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Educational Exclusion under an Ethnocratic State:
The Case of East Jerusalem

A Dissertation Presented
By
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To
The School of Applied Social Sciences

For
The Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

In The Subject of
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Abstract

The political conflict over the city of Jerusalem results in the breach of Palestinian Jerusalemites civil, political and social rights. Israel claims sovereignty over East Jerusalem. However, it neglects its duty in providing adequate educational services to the Palestinian residents of the city. The Israeli Jerusalem Municipality does not only provide insufficient and highly politicised educational services to the Palestinians residents of the city, but it also discriminates against the other Palestinian systems that provide educational services. This study offers a detailed description of the structure of the education sector in East Jerusalem with its four main providers; the Palestinian Authority through Awqaf schools, the Israeli Authority through municipal schools, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and private schools. It reveals that there is no single body that oversees the provision of educational services in the city and ensures that the services provided are sufficient and of quality.

This study employed a qualitative research strategy, with semi-structured interviews and focus groups in the Palestinian and Israeli schools, in order to compare the educational services provided to both their students. The findings of this study show that Palestinian and Israeli students routinely receive vastly different learning opportunities, in terms of school funding, qualified staff, school facilities and school programmes. This ethnic provision of services in the city is engineered to disempower Palestinians and ensure an Israeli Jewish hegemony over the city.

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Glossary

ACRI	Abbreviation of the Association of Civil Rights in Israel. An Israeli human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.
Adalah	Adalah (Justice in Arabic) is a Palestinian human rights organisation and legal center based in Haifa.
Addameer	Addameer (Conscience in Arabic) is a Palestinian human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.
Arnona	Hebrew word for Council Tax
Ashkenazi	A Hebrew Term used to refer to Jews of western origin, mainly European and American.
Awqaf	Awqaf is the plural of the Arabic word waqf which means endowment. Islamic Awqaf are assets dedicated for charitable purposes.
B'Tselem	An Israeli human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.
Bagrut	The official Israeli matriculation certificate attesting to graduation from high school.
Corpus Seperatum	A Latin term meaning separate bodies. It is the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181, The UN Partition Plan for Palestine November 29, 1947.
Diakonia	A Swedish Faith based organisation that works towards more people living a life in dignity.
Dunam	A Turkish word used in the Ottoman Empire to refer to a unit of land area. It is still used in the Arab world.
Fatah	Fatah is a Palestinian political party and the largest faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.
Hamas	Hamas is an Islamic political party in Palestine
ICBS	Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics

IMoE	Israeli Ministry of Education
Ir Amim	Ir Amim (City of Nations in Hebrew) is an Israeli human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.
JDOE	Jerusalem Directorate of Education
Kibbutzim	A Hebrew word which means Israeli agricultural settlement.
Knesset	Knesset is the Hebrew word for parliament.
Mamlachtiut	A Hebrew word that means statsim, which is a political system by which the state has centralised control over social and economic affairs.
Manchi	The Hebrew word for the joint body of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Municipality of Jerusalem.
Mizrachi	A Hebrew word that literally translates to eastern. It is used to refer to Jews of Arab origin.
NAD	The Palestinian Liberation Organisation Negotiations Affairs Department (NAD) based in Ramallah.
OCHA	Abbreviation of The United Nations Office for the Coordination of the Human Affairs.
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Orient House	A building in East Jerusalem that served as the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the 1980s and 1990s. It was closed down by Israel in 2001.
Oslo Accords	Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (Oslo Accords 1993). It is a bilateral agreement signed in Washington following negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO).
PA	Abbreviation of Palestinian Authority.

PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics.
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation.
PmoE	Palestinian Ministry of Education.
Tawjihi	The official Palestinian matriculation certificate attesting to graduation from high school.
The Custodian of Abandoned Property	Israeli Law, Abandoned Areas Ordinance No. 12 of 5708—1948, this law authorises the state to determine what would be done with areas abandoned by their inhabitants.
TIMSS	An international assessment of the mathematics and science knowledge of fourth grade and eighth grade students around the world.
UNESCO	Abbreviation of United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organisation.
UNRWA	Abbreviation of United Nations Relief and Works Agency for the Palestinian Refugees in the Near East.

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Introduction

Education is considered to be a social right and so should be provided by the state equally to its residents and citizens. Its importance lies in its ability to empower and enable individuals to participate in the production and consumption of products in society. It also enables the individual to participate in the political process and so influence those institutions that determine the distribution of resources within the state. Education also enables the individual to have influence beyond the state's borders, by participating in the global economy and influencing decisions taken on a global basis. Education has become a prerequisite for success in the high-tech world, which requires its people to have a good knowledge of maths and science and go beyond just memorising data, so as to be capable of critically analysing and solving problems. This means that those who are deprived of an adequate education are also deprived of those crucial skills, and are thus excluded from participating effectively in society.

Therefore, education has become categorised as a basic human right, recognised by national constitutions, and a subject for discussion in international conventions. However, educational policies and legislations are influenced by state ideologies, and in the case of multicultural states, can be a cause of ethnic conflict, where educational services offered to ethnic minorities and indigenous populations are not distributed equally.

According to Peleg (2004) political ideologies in multicultural states vary in their egalitarian drives. He defines this variation on a spectrum between accommodationist régimes at one end, and exclusivist regimes at the other. This thesis focuses on ethnocratic states, which has a type of exclusivist regime that favours a specific ethnic group within the state. Consequently, in this case, all state policies are designed to ensure the dominance of this ethnic group, while other ethnic minorities, residing within state borders, remain subordinate and disenfranchised. This study will explore, specifically, the case of the State of Israel, its rule over, and policies concerning East Jerusalem from 1967 to the present time, and will analyse the relationship between the Israeli State and the Palestinian residents of the city in terms of service provision, specifically educational services.

This study will examine how Israel distributes social rights to people under its political control, according to an ethnically differentiated system of citizenship and sub-citizen status. Therefore, this study suggests that the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem will not only have lower educational rights than do Jewish citizens, but that the way that this differentiation is structured will serve to reinforce the political subordination of Palestinians as an ethnic group.

The first chapter of the study will explore, in general, the relationship between the state and its citizens and residents, in terms of social services provision. It focuses on the social exclusion of subordinate ethnic groups in society and the effects of this exclusion on their wellbeing and their participation in the state. It will show how social exclusion has a snowball effect on generation after generation of the excluded groups in society. The lack of occupational opportunities may depress the educational motivation of the next generation, lead to poor educational outcomes, and thus limit job opportunities for the next generation (Barry, 1998).

The second chapter presents the case of the State of Israel. It explores Israeli ideology and its exclusionary policies that favour the Jewish citizens of the state. It focuses on East Jerusalem, where Palestinian residents do not hold Israeli citizenship. After the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, the state chose not to provide them with citizenship status. However, East Jerusalemites can acquire Israeli citizenship, if they apply for it, but only 2.3% of Palestinian Jerusalemites have applied for Israeli citizenship (Guego, 2006) because the majority of Palestinian Jerusalemites consider such an act a betrayal of their national cause and an acceptance of the illegal occupation of East Jerusalem. This means that they remain unrepresented and so are completely excluded from the institutions that determine the distribution of resources in Jerusalem.

Chapter Three explores the educational policies of the State of Israel, and the influences that dictate and enforce them. Education policy in Israel is hugely influenced by the political agenda of the governing political party, and the Minister of Education is not just a bureaucratic official, but also a political figure, who acts in conformity with policies of the political party in power (Leavy, 2010). Therefore, Israel's definition of its territory as "a Jewish State for the Jewish people" is reflected in the unequal distribution of educational services to its Jewish and non-Jewish citizens and residents.

Chapter Four explores the research paradigm followed in the study. The research paradigm adopted uses the interpretive approach, where the researcher tries to capture people's interpretations of their realities and the meanings they attach to different events in their lives. By using this approach, this study will make a valuable addition to other research done on ethnic conflicts, in particular in problems relating to education. Research on education in East Jerusalem is limited and is mostly positivist, where previous researchers have provided statistical data to describe the educational sector. Very few studies have actually explored people's views, in depth, on the educational services they are receiving in the city. The studies available on the education sector in East Jerusalem are rarely comprehensive. The multi-sector study on East Jerusalem done by the Arab Studies Society in 2003, updated by the Jerusalem Unit at the President's office in 2010, dedicates a section of its study to education, but excludes Jerusalem Municipal schools which serve 47% of the student population of Jerusalem. It also offered quantitative data on the education sector, but with little analysis. Some data on the education sector in East Jerusalem is provided by Israeli non-governmental Human Rights organisations, such as The Association of Civil Rights in Israel and Ir Amim. The studies published by those organisations are also limited to stating figures and describing the education sector without presenting any analysis, or portraying Palestinians' thoughts and expectations. Similar types of quantitative data from other studies are available from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, such as the Jerusalem Yearbook series, that dedicates a section on the education sector in East Jerusalem, which also excludes Jerusalem Municipal schools. The above mentioned studies were used as a baseline for this study and much of the information provided in them is used to support the findings of this study.

