel.

Arnot, M., & Dillabough, J. A. (2000). Introduction. In M. Arnot & J. A. Dillabough (Eds.), *Challenging democracy: International perspectives on gender, education and citizenship* (pp. 1-18). London and New York: Routledge / Falm

Aviv Cohen (2018) Teaching the Land of Israel as Civic Education: A Historical Exploration, *Journal of Geography*, 117:2, 51-63, DOI: 10.1080/00221341.2017.1307437

Boehm, Max (1931), 'Cosmopolitanism', *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan, New York) iv 457-61

Brown, G., & Held, D. (2010). *The Cosmopolitanism Reader* / Edited by Garrett Wallace Brown and David Held.

Delanty, G. (2001). Cosmopolitanism and Violence. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 4(1), 41-52.

Derek Heater (1994), *National Self-Determination : Woodrow Wilson and his Legacy*, MacMillan Press

Dershowitz, A., & NetLibrary, Inc. Netlibrary, Inc. (2003). *The case for Israel* [electronic resource] / Alan Dershowitz. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.

Franck, Thomas (1997), 'Tribe, Nation, World: Self-Identification in the Evolving International System', *Ethics and International Affairs* 11: 151-69.

Greenfeld, Liah (1992), *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.).

Halleli Pinson (2000) *Inclusive Curriculum? Challenges to the Role of Civic Education in a Jewish and Democratic State* Curriculum Inquiry Vol. 37, No. 4 (Dec., 2007), pp. 351-382 (32 pages)  
Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Halleli Pinson (2007) *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Dec., 2007), pp. 351-382  
Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Hanan A. Alexander (2010) *Citizenship, Education and Social Conflict: Israel Political Education from a Global Perspective*, edited by et al. (Routledge, 2010).  
ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/snulibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=614993>. Written from SNU library-ebooks on 2019-10-27 06:23:51

Hansen, Randall. "The Poverty of Postnationalism: Citizenship, Immigration, and New Europe." *Theory and Society* 38 (2009): 1–24.

HAZONY, Y. (2000) *The Jewish State: the struggle for Israel's soul* (New York, New Republic / Basic Books).

POLISAR, D. (2001) *On the quiet revolution in citizenship education*, Azure, <http://www.shalem.org.il/azure/11-polisar.htm>

Heater, D. (1999). *What is citizenship?* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press

Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Lost Horizons*. *New Statesman & Society*, 3(118), 16.

Hofman, A (2007) *The politics and national education : values and aims of Israeli history curricula, 1956-1995*. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*. 39(4), 441-470

Ichilov, Orit. 2003. "Teaching Civics in a Divided Society: The Case of Israel." *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 13 (3): 219–242.  
doi:10.1080/09620210300200111

Israel's Independence Day 2019 (PDF) (Report). Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. 6 May 2019. Retrieved 7 May 2019.

Kymlicka, W. (2001). *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. Oxford, UK: OUP Oxford. Retrieved from <http://search.ebscohost.com.libproxy.snu.ac.kr/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=260418&site=ehost-live>

(Barry 1999. p. 53-60)

L. Greenfeld, 'The Modern Religion?', *Critical Review* Vol. 10, No. 2 (1996), pp. 169-191; A.D. Smith, 'Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism', *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1996), pp. 1-19.

Laclau, E. (1995). Universalism, particularism and the question of identity. In J. Rajchman (Ed.), *The identity in question* (pp. 93-110). New York: Routledge

Mathias Koenig-Archibugi (2012) *Fuzzy Citizenship in Global Society*, *The Journal of Political Philosophy*: Volume 20, Number 4, 2012, pp. 456-480

Ministry of Education 'To Be Citizens', *Curriculum Inquiry* Ministry of Education. (1994).

Ministry of Education. (2000b). *To be citizens in Israel: A Jewish and democratic state*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education. (Hebrew)

Ministry of Education, Department of Curriculum Planning, Diversity and Controversy, Jerusalem, 1998 (Hebrew). Peri, 'The Media and Rabin Myth', p.192.

Moodrick-Even, Khen, Hilly. *National Identities and the Right to Self-Determination of Peoples : Civic -Nationalism -Plus in Israel and Other Multinational States*, BRILL, 2016. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/snulibrary-ebooks/detail.action?docID=4547297>.  
Created from SNU library-ebooks on 2019-10-25 00:54:42.

N. Bistritzky, 'Summary of 20 Years to the Teachers' Movement for Zion and its Redemption', *Shorashim*, Vol. 3 (1948), pp. 25-30 (Hebrew).

ORIT ICHILOV, GAVRIEL SALOMON & DAN INBAR (2005) *Citizenship Education in Israel – A Jewish-Democratic State*, *Israel Affairs*, 11:2, 303-323, DOI: 10.1080/1353712042000326470

PETER LEMISH (2003) *Civic and Citizenship Education in Israel*, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 33: 1, 53-72, DOI: 10.1080 / 0305764032000064640

PETER LEMISH (2003), *Civic and Citizenship Education in Israel* *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 33, No.1, 2003



Pfaff, William (1993), *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Furies of Nationalism* (Simon and Schuster, New York).