This study has taken the findings of the previous studies a step forward, by getting Palestinian Jerusalemites to explain in their own words what it means to them to be living in Occupied East Jerusalem. It also analyses the figures and numbers provided in the previous studies in order to underpin the problems in the education sector, their causes and what perpetuates them. For this study the researcher has chosen qualitative research methods, because they enabled the researcher to collect a breadth of information on what goes on at the micro-level. The use of this strategy has helped explore what effect the deprivation of social rights and the weak education system in East Jerusalem has on the population. Two main qualitative methods were used for this

study which included semi-structured interviews and focus groups, in addition to observations of the schools visited.

The reason for choosing semi-structured interviews, as the main method for the research, is because they provide a great breadth of data, which helps the researcher to understand the complex behaviour and experiences of people in society, without imposing any prior categorisation that may limit the field of inquiry (Bryman, 2004). In semi-structured interviews research participants are allowed to tell their stories in ways which are meaningful to them, with minimal researcher interference. The researcher conducted sixty one individual interviews with people working at the four education systems, including the Palestinian Minister of education, the head of the Arab education system in the municipality, the head of the secondary Israeli system in the municipality, the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, and the head of the Jerusalem Education System at UNRWA. Further details of the research participants is included in Chapter Four, which gives a detailed description on the methods used and the research sample.

The researcher has also conducted fifteen focus groups with parents and teachers from the four different education systems in East Jerusalem. The idea was to explore how parents choose the type of education their children receive and in which institution, so as to understand what influences their choices and to learn their levels of satisfaction with the educational services that their children are receiving in the city. The focus groups held with the teachers were meant to capture their experiences, as people living in Jerusalem and working in the education system, what troubles they face, how they make sense of their realities and to give an insiders' view about the education system in East Jerusalem.

The findings of the study are presented from Chapters Five to Nine and begin by discussing the structure of the education system in East Jerusalem. Chapter Five delineates the four different supervising bodies over education in East Jerusalem, and discusses them in depth. The existence of several supervising bodies over education in East Jerusalem is a result of the insufficient and politicised educational provisions of the Israeli Municipality to the Palestinian residents of the city. The existence of several conflicting bodies that do not appear to cooperate or recognise one

another results in the fragmentation of the education sector, and ultimately diminished quality. The researcher has chosen to first focus on the structure of the education system in East Jerusalem, because it reflects who provides education to the residents and citizens of the city, and on what basis. It also reflects the politics that underlie this provision, thus explaining how the whole education system in East Jerusalem functions.

Chapters Six and Seven follow by looking in-depth at resourcing of the four systems in the education sector in East Jerusalem. Resourcing in the education system is a major issue that influences the quality of educational services provided. Therefore, the researcher has chosen this subject, to explore what is available for Palestinian children in terms of educational services. The two chapters also reflect the differences between the educational resources available to Israeli and Palestinian students, such as proper classrooms, science and computer laboratories, libraries, educational programmes and well qualified teachers and how those different educational outcomes affect the students' later life trajectories. The two chapters aim to show how inequality in the provision of educational services will result in low quality schooling for Palestinian children, thus influencing their future opportunities, socioeconomic status and political participation.

Limited resourcing of the education system is not the only factor affecting the education sector—movement restrictions and the manipulation of geography have also limited Palestinians life choices and opportunities, thus reflecting the ethnocratic nature of the Israeli State. Chapter Eight will take an overview of the geopolitical reality of Jerusalem. It aims to demonstrate how the manipulation of geography through arbitrary Israeli Municipal expansions in Jerusalem and the erection of a Separation Barrier, reflects Israel's ethnocratic policies that only take into account the welfare of the Jewish population. It will then discuss how the isolation of Jerusalem from its Palestinian periphery has affected the education sector in terms of teacher and students commute and the prevention of human resources from the West Bank to work in Jerusalem, thus limiting the workforce at the schools in East Jerusalem.

Chapter Nine will show how the issues discussed in the previous chapters which are fragmented structure of the education system, the limited resourcing of the education system and the manipulation of geography are all engineered to hamper Palestinians life opportunities. The

chapter will demonstrate how the biased distribution of resources in the city has resulted in the underdevelopment of the eastern side of the city where Palestinians dwell; this in combination with the deprivation of civil, political and social rights of the Palestinian residents of the city has transformed Palestinians into a subordinate ethnic minority in Jerusalem. The deprivation of quality education in particular has dire effects on the coming generations of Palestinians, as it deprives them from the opportunity to break the cycle of subordination.

1

Education, Society and the State

This chapter discusses the importance of education in society, and the recognition of it as a human right and a pillar of freedom. Educational services are an integral part of social rights, to which the citizens and residents are entitled. However, the distribution of a state's resources is informed by its political ideologies, which can be set on a scale, ranging from accommodating at one end and exclusionary at the other. This chapter will focus on ethnocratic states, which is a type of exclusionist régime. Here, the state favours a certain ethnic group or religion and produces policies that are directed to ensure the dominance of this ethnic group over other ethnic minorities and indigenous populations residing within the state. Policies in such a régime systematically discriminate against those minorities by only providing them with inferior social rights and impaired civil and political rights. Through this engineered system of discrimination, these subordinate groups become socially excluded and lack the capacity and the opportunity to penetrate the political institutions of the state, so that they remain disempowered and disenfranchised.

1.1 The Right to Education

The definition of the right to education in society is complex, as it cannot be analysed separately from the social structure of the society being studied, nor the social contract existing between the citizens and the state. Education has always been influenced by states' ideology. Aristotle believed that education should be regulated by law and the citizen should be moulded to suit the form of government under which he lives (Jowett, 1885). The Athenians viewed the human being as an individual as well as a citizen and therefore their education was directed towards the study of art and literature, as well as of war, unlike the Spartan system of education, which was under the complete control of the state and was aimed at creating soldiers (Garforth, 1962). Spartan boys were taken from their families at the age of seven and handed to the Ministry of Education, which educated them to serve their city as brutal invincible soldiers (Garforth, 1962). A parallel can be seen in Nazi Germany when students at school had physical training of a quasi-military nature. The Hitler salute was given at the beginning and end of every lesson and

children were taught in school racial pride, obedience to the Nazi regime and loyalty to the Nazi ideals (Garforth, 1962). These are examples where the state has used education to fulfil its military aspirations and where education was considered both as a duty and as a tool by which one could serve one's country.

In modern times, the loyalties to the state are being replaced by rights. Marshall (1981:175) explains that "in the pre-modern tradition-based societies, the old morality stressed obligations more than rights; whereas in the new modern citizenship-based societies it is the opposite". Education has therefore become recognised as a right that the state is obliged to provide for its citizens and residents. Marshall identified the right to education, as being a social right of citizenship in a liberal democratic society. He explains that citizenship involves equality of membership status in a society and the entitlement to what society acknowledges as legitimate rights (civil, political and social).

Marshall (1950) in his seminal work on citizenship and social class explains that social rights were the last to emerge after civil and political rights. He states further that the founding of the welfare state in the 1940's institutionalised the social rights of citizenship and guaranteed the state provision of social and economic rights. He explains that the provision of good education, healthcare and a minimum income better equips citizens to defend their civil rights and participate in the political arena, and by that they become equal citizens. The provision of social rights of citizenship provides an equality of status that cuts across social class and equalizes people in-front of the law regardless of their social status.

This concept has its roots in the French revolution of 1789, which emphasized the duty of the state in enlightening the citizens and fulfilling democratic ideals "public education, common to all men" as stated in the French constitution of 1791. The French revolutionaries were worried about the widespread educational influence of the Catholic Church. Therefore, they demanded a state controlled education system. However, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Western Europe, education was almost wholly provided by private schools, either funded by the church or the parents. Nonetheless, after World War II, the idea that every society owed to its citizen the minimal obligation of providing schools for their children started to spread, reaching

its peak with the publication of Article 26 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, in Paris in 1948, which stated that:

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory...and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit”.

Education has become categorised as a basic human right and included in both international legislations and national constitutions. It was established by The European Convention on Human Rights 1954, Protocol (1) article (2), The Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 article 28, The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights 1966, The European Social Charter 1961 revised in 1996, and The African Charter on Human and People's rights 1981. These conventions and charters stressed that the duty of the state is to provide education for its citizens. Countries have adopted the goal of public education in their political constitutions, with the aim of making education free and compulsory, with the state being responsible for providing, promoting and supervising it (Dieter Beiter, 2006).

Meyer-Birsch, from UNESCO, explains that the right to education is a mixed right, as it serves both civil and political rights and falls within the logic of economic and cultural rights (Dieter Beiter, 2006). Education serves civil and political rights in the sense that an uneducated person cannot make an informed decision in elections, he cannot stand for office, or participate in the political process of shaping his society (Marshall.1950). In fact, civil rights are designed to be used by educated intelligent people, and therefore education is a prerequisite of civil freedom (Marshall, 1950).

Education is considered an economic right as it facilitates self-sufficiency through employment. It is also an investment by the government that yields economic returns for the nation; by educating the citizens the government ensures that people support themselves instead of becoming a burden on public resources. Parents also see schooling as the necessary vehicle for entry into the labour market and financial security. The need for literate and skilled people was actually one of the main drivers behind compulsory education in the industrialization periods (Tomasevski, 2003). Diamond (2007:287) explains that the economic global order shifted and

the education that suited the industrial capitalist, which emphasized obeying rules, memorisation, and learning decontextualised knowledge was transformed into a more interactive-based education that requires conceptual understanding, problem solving and critical thinking. The economic drivers behind the advancement of education in the modern state have also shifted from “educate the citizen to be self-sufficient” towards global economic competitiveness (Alexiadou, 2010:74). By raising the quality of education, the state will be able to create a “magnet economy” where multinational companies would want to invest (Alexiadou, 2010:74).

Given the importance of education for both the individual and the state, educational policies have a two way effect: they can ensure both the egalitarianism and advancement for people in the state. On the other hand, when certain groups are excluded from quality education, they lose the opportunity for advancement. Therefore, many people are not willing to leave policy making solely to bureaucrats and politicians, so different social movements and non-governmental organisations are becoming more and more involved in shaping and influencing educational policies.

1.2 Education Policy: Between Inclusion and Exclusion

Educational policies are basically bureaucratic instruments, whereby the government administers the expectations that the public have of education (Taylor et al. 1997:1-6). There are several factors that influence educational policies, such as global pressures and economic competitiveness, the ideology of the governing party and the demands of minorities (Sayed et al. 2007). To be able to understand the process of policy making in a certain society, it is necessary to study the influence and the ideology of the policy makers, who establish a framework for their values and beliefs on how society should be and how the resources should be allocated to achieve what is desired (Sayed et al. 2007). This framework guides and justifies the state’s acts and behaviour. As Potrafke (2010) explains, each government has to choose its spending priorities and therefore the budget composition will correspond to the preferences of both the government and its constituents. She explains that parties do not merely determine the size of the budget but also determine the allocation of government expenditure with a focus on gratifying

their clientele, who are the voters. Therefore, educational policy cannot be studied as a concept on its own; it needs to be socially and politically contextualised.

According to Peleg (2004:428) political ideologies in multicultural states vary in their egalitarian drives between accommodationist régimes at the one end and exclusivist regimes at the other. The purest form of an accommodationist regime is a liberal democracy. Ideally, in a liberal democratic state, citizenship is the single criterion for legally belonging to the state and for receiving equal opportunities, regardless of the individual's or the group's ethnic or religious affiliations. The distribution of resources in society is equitable and is directed towards the development of society as a whole and to prevent the dominance and hegemony of certain groups based on their ethnicity, race or religious affiliations. Educational policies in such societies are directed to ensure egalitarianism, equal provision of educational services to all citizens and residents, educating the citizens and residents on the importance of voting and participating in decision making and teaching them to evaluate the laws and the leaders that implement them (Peleg, 2004). Examples of such societies are Belgium and Canada.

The opposite of an accommodationist regime is an exclusivist regime, or "ethnocracy". An ethnocracy, as described by Yiftachel (2006:11) is a type of exclusivist regime that facilitates the "expansion, ethnicization, and control by a dominant ethnic nation over a contested territory, or polity". He explains that there are different forms of ethnocracies around the world, some use ethnic dictatorship such as Rawanda and Serbia; others, that represent themselves as democratic, by holding elections and maintaining that they support civil rights and still perform acts of "undemocratic expansions of the dominant ethno-nation". Examples include Israel, Malaysia, Latvia and nineteenth century Australia (Yiftachel, 2006:12).

The dominant ethnic group is always in control of the state's political institutions and directs the state policies to ensure their continuing dominance. There is separation in the education systems between those of the dominant ethnic group and the weaker ethnicities. The weaker ones receive fewer resources from the state. In such a state, citizenship or membership of the state does not determine the extent of services bestowed on an individual or a group of people living within the state's borders, whereas ethnicity does (Yifatchel, 2006). Therefore, citizenship is considered to

be less important than belonging to the dominant ethnic group. The ethnic state is not neutral to the competition between citizens on the state resources and this impartiality extends to state laws and policies. There is an attack on the culture and the language of the weaker ethnic groups and they are deemed inferior. Therefore, their chances of progression and development are slim. They remain in low paid jobs and stay dependent on the dominant ethnic group for goods and services. By maintaining such policies, the ethnocratic state makes sure the status quo remains and the dominant ethnic group remains in control. This treatment leads to the social exclusion and alienation of the subordinate ethnic groups.

“Social exclusion is a process that deprives individuals and families, groups and neighbourhoods of the resources required for participation in the social, economic, and political activity of society as a whole. This process is primarily a consequence of poverty and low income, but other factors such as discrimination, low educational attainment and depleted living environments also underpin it. Through this process people are cut off for a significant period in their lives from institutions and services, social networks and developmental opportunities that the great majority of a society enjoys” (Pierson, 2002:7).

Barry (1998) explains that even though social exclusion has always been linked to poverty, social exclusion can occur between groups that cannot be distinguished significantly from one another economically. Buchardt (1999:229) explains that “An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control, he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of the citizens in that society”.

Barry (1998) sets out the case against social exclusion under two main counts: the first count is against social exclusion, which he sees as the violation of social justice in society, and the second count is that it violates the value of social solidarity. He defines social justice in terms of equality of opportunity, where two people with the same ability get the same opportunities in society and do equally well in life unless one voluntarily makes a different choice. He explains that social exclusion conflicts with the concept of equality of opportunity, in the sense that it leads to unequal educational, occupational opportunities and unequal political opportunities. It has a snowball effect on generation after generation of excluded groups in society. The lack of

occupational opportunities may depress the educational motivation in the next generation, lead on to poor educational outcomes, and thus limit job opportunities for the next generation (Barry, 1998). Breaking this circle of social exclusion is neither an individual responsibility, nor a question of raising academic standards, but rather it is problem of governance of the system and has to be addressed as such (Alexiadou, 2010) .

The educational exclusion of certain groups in society can be reflected in three major areas (Sayed, 2009:25). First, it restricts physical access to schools. This can be a result of the lack of enough schools and classrooms in certain districts, lack of enough school teachers who can teach in the language of certain minorities or indigenous populations, and restricted access of certain ethnic or religious groups to certain schools (Sayed, 2009). The segregation of schools, where children with different social, cultural and religious backgrounds attend different schools has deepened the problem of social exclusion. This type of segregation is caused by the selective criteria of private schools. These schools are established for parents who wish to send their children to schools where they can learn among other children of the same social level and the same cultural background. The administration controls the access of students to these schools by setting high fees, and through entrance interviews for determining the children's suitability (Barry, 1998).

The second problem is that even when those socially excluded groups have access to a school, the quality of education they receive is usually poor and does not serve their needs. Therefore, their achievement levels are poor, and primary and secondary education retention decreases (Sayed, 2009). Barry (1998:21) points out the crucial effects of social exclusion on educational outcomes, which is "the more closely the resources of a school district reflect its tax base, the more underfunded schools in poor areas will be". In underfunded schools, it is very difficult to retain qualified teachers and the schools facilities are usually of a low standard. Therefore, education in those deprived areas fails to meet the standard called for in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (2001) article 29,1, A of "development of the child's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential".

This neglect can result in an increase in truancy and drop-out rates. It can also make the chances of those students going to college slimmer and when they do go; they have more trouble than the

other students with academic discourse; they do not question authority and have a low base of relevant information and weak literacy (Linkon, 1999). This is clearly reflected in Darling-Hammond (2004) study on the effects on students' achievement from the differential governmental spending on schools, based on the students' race. Her study shows that there is still a gap between the learning opportunities offered to African American and minority students, and those offered to White students. She believes that the gaps in educational achievement between minority and White students can be directly linked to the disparities in educational spending. Cases of educational exclusion and social exclusion are present even in proclaimed liberal democracies. Several studies show how class, race and gender influence educational outcomes in the UK (See Reay Et al. 2005, Perry and Francis 2010) and in the US (see Kozol, 1991, Darling-Hammond, 2004).

However, those countries have addressed their educational exclusion issues and have made strong and explicit constitutional and policy commitments and efforts to address such issues. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled against racial segregation in the public education system in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954: 483-500). The judges in the case stated: "We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". In a further statement, they emphasized that:

"In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms"

Another case was that of *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), when the Supreme Court of the United States struck down a state statute denying funding for education to illegal immigrant children and simultaneously struck down a municipal school district's attempt to charge illegal immigrants.