Pinson, H. (2000). The role of citizenship education in a multicultural society and a nation-building state. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, U

Ram, U. (2004). Glocommodification: how the global consumes the local - McDonald's in Israel. *Current Sociology*, 52(11), 11e31.

R. Bru-baker, Religion and nationalism: Four approaches, *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2012), pp. 2 20;

Resnik, J. (1999). Particularistic vs. Universalistic content in the Israeli education system. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 29, 485-511

Robson, L. (2011). Communalism and Nationalism in the Mandate: The Greek Orthodox Controversy and the National Movement. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 41(1), 6-23.

S. Avineri, Herzl (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center, 2007, in Hebrew), pp.158; Gal, *World Regional Zionism*, pp. 20 22.

Schlereth, Thomas (1977), *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought* (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame).

Schlenker, Andrea, and Blatter, Joachim. "Conceptualizing and Evaluating (new) Forms of Citizenship between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism." *Democratization* 21.6 (2013): 1091-116. Web.

Simpson, Gerry (2006). *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press. ISBN 9780521534901.

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

Smith, A. (1987). *The ethnic origins of nations* / Anthony D. Smith. Oxford, UK : New York, NY, USA: B. Blackwell.

Tamir, Yael (1993), *Liberal Nationalism*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton) (Kok Chor Tan, 2010, p176)

U. Abul of, 'The Roles of Religion in National Legitimation: Judaism and Zionism's Elusive Quest for Legitimacy', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (2014), pp. 515-533;

Veugelers, Wiel. 2011. "Moral and the Political in Global Citizenship: Appreciating Differences in Education." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 9 (3): 473–485. doi:10.1080/14767724.2011.605329.

Woodward, I. Skr, Z., & Bean, C. (2008) Attitudes toward globalization and cosmopolitanism: Cultural diversity, personal consumption and the national economy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2), 207-226

Wing-Wah Law (2004) *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3, the University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Comparative and International Education Society. pp. 253-273

Yemini, M. (2012). Internationalization assessment in schools e Theoretical contribution and practical implications. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 11(2), 152-164.

Yiftachel, O. (1999). Between nation and state: 'fractured' regionalism among Palestinian-Arabs in Israel. *Political Geography*, 18(3), 285-307.

Y. Peri, 'The Media and Rabin Myth: Reconstruction of the Israeli Collective Identity', in Y. Peri (ed.), *The Assassination of Itzhak Rabin*, Stanford, CA, 2000, p.176.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1999). The multi-layered citizen: Citizenship in the age of globalisation. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1, 119-136

Yemini, Miri. *Internationalization and Global Citizenship : Policy and Practice in Education*, Palgrave Macmillan US, 2017

## Abstract

현대의 국가가 출현 한 이래, 전세계의 교육 시스템은 국가 정체성 및 국가 자극제 역할을 해왔다. 그러나 최근 수십 년 동안 세계화는 교육 정책과 학교 교과 과정에서 국제화와 국제화의 존재를 증가시키기 시작했다. 이스라엘은 특히 유대민족국가라는 국가의 정체성으로 건국된 이래로 팔레스타인계 민족 갈등 및 세계화 속에 다문화적 이민 유입을 경험하고 있다.

이스라엘 시민 교육의 국가 교육과정 내에서도 이제 포용적 시민권을 주장하는 세계시민주의와 다른 한편으로 국가정체성을 고수하는 민족주의에 대한 상충되는 압력에 직면하고 있다.

본 연구의 주요 목표는 다음과 같다.

첫째, 이스라엘 교사들 인터뷰를 통해 민족주의 대 세계주의 관점에서 시민권 교육을 인식하는 방법과 그들이 현재 이스라엘 시민권 교육 커리큘럼을 인식하는 방법을 살펴 본다.

둘째, 우리는 Blatter& Schlenker(2014) 의해 설계된 9 가지 시민권 분류의 유형론을 분석하고, 이스라엘과 같은 사회 통합은 교과 과정에 시민권을 포함하고 있으며 현재 시민 교육 교사가 이스라엘 시민 교육 과정에 대해 어떻게 생각하는지 분석한다.

이 논문은 이스라엘 시민 교육에서 논의된 민족적 가치와 국제적 가치 사이의 관계를 조사하고 시민 교육을 경험한 교사의 인식을 분석하는 것을 목표로 한다. 이 논문의 특이점은 인터뷰를 통해 시민의 토론에 대한 이스라엘 교사의 관찰과 이스라엘의 교육과정 내의 시민권 유형이 Blatter & Schlenker(2014)의 9 가지 ‘이중적 시민권 유형’에 일치하고 있음을 확인한다.