In an ethnocracy, on the other hand, social exclusion is hardly addressed by the state. The minority is treated as a threat to the state and is labeled as a "Demographic Threat" or a "Security Threat". The culture of these minority groups is portrayed by the dominant ethnic group as backward and hostile. Even when students from the weak ethnic group acquire their degrees, they find it difficult to penetrate the labour market in the ethnic state. This is the third problem

with educational exclusion mentioned by Sayed (2009), which is that after those marginalised students finish school they find it difficult to penetrate the labour market in the same society that excludes and neglects them and so they become clustered in low paid employment. Lowenberg and Kaempfer (1998) state that, historically, educational exclusion has often served as an important mechanism for collective discrimination. They explain how most of the productivity gap in the American south, prior to World War II, was attributed to restricting the opportunities for Black people in both education and mobility. The racial wage gap was also linked to the differential access to education.

Mazawi (1995) explains that in multiethnic states, biased educational policies and differential access opportunities to education are main determinants of socio-economic inequalities. He explains that the institutionalisation of unequal opportunities at the level of state bureaucracies can curb the access of subordinate groups to educational credentials and the segregated labour-market structures determine the value such educational credentials have for various social groups.

In the case of Apartheid South Africa, the state used the educational system to hinder the social mobility of the Black majority, and to ensure White dominance and hegemony (Seidman, 1999). Educational policies only prepared the Black Africans for low-wage labour, and protected the White minority from competition. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 established a Black Education Department in the Department of Native Affairs which would compile a curriculum that suited the “nature and requirements of the black people” (Hartshorne, 1992:41). This act prevented Black South Africans from receiving good education and thus gaining social mobility. Instead, their chances were diminished by tampering with their education and ensuring that they remained in labouring jobs under the authority of the Whites.

Black South African schools suffered from the government's neglect, as they received only one tenth of the money provided to white schools (Hartshorne, 1992). The student-teacher ratios were much higher in Black schools (56:1), which adversely affected the quality of education for black students (Hartshorne, 1992:41). Black children were suffering in decaying overcrowded school buildings, with poor teacher training and unsuitable curriculums.

As discussed, education is a basic human right, which should be provided to children by the state, regardless of their political status, whether citizens, residents, people under occupation or illegal immigrants. As was shown in the case of *Plyler v. Doe*, the US court ruled against discriminating against children who were brought illegally into the United States by their parents. The court concluded that denying these children proper education would likely contribute to “the creation and perpetuation of a subclass of illiterates within our boundaries, surely adding to the problems and costs of unemployment, welfare, and crime”.

This chapter has explored the right to education, its recognition as a basic human right, its importance for the individual’s economic advancement, social mobility, social inclusion in society and its importance in helping individuals understand and protect their civil and political rights. This chapter has also reflected the importance of the right to education to the community as a whole, as it enables the community to protect its culture and identity, especially in the case of ethnic conflict. In multicultural states the dynamics between the government and the community differs based on the government’s political ideology. This can range on a spectrum from accommodationist regimes, which are regimes that consider citizenship/residency as the determinant of the rights bestowed on the individuals and exclusionist regimes that give dominance to a certain ethnicity (Peleg, 2004). Discrimination in this political system is institutionalised and engineered to disempower the weaker ethnic groups by constantly breaching their civil, political and social rights.

This study focuses on the social right education and shows the different educational exclusionary mechanisms that are used by an ethnocratic state to alienate the weaker ethnic group. Sayed (2009) reflects on three educational exclusionary measures; first, restricted physical access to schools to the children of the subordinate group. Second, the schools that are available for those socially excluded groups are of low quality, thus they do not equip the students with sufficient educational services that will enable them to compete in higher educational institutions. Third, exclusion in the labour market; excluded groups find it difficult to penetrate the labour market in the same society that excludes and neglects them and so they become clustered in low paid employment. This theory is also supported by Mazawi (1995), who explains that in multiethnic states, biased educational policies and differential access opportunities to education are the main

determinants of socio-economic inequalities. Meaning that educational exclusion in ethnic societies is engineered to perpetuate inequalities between the different ethnicities. Lowenberg and Kaempfer (1998) also reflect on this issue by showing how educational exclusion in the southern states in the US prior to the 1960's has served as an important mechanism for collective discrimination against African Americans. They also relate the racial wage gap between the Whites and the Blacks to educational exclusion. This was also pointed out by Barry (1998), who explains that educational and social exclusion of certain communities become self-perpetuating, lack of occupational opportunities may depress the educational motivation of the next generation which lead to poor educational outcomes and thus limit job opportunities for the next generation and the cycle continues. The legacy of the discrimination against African Americans is still witnessed to this days, as reflected in Darling-Hammond (2004) study on the effects on students' achievement from the differential governmental spending on schools, based on the students' race. She believes that the gaps in educational achievement between minority and White students can be directly linked to the disparities in governmental educational spending. This same ethnic and racial treatment in the provision of educational services was witnessed by Black South Africans, in apartheid South Africa. The state used the educational system to hinder the social mobility of the Black majority to ensure White dominance and hegemony (Seidman, 1999).

This thesis will explore the issue of educational exclusion, its causes and effects on the Palestinian population of East Jerusalem. It will show the different measures Israel uses to socially exclude the Palestinians and how this affects the Palestinian community of East Jerusalem. It will also show how the different social exclusion theories that are presented in this chapter apply in the context of East Jerusalem.

2

The Case of Israel

This chapter presents the case of Israel/Palestine, with a focus on East Jerusalem. It explores Israel's ethnocratic policies towards its non-Jewish Palestinian citizens and residents, and the effect of these policies on their welfare. The chapter will describe the notion of citizenship in the State of Israel and the criteria that define inclusion and exclusion in the Israeli Jewish society. It will then explore the case of East Jerusalem, which is the focus of this thesis, and will describe the relationship between the state and the Palestinian residents of the city. This political context will help in understanding the influences behind the state's educational policies and the forces that shape the education sector in East Jerusalem. It will also provide an understanding of the political conflict that influences all the sectors in East Jerusalem.

2.1 The Notion of Citizenship in Israel

Israel views itself as the only democracy in the Middle East. It also identifies itself as a Jewish State for Jewish people. Its identification as a Jewish State is enshrined in important foundational documents, such as its Declaration of Independence. This stance has dominated all institutions of the Israeli polity, society, and culture (Peleg, 2004). Jewish Knesset (Parliament) members (MKs) and public figures have been striving to emphasize and strengthen the Jewish character of the state. For example, a currently proposed amendment to The Basic Law: The Government–Loyalty Oath stipulates that upon taking up the office of minister, all ministers must make an oath to the state as a “Jewish, Zionist and Democratic State” (Adalah¹, 2011:54).

Some Israeli scholars like Smooha (2002) and Peled (1992) argue that Israel is an ethnic democracy and so it maintains a fair balance between being democratic and Jewish. Peled (1992:92) argues that the citizenship status of Israel's Palestinian citizens is the key to Israel's ability to present itself as an ethnic democracy. He says that in Israel there are two types of citizenship: republican for Jews and liberal for Palestinians. “While Jews and Arabs (Palestinians), formally, have equal citizenship rights, only Jews can exercise their citizenship in

¹Adalah (Justice in Arabic) is a Palestinian human rights organisation and legal center based in Haifa.

practice, by attending to the common good”. Smootha (1990:199) argues that on a continuum going from democracy to non-democracy, Israel can be located in the democracy section, because it combines the extension of civil and political rights to individuals and some collective rights to minorities, while according to its constitution, it maintains majority control over the state. He says that the State of Israel is identified as a “core ethnic nation”. Therefore, it should be defined as an ethnic democracy.

Scholars like Rouhana (2006) and Ghanem (1998) argue that there is a contradiction between a Jewish State and a Democratic State because the former disregards and excludes the large non-Jewish minority living within the state borders, 20% of the state population is not Jewish (ICBS, 2009). Scholars like Rouhana (2006:64) have challenged the concept of being Jewish and democratic, saying that it is a “national self-deception, rooted in the collective inability, or unwillingness to accept that discriminatory policies toward the non-Jewish minority contradict democratic processes”. Rouhana provides a list of Israeli violations against its own non-Jewish citizens, starting with the fact that Israel defines itself as the homeland of the Jews; however, this excludes its 1.2 million non-Jewish citizens, and includes millions of Jews around the world that have never even visited Israel (Rouhana, 2006). He explains that the criterion of inclusion in the state is not citizenship but rather religious affiliations (being Jewish).

Adalah (2011:15) also stress this opinion by pointing out that the Law of Return (1950) in Israel and The Citizenship Law (1952), allow Jews to immigrate to Israel and gain citizenship on entrance, but excludes the Palestinians who were forced to flee their homes in 1948 and 1967, from the same right. The Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law (Temporary Order, 2003) denies Palestinians from the Occupied Palestinian Territories to acquire the right to Israeli residency, or citizenship status, even if they are married to citizens of Israel (Jewish or Palestinian). Those laws reflect Israel’s ethnic nature of citizenship, which is restricted to Jews. Peleg (2004) argues that Israel is an exclusivist regime, as it maintains a strong distinction between Jews and non-Jews. He says that the Israeli regime does not meet the strict definition of Western liberal democracy, neither in the sense of equal individual rights, nor in the sense of state neutrality toward all social groups.

Yiftachel and Ghanem (2004:650) also believe that a state like Israel cannot be considered a democracy because the notion of the “demos” is “crucially ruptured”, meaning that the concept of equal resident-citizen is distorted. “Ethnicity, and not citizenship, forms the main basis for resource and power allocation; only partial rights and capabilities are extended to minorities”. Yiftachel (2002) maintained that Israel should be considered to be an ethnocratic state, because of its unclear borders. He adds that most Israeli scholars who claim that the State of Israel is democratic neglect the Occupied Palestinian Territories of 1967 and the non-Israeli citizens who are under Israeli control directly or indirectly. Palestinians living under Israeli control have different types of citizenship rights, all of which are inferior to those provided for Jewish citizens (Yiftachel, 2002). These rights are determined by a combination of ethnicity and place of residence: (a) Druze (b) Palestinians holding Israeli citizenship (c) Southern Bedouins (d) Palestinian Jerusalem residents (e) Palestinian West Bank residents and (f) Palestinian Gaza residents (Yiftachel, 2002). The Druze enjoy the highest number of rights and the Gazans the least. Even Palestinians who hold the Israeli citizenship are always threatened; according to Adalah (2011), the Knesset (Parliament) makes it possible to strip Israeli citizenship from Palestinians, who hold Israeli citizenships for various reasons related to alleged “disloyalty” to the state or “breach of trust”.

Palestinians residing in the Occupied Territories unlike settlers are not considered citizens in the State of Israel and are denied that right, even though they are controlled directly and indirectly by Israeli policy. This is a stark contradiction to democratic theories, which maintain that any group of people, who are affected by a government’s policies, should have the right to participate in its decision making process.

Palestinians holding Israeli citizenships are dissatisfied with their living conditions. Ghanem (2002) conducted a survey of 768 Palestinian respondents, who held Israeli citizenship and resided in the borders established in 1948. The respondents were asked to rank the degree of disparity, or equality, between Jewish citizens of Israel and Palestinian citizens of Israel, in domains related to the state. 81.8% of the sample stated that there is a large gap in the allocation of financial resources between Palestinians holding Israeli citizenship and Jews holding Israeli citizenship (Ghanem, 2002:145). 76.4% thought that the definition of the character of the state

favours Jewish citizens. Palestinians feel that the state's insistence on identifying itself as Jewish and Zionist shows a clear preference for Jews in all areas related to the state. The respondents of the study said that Israel serves primarily the Jews, rather than all its citizens, only 17.3% in Ghanem's (2002:147) survey believed that "an Arab (Palestinian) can live as an equal citizen in the state".

Exclusionary attitudes towards Palestinians in Israel are witnessed at both the state and the community levels. According to Adalah's (2011:51) report, Palestinians have unequal access and lower levels of participation than Jewish citizens in all spheres of public life and decision-making: in the judiciary, the legislature, the Government and the Civil Service. Palestinian Knesset Members are highly under-represented in the Israeli parliament. There are 120 Knesset Members, of which seven only are Palestinians, which means that only 5.8% of Members of Parliament represent the 20% Palestinian population of Israel. This means that Palestinians have limited access to decision-making processes and remain subordinate to the dominant Jewish ethnic majority. According to Adalah's (2011) report, the criminal justice system in Israel is regularly used as a means of delegitimising political acts and expression by Palestinian citizens of Israel, including their elected political leadership.

At the community level, discrimination towards Palestinians in the State of Israel is a well - documented phenomenon. According to the Democracy Index, published by the Israel Democracy Institute (2007:64-66), only 56% agreed with the need for full equality of rights for all citizens, Jews and Palestinians. The report also showed that 66% of Jews said "you cannot trust Arabs (Palestinians)" and 78% of Jews said that they are opposed to Palestinian political parties and Palestinian ministers joining the government. A majority of 87% of the public thought that Jewish-Palestinian relations in Israel were not very good, or not at all good (Democracy Index 2007:11). Another survey conducted by the Centre Against Racism (2006) revealed that 75.3% of the Jewish sample questioned declared that they would not agree to live in the same building with Palestinians, 61.4% were not willing to have Palestinian friends visit their homes, and over half the population, i.e. 55.6%, agreed that Palestinians and Israeli Jews should have separate recreational facilities. Over half the population (55%) of Israeli Jews surveyed supported the idea that the government should encourage Palestinian emigration from the country. According to Smooha (1993:329) the Jewish public is "ethnocentric". In his survey

of a statewide representative sample of 1200 Jewish Israeli men and woman, aged 18 and over, and living in the 1948 borders, 74% of the sample said that the state should give preference to Jews over Palestinians. 43% of the sample favoured the denial of the right to vote to Palestinian citizens of Israel, and 74% were unwilling to have a Palestinian as a superior in a job. Those were the thoughts and views of the Jewish majority, at that time, in the State of Israel. So for the government to get the people's votes, it should be issuing policies that answer to this frame of thinking.

According to Adalah's (2011:4) report, the political and policy structures in the State of Israel institutionalise discrimination against the Palestinian citizens. It says that specific laws and policies work to exclude the Palestinian minority from state resources and services, as well as the structures of power. The state has established 600 new Jewish Municipalities since 1948, in comparison with none being established for Palestinians. Adalah's report also shows that Palestinian Arab Municipalities have control over only 2.5% of the state's land. According to Okun and Friedland (2005), Palestinian Arab residential areas get excluded from the state's national planning projects, resulting in them having an inadequate infrastructure and the inability to obtain zoning approval for commercial and industrial development, leading to the lack of economic opportunity in Palestinian areas and making the Palestinians dependent on the Jewish market for employment.

Palestinians lived under military administration from 1948 to 1966, were confined to specific geographic areas that were underdeveloped and neglected by the state and only limited opportunities for employment and economic development were available to them. They were unable to travel in pursuit of educational training or to compete for better jobs in the labour market (Okun and Friedland 2005). The restrictions drastically limited their advancement and development in Israeli society. State policies have managed to ensure a better socio-economic and powerful status for Israeli Jews; this can be reflected in the following statistics in Adalah's report (2011:19), compiled from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (ICBS) and The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (2010):

“The average gross monthly income among Arab (Palestinian) male workers was around 42% lower than that for Jewish male workers in 2008 and the

average gross monthly income for Arab (Palestinian) female workers was around 28% lower than for Jewish female workers in the same year. The net monthly income of Arab (Palestinian) households is just 63% of the net monthly income of Jewish households, despite the larger average size of Arab (Palestinian) families. Therefore, it is clear that in terms of economic wellbeing, the Arab (Palestinian)-Israeli population is at a net disadvantage compared to the Jewish population”

Some Israeli writers like Patai (1973) suggest that the problem lies within the Palestinians themselves, Patai leans on psychological cultural explanations to explain the stagnation and “backwardness” of Palestinians, claiming that “the problem” is rooted in the Palestinians mental configurations (cited in Tuastad, 2003:594). Waschitz (1947) also asserts that Palestinians do not have the cultural abilities to be members of democratic societies. Rosenfeld (1962) attributes the economic stagnation of the Palestinian society to traditional family structure. Tuastad (2003) explains that such justifications of the problem that disregard Israel’s political and economic interests in disempowering the Palestinian society and thus blaming their economic and political stagnation on cultural traits is another form of violence against the Palestinians.

2.2 The Problem with East Jerusalem

To understand the ethnic relationships between the State of Israel and the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem it is worthwhile exploring briefly the history of the conflict over the city. In 1947, before the British Mandate of Palestine came to an end, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 181, which stated that the city of Jerusalem was to be established as a “Corpus Separatum”², administered by the United Nations, so as to ensure that the city preserved its neutrality. The United Nations resolution awarded 55.5% of Palestine to the Jewish community, which comprised less than 20% of the population, most of them new immigrants from the West (Khalidi, 1997). After the partition plan was revealed, the Israelis and the Palestinians became engaged in civil war. The Arab armies did not intervene until 1948, after the British army left Palestine. Israel won the war and Jerusalem was split into the western part, under Israeli control, and the eastern part, which included the old city, under the Jordanian

² A Latin term meaning separate bodies. It is the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181, The UN Partition Plan for Palestine November 29, 1947.

control. Ben Gurion declared that Israeli-held Jerusalem was no longer an “Occupied Territory”, but now an integral part of the State of Israel. However, Hodgkins (1996) explains that an important distinction was made when Ben Gurion expressed a willingness to establish an UN sanctioned “Corpus Separatum” over the Old City to delegitimize Jordan's hold over it while, at the same time removing Israel's own territorial acquisitions from the debate. Israel also specifically recognised the legal effect of the resolution on Jerusalem in the assurances it gave to the General Assembly in 1949 in support of its application for membership of the United Nations (Cattan, 1981). Abba Eban, Israel's representative, then declared to the General Assembly that “the legal status of Jerusalem is different from the territory in which Israel is sovereign” (Cattan, 1981:10).

In 1967 Israel again went to war with its Arab neighbours, conquering East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. The Israeli Knesset immediately extended Israeli laws, jurisdiction and civil administration over East Jerusalem. By annexing East Jerusalem, Israel added approximately 70,500 dunams to the previous 38,000 dunams of land (ACRI³, 2008). This area now falls under the jurisdiction of the Jerusalem Municipality, which is vastly larger than the Jordanian Municipal Jerusalem. The purpose of this expansion was to establish new Jewish settlements and transform the demographics of the city.

According to the Jerusalem Master Plan 1968, the plan consisted of a three-phase policy: first, uniting the western and eastern sides of the city by populating the eastern side of the city with Israelis, so as to make re-division, in the future, impossible. Second, encircling the city, outside its existing periphery, with new Israeli settlements, aimed at establishing control over the broader Jerusalem region (cited in Cohen, 1993:81). The Israeli settlement of Gilo created a wedge between Jerusalem and the Palestinian cities of Beitjallah/Bethelehem, the settlement of Neve Yakov created a wedge between Jerusalem and Arram/Dahiet Al Bared, the settlement of East Talpiot fell between the Palestinian villages of Sorbaher, Sawahreh. The settlement of Ramot was built on land formerly belonging to the Palestinian villages of Shufat and Beit Hanina (Ibid). It is worth noting that not all the settlements in Jerusalem were built on private Palestinian land, a few were Jewish owned. Third, excluding the highly populated Palestinian neighbourhoods

³ Abbreviation of the Association of Civil Rights in Israel. An Israeli human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.

from the Jerusalem Municipality, among them Abu Dis- Aizarieh, Arram, Dhiet al Bared, Biernabala, which was aimed at reducing the number of Palestinian residents of Jerusalem.

This annexation was never recognised by the international community. Under international law East Jerusalem is considered to be Occupied Palestinian Territory. The United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) “Land for Peace” called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied during the 1967 war, including East Jerusalem. Subsequent UN Resolutions have also called upon Israel to cease from the further actions it was taking in order to alter the status of Jerusalem. The UN Security Council also reconfirmed that “all actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, which purport to alter the character and status of Jerusalem, have no legal validity and constitute a flagrant violation of the Geneva Convention, relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and it also constituted a serious obstruction to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East” (cited in Diakonia⁴, 2011).

Regardless of those warnings, the Israeli Municipality pursued planning policies intended to cut Jerusalem off from the West Bank and to facilitate its easy annexation into the State of Israel. By creating facts on the ground, the Israeli Municipality wanted to ensure the city would remain under Israeli sovereignty (Diakonia, 2011). In 1980, the Israeli Knesset passed the “Basic Law for Jerusalem, Capital of Israel” which, at a higher constitutional level, declared Jerusalem to be Israel's “eternal and indivisible” capital, which included the Occupied East Jerusalem Territory (Diakonia, 2011). It further stated in the Prohibition of the Transfer of Authority (Amendment no. 1) “No authority that is stipulated in the law of the State of Israel or of the Jerusalem Municipality may be transferred either permanently, or for an allotted period of time, to a foreign body, whether political, governmental or to any other similar type of foreign body”.

Cattan (1981:13) explains that “it is a settled principle of the Law of Nations that an occupying power does not acquire sovereignty over the occupied territory, nor does its occupation destroy or extinguish the sovereignty of the legitimate sovereign. Belligerent occupation does not result in the transfer of sovereignty in favour of the military occupier”. Cattan (1981:13) maintains that this concept of sovereignty is not a new concept and it was on the same basis that the sovereignty

⁴ A Swedish Faith based organisation that works towards more people living a life in dignity.

of several countries was restored after occupation and annexation. The nationhood of Poland was preserved and its sovereignty restored, despite the occupation and annexation of its territory between 1795 and 1919.

After the Annexation, The Israeli Population Census conducted in 1967 recorded 66,000 Palestinians living in East Jerusalem (Hodgkins, 1996). Those Palestinian Jerusalemites were not regarded as citizens in the state; instead they were treated as immigrants who had entered the state and lived on its benefice and not by right (B'Tselem⁵, 2010). Most of the Palestinians present in Jerusalem at the time acquired residency permits (blue identities), but those who were not present lost their right to reside in the city. Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza were given a different coloured identification document, as a means of separating legally, Palestinians living in Jerusalem from the other Palestinians living outside the city. This mechanism was used to give the Israeli Ministry of Interior a de facto control over who gets to reside or enter the city and to restrict access of Palestinians residing in the West Bank and Gaza strip to Jerusalem (B'Tselem, 2010).

Permanent residency depends on the individual actually residing in Jerusalem long term and is subject to revocation if proved otherwise by the Israeli Ministry of Interior. This has undermined Palestinians' right to live in the city. Palestinian Jerusalemites are entitled to Israeli citizenship, if they swear allegiance to the State of Israel. However, only 2.3% of Palestinian Jerusalemites have applied for Israeli citizenship (Guego, 2006) because the majority of Palestinian Jerusalemites consider such an act to be a betrayal of their national cause and an acceptance of the illegal occupation of East Jerusalem. However, this decision makes them vulnerable residents, because they remain unrepresented and are completely excluded from the institutions that determine the distribution of resources in Jerusalem. Palestinian residents in East Jerusalem are subject to social exclusion and alienation; they are stripped of their basic civil, political and social rights. Advocates of Israeli policies say that Palestinians voluntarily choose to exclude themselves from Israeli society.

⁵ An Israeli human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.

Barry (1998) argues that voluntary social exclusion is equal to imposed social exclusion, in the sense that an individual, or the members of a group, may withdraw from participation in the wider society because they have experienced hostility and discrimination. He explains that the actual withdrawal is voluntary, but the context within which it occurs, still makes it a case of social exclusion, whereby individuals or groups are excluded against their will. An example similar to this is that of a person quitting his job after being exposed to unacceptable working conditions and discriminations. The sort of exclusion Palestinians suffer from in Jerusalem is reflected in the speech of Teddy Kollek, the mayor who governed Jerusalem for 29 years. (Speech at the City Council, 17th December 1987)

“I do not want to give them the feeling that they are equal. I know we cannot give them a sense of equality. But, I want here and there, when it does not cost so much, and when it is just an economic effort, to give them anyway, the feeling that they can live here. If I will not give them such a feeling we will suffer” (cited in Yiftachel, 2002:138)

2.2.1 Limitations on the Role of the Palestinian Authority in East Jerusalem

Israel's Occupation of East Jerusalem and its ethnocentric policies in the city have fueled Palestinian resistance. This resistance is manifested in two ways. First, Palestinians automatically excluded themselves from the Jerusalem Municipality by boycotting municipal elections and refusing to learn the Hebrew language. The second form of resistance manifests itself in demonstrations, strikes and attacks on Israeli civilians and military dominations. However, both forms of resistance are not parts of an organised comprehensive strategy lead by Palestinian leadership (Larendresse, 1995). In fact, both forms of resistance have affected the Palestinian community negatively, the first form where Palestinians isolate themselves from the municipality and refuse to learn the Hebrew language, they alienate themselves from the institutions of resource distribution in Jerusalem and so they further disempower themselves. The second form of resistance which is manifested in acts of violence against Israelis; this has harmed Palestinians by giving Israel the prerogative for collective punishment. For instance, Israel has used Palestinian suicide bombings as an excuse for the creation of the Separation Barrier and to ban family unifications between Palestinians residing in Jerusalem and Palestinians living in the West Bank.

The cause of this unregulated chaotic resistance is the lack of Palestinian leadership in the city. The Palestinian Authority is not allowed any formal role in the city, to the extent that the Israeli authorities close down any event attended by Palestinian Authority officials in the city. Since the Annexation of 1967 Israel has systematically fought the presence of any Palestinian leadership in East Jerusalem. It has shut down Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem that are politically active or are affiliated with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). According to Hirbawi and Helfand (2011) Israel has shut down 22 Palestinian institutions in the city between 2001 and 2011, under the excuse that the Oslo Accords⁶ prohibit the establishment of any activity of the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem. Those included vital Palestinian institutions such as the Orient House⁷ which acted as the PLO office in Jerusalem, The Arab Chamber of Commerce and Industry, The Jerusalem Institute for Planning, and many more vital Palestinian institutions. This has limited the role of the Palestinian Authority in the city and has left the Palestinian community without any leadership, also the fact that the Palestinian political leadership in the West Bank and Gaza is divided and weak has further increased the disempowerment of the Palestinian community in Jerusalem. The Palestinian Authority is not in charge of any of the social sectors in the city, it is not in charge of the education sector, its policies and strategies for the education sector in East Jerusalem described in its strategy 2008-2012 are very limited. It provides educational services through the Awqaf⁸ system and since the Awqaf schools buildings are located in Jerusalem it does not have control over those buildings, it is restricted and cannot expand or renovate those buildings without the permission of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality. Restriction is not only limited to buildings, Israel is in control of the Palestinian tax revenues and it transfers them to the Palestinian Authority based on an agreement in the Oslo Accords. However, Israel freezes this funding when it disapproves of the PA's action and this results in the inability of the PA to pay its civil servants, which include teachers in Jerusalem. This freeze in funding has pushed teachers to strike and many to quit working at the Palestinian educational system (Awqaf) which has led to the negative student enrollment in this system from 18% of the

⁶ Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements (Oslo Accords 1993). It is a bilateral agreement signed in Washington following negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

⁷ A building in East Jerusalem that served as the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the 1980s and 1990s. It was closed down by Israel in 2001.

⁸ Awqaf is the plural of the Arabic word waqf which means endowment. Islamic Awqaf are assets dedicated for charitable purposes.

student population in 2005 to 14% of the student population in 2011⁹. This shows how Israel manages to weaken the Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem.

It can be argued that the exclusionary methods Israel uses against Palestinians in the city are not only harmful to the Palestinian community, but negatively affect the stability of the whole city. Shaykhutdinov (2011:143) argues that ethnic groups that enjoy a higher educational status are less prone to using violent strategies of resistance, choosing instead peaceful protest. He tested this hypothesis using data on 238 ethnic groups in 106 states from 1945 to 2000. The results of the statistical analysis indicate that groups with higher levels of educational attainment are more likely to engage in non-violent protest. Conversely, groups that enjoy lower educational status in their respective societies tend to use violent tactics. He argues that ethnic minority groups that have better educational access and privileges are more likely to use nonviolent protest to make territorial or group demands, because they have something to lose, in contrast with disadvantaged ethnic minorities with limited access to educational services and privileges and thus don't have much to lose and may resort to violent resistance as a prerogative for the unjust social order they are dwelling in. Berkman (2007) also supports the argument that social exclusion is a contributing factor to violent outcomes. She argues that those who resort to violent acts most often lack access to legitimate economic opportunities and the personal or social contacts required to obtain many of the services and resources available to mainstream society (Berkman, 2007:3). When the conventional methods of obtaining social status like education and job opportunities are denied to a certain ethnic group some feel compelled to resort to what the mainstream considers illegitimate means, including violent acts (Reiss and Roth, 1993 cited in Berkman, 2007).

When the ethnic state marginalises and excludes groups in society to disempower and control them, it automatically creates a body that is prone to resist it and fight its policies. Berkman (2007:5) argues that “social exclusion and violence interact in a vicious circle that leaves the socially excluded in a very hostile social environment where the borders between legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate are often fuzzy and uncertain”.

⁹ Statistics provided by the Jerusalem Directorate of education (Awqaf Department), unpublished.

2.2.2 Deprived of Civil and Political Rights

According to International Humanitarian law, it is the duty of the occupying power to ensure the welfare of the occupied population (The Fourth Geneva Convention) and also according to Israeli Law, permanent residents are entitled to the same services and rights granted to Israeli citizens. However, there is a huge gap between the rights and services granted to Palestinian Jerusalemites and Israeli Jerusalemites. These have been documented by several Israeli and Palestinian Human and Civil Rights organisations, such as Diakonia, B'Tselem, Ir Amim, Addameer¹⁰, and The Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI).

Palestinian residents in Jerusalem are deprived of their right to participate in the Israeli political process; they cannot participate in the general Knesset elections, they cannot vote or influence the political process in Israel in any way. They are only allowed to vote in the Jerusalem Municipality elections. Palestinian Jerusalemites were allowed to vote in the Palestinian Authority elections of 2006, but the Palestinian Authority is not allowed any authority in East Jerusalem. Basically, this means that Israel ensures that the Palestinian Jerusalemites are deprived of their right to self-determination that is a basic human right, guaranteed by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights. Article 1 of these covenants reaffirms the right of all people to self-determination and obligates state signatories to promote the realisation of that right. The very essence of such a right is the right to vote. Israel is a state signatory to these covenants (cited PLO Negotiations Affairs Department, 2006)

Palestinian Jerusalemites are stripped of these basic civil rights; this is reflected in the following areas: freedom to express any Palestinian or Arab sentiment in public is forbidden in the city. Freedom of religion is violated by the constant harassment, by Israeli soldiers, of Muslims and Christians who want to pray in the Old City.

Continuous documented expropriation of Palestinian land is a violation of Palestinians rights. According to Alyan (et al. 2010), the Israeli government has illegally expropriated 24,500

¹⁰Addameer (Conscience in Arabic) is a Palestinian human rights organisation based in Jerusalem.

dunams¹¹ of privately owned Palestinian land. By the end of 2007, 50,197 housing units for the Jewish population had been built on the expropriated land, while nothing has been built for Palestinians (Ibid).

Separation between family members is another violation of Palestinian rights, since permanent residency rights do not automatically extend to the family of permanent residents, Palestinian Jerusalemites marrying spouses from the rest of the Occupied Territories, or elsewhere, must apply for Family Reunification, in order to reside legally together in Jerusalem (Imseis, 2000). The Citizenship and Entry Law (temporary order) issued in 2003 (extended to this date) states that if any Palestinian holding an Israeli citizenship marries a Palestinian from the West Bank or Gaza Strip will either have to move to the Occupied Territories or live apart from their spouse. Their children from the age of 12 will be denied residency and forced to move out of Israel. The same applies to the Blue ID holders (Jerusalem permanent residents, mentioned above). As a result, Palestinian families are usually left with only two alternatives: they may either live separately or they may leave the city in order to live together elsewhere. If they chose to leave the country or move to the West Bank or Gaza, the spouse with the residency permit will lose it by virtue of Israel's "Centre of Life" policy. Article 11A, of the Entry into Israel regulations, which states that the residency permit of Palestinian Jerusalemites can be revoked if the person resides in another country and has stayed outside Israel for at least seven years, has obtained a permanent residence permit in another country or has obtained citizenship of another country by naturalisation or his/her centre of his life is outside Jerusalem (Halabi, 1997). According to Alayan et al. (2010) between 1967 and 2008 the Ministry of the Interior revoked the status of over 13,000 Palestinian Jerusalem residents, with half of these revocations occurring between 2006 and 2008.

In justification for the instigation of the Citizenship and Entry Law (Temporary Order, issued in 2003, and renewed twice in 2008 and 2011) that bans family unification, Interior Minister Avraham Poraz says "the halt in the citizenship process is an essential security measure, made necessary by a few spouses from the Occupied Territories and their offspring, who have misused citizenship in order to join in terrorist attacks" (Nifkar, 2005:2). There are 25 cases where

¹¹ A Turkish word used in the Ottoman Empire to refer to a unit of land area. It is still used in the Arab world.

persons, who had acquired residency in Israel through marriage, were suspected of being involved in terrorist activities, none of them were charged (Peled, 2007). Between 2,000 and 13,000 Palestinian have acquired citizenship in Israel through marriage to Palestinian Israeli citizens. This is a threat in Israel's demographic war and a clear reason behind the issuance of the law, in the disguise of weak security claims (Peled, 2007). It also reflects Israel's collective punishment approach with the Palestinians.

2.2.3 Deprived of Social Rights

In terms of social rights, there are huge gaps between the social services provided for the Israeli citizens of Jerusalem and those provided for the Palestinian residents. Since 1967 the Israeli government has not budgeted resources for strengthening and developing East Jerusalem. Less than 10% of the Jerusalem Municipality's development budget has been allocated for Palestinian neighbourhoods (B'Tselem, 2011), even though the Palestinians inhabitants number 360,882 and constitute an estimated 38% of the total Jerusalem population (Alyan et al. 2012a). The investment strategy of the Israeli Municipality is made evident by the blossoming buildings and infrastructure in Israeli West Jerusalem and the deteriorating infrastructure of Palestinian East Jerusalem. This is further reflected by the statement by Teddy Kollek, Jerusalem mayor (1965-1993), in an interview in Ma'ariv newspaper, October 10, 1990.

“We said things without meaning them and we didn't carry them out. We said over and over that we would equalize the rights of the Arabs (Palestinians) to the rights of the Jews in the city, empty talk. Never have we given them a feeling of being equal before the law. Nurtured nothing and built nothing. For Jewish Jerusalem I did something in the past 25 years. For East Jerusalem? Nothing! What did I do? Nothing! Sidewalks? Nothing. Cultural Institutions? Not one” (cited in Margalit, 2001)

The provision of social rights is very important for protecting a human being's autonomy and well-being in the sense that the provision of an adequate minimum income, education and health care, can empower the person with the physical and mental ability to choose how they want their lives to be spent (Fabre, 1998:267). Fabre (1998) explains that “being able” means having the

physical and the mental ability to understand the range of opportunities available in society, and access to them when a person makes a decision about the conception of a good life. If a person is hungry, cold and ill he cannot frame his life or choose how he wants to live. Therefore, the provision of those minimum services of education, health care and income can preserve human dignity and empower people. He explains that such rights would safeguard disadvantaged groups and empower them to participate in the democratic process, because they would provide the material needs and the social conditions for equality for all the citizens. Porter (1995:4) explains that social and economic rights and civil and political rights are like “two wheels of a chariot”, so if a set of rights are missing then the chariot will inevitably veer off course.

According to the Alyan et al. (2012a), life in East Jerusalem can be described as a continuing cycle of neglect, discrimination, poverty and shortages, with 78% of Palestinian Jerusalemites living under the poverty line (as opposed to 30.8% of Jerusalem's Jewish families). The primary victims of such systemised neglect are the vulnerable populations of the aged, disabled and children. Alyan et al. (2010:31) explain that the chronic state of poverty, especially in the Old City has had serious social ramifications, such as an increase in the rate of family violence, a decline in the functioning of children, reflected in high rates of school dropout and early entrance into the job market, crime, drug abuse and health and nutritional problems.

Margalit (2007:24) explains how the municipal deprivation in East Jerusalem manifests itself in three main areas: unequal allocation of land for Palestinian and Jewish residents, unequal allocation of municipal services to the Palestinian and the Jewish residents and limitation of demographic development of the Palestinian residents of the city. Between 1982 and 1992 only 270,000 of the 5,000,000 square meters built up in Jerusalem were designated for Palestinian use (Amirav, 1992 cited in Barkat, 2008:92). This means only 5% is designated for the use of the Palestinian population. The Towns and Planning Scheme has been used by the municipality to prevent construction in Palestinian neighbourhoods, deeming broad expanses of land as “Green Areas” restricting Palestinians from building in these areas and withholding any development plans for Palestinians areas. According to Alyan et al. (2010), in the few neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem where land for construction is permitted this is set at 25%-75%, compared to 75%-125% in West Jerusalem. This has led to the overcrowding of Palestinian neighbourhoods reaching 11.9 square meters per person, compared to 23.8 square meters per person in the Jewish

neighbourhoods (Schaffer, 2011). The average density in East Jerusalem as of 2008 was 1.9 residents per room, which was almost double the density in West Jerusalem, which was estimated at 1 resident per room (Schaffer, 2011).

This problem is expected to be exacerbated, according to a report presented by Ir Amim (2010:1-3). The report states that the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are currently living in 46,000 housing units, of which 20,000 were built without building permits. The report explains that the municipality in “The Jerusalem Master Plan, 2000” plans to provide the Palestinians in the city with 10,000 housing units by 2030. Ir Amim (2010) explains that the municipality is not taking into consideration the growth rate in East Jerusalem which is expected to reach between 400,000 and 500,000 in 2030. This means that there is already going to be a tremendous shortfall of 15,000-30,000 housing units by 2030. Ir Amim (2010:1-3) concludes that the Jerusalem Municipality is going to continue to offer Palestinian residents the same three problematic options they have today: continued and unbearable crowding within existing buildings, migrating outside the city limits, which threatens Palestinians with a loss of their residency rights and building without a permit, which places them under constant threat of demolition and high fines.

Receiving building permits in Palestinian neighbourhoods is very difficult. Impossible administrative conditions are imposed on Palestinians seeking building permits. They are required to produce authorisation that there are no further claims on the plot in the Jordanian claims index, authorisation from the Custodian of Abandoned Property¹² that they have no claim to the property, authorisation from the Land Registry that the property had been registered in their name, (a rarity in East Jerusalem) and a fee of over \$25,000 (£16,550)¹³ (Margalit, 1997). This forces many Palestinians to build outside the municipality borders or build in Jerusalem without a license, which again exposes them to high fines and house demolition orders.

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (2009), gathered information from the Israeli Ministry of Interior, the Jerusalem Municipality, the Civil Administration, UN sources,

¹² Israeli Law, Abandoned Areas Ordinance No. 12 of 5708—1948, this law authorises the state to determine what would be done with areas abandoned by their inhabitants.

¹³ All the currencies in this thesis were converted to Pounds Sterling on 18/3/2013 using XE Currency Converter at <<http://www.xe.com/currencyconverter/convert/?Amount=25000&From=USD&To=GBP>>

Palestinian and Israeli human rights groups, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch on house demolition orders. They estimate that some 24,145 Palestinian homes have been demolished in the Occupied Territories since 1967.

Ir Amim's report (2010:1-3) also states that the new Jerusalem Master Plan continues a consistent Israeli Municipal (Urban Building Plan 11555) and government (Government Decision 4090) policy of restricting Palestinian development within the boundaries of historic Jerusalem and routing it to the northern and southern Palestinian neighbourhoods, while at the same time encouraging accelerated Israeli development of the area of the historic basin of the Old City. Restricting Palestinian construction in East Jerusalem to outlying neighbourhoods and limiting it in historic Jerusalem are indicative of Israeli intentions for the future boundaries of the city (Ir Amim, 2010).

Another problem arising from the continuous neglect and failure to invest in East Jerusalem is the underdeveloped infrastructure. East Jerusalem suffers from a shortage of 70 km of main sewage lines. Approximately 160,000 Palestinian residents have no suitable and legal connection to the water network, the road infrastructure is decrepit and outdated (ACRI, 2008:1). The few existing sidewalks are in serious disrepair, causing damage to people and property. The sanitation conditions in the Palestinian neighbourhoods are dire, as a result of entire streets without trash collection or cleaning services, leaving the residents to cope on their own with these problems (ACRI:2008).

The few public institutions, that do exist, are inadequate for meeting the needs of the population. The vast majority of forms, produced by the municipality, are not available in Arabic, resulting in Palestinians not understanding the important documents they receive from the National Insurance services and the Ministry of Interior. There are only 7 post offices in East Jerusalem, where all the residents receive their mail, because postmen do not deliver to Palestinian houses, compared with 50 post offices in West Jerusalem and house delivery service (ACRI:2008).

As for health care, Shmueli (2000) presented a paper concerning the 1993 utilisation of health services, based on a sample of 70,000 Palestinians and Jews insured by the General Sick Fund (Clalit), which is the biggest sick fund in Israel, in the Jerusalem district. The study concludes that there are inequalities between the Palestinian and the Israeli patients in the total medical

care, while the mean total cost of care among Palestinians is NIS 323 (£60), the mean cost per Jewish insuree is NIS 654 (£117). Shmueli believes that the gaps in utilisation can be attributed to differences in accessibility, traditionalism and social and cultural assets.

According to Alyan et al. (2010), the Palestinian population in Israel continues to suffer from gaps in the health care system, coupled with socio-economic difficulties, with higher unemployment and lower education levels. They explain that there is a proven and close correlation between individual and collective health and socioeconomic status. Poverty, limited education, overcrowding and unemployment all lead to an increase in rates of morbidity and mortality. The report sums up the health gaps between the Palestinian and the Jewish populations in Israel as follows: life expectancy is lower among Palestinians and the general mortality rate is higher among them than among Israeli Jews, infant mortality rates of Palestinians are twice those of Israeli Jews. According to Baradneh (2009), the infant mortality rate in 2007 was 7.2 deaths per 1000 live births among Palestinians, as compared to 3 deaths per 1000 among Israeli Jews. The incidence of diabetes is higher among Palestinians and the disease is less balanced. Another study by Tirosh et al. (2008) on the differences in the quality of diabetes care between Israeli Jews and Palestinians in Jerusalem, showed that Palestinian patients received less nutritional counseling and less help for coping with the condition. This study concluded that Palestinian patients in Jerusalem receive lower quality diabetes care as compared with that of Israeli Jewish citizens.

There are six Palestinian hospitals in East Jerusalem that used to provide services to the whole Palestinian population. However, in Israel's battle against Palestinian public institutions, pressures have been mounting to close down those institutions. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of the Human Affairs (OCHA) (2007) shows that in 2005, for the first time, despite being charitable institutions, the six hospitals were ordered to pay Arnona (Council Tax). The report explains that this tax bill, presented to the hospitals by the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem, was made retroactive to 2003, resulting in significant additional costs that threaten to financially cripple these medical institutions. According to the Israeli authorities, the tax exemption enjoyed by charitable institutions until then is no longer valid as these hospitals were not registered within the State of Israel, but registered in 1948 under Jordanian rule.

Another major blow to these hospitals was the sharp decline in the number of Palestinian patients using their facilities. The creation of the separation barrier stopped patients and staff from the West Bank and Gaza going to Jerusalem's hospitals. A decrease in the number of patients decreases the hospitals chances of sustainability, because the number of beds that a hospital is authorised to have, according to the Israeli Ministry of Health (MoH), is based on the number of patients the hospital serves. According to OCHA the number of patients from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank into East Jerusalem fell by half between 2002 and 2003 and continues to drop.

“What was once a short journey to a medical appointment in East Jerusalem has become, even for emergency, critically ill and urgent cases, a fraught and time-consuming process to obtain permits and pass checkpoints. Deterred by delays and the frequent refusal of permits for a spouse, parent or other escort, many patients are turning to smaller and less well-resourced hospitals in other parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Specialist treatment is no longer an option for many patients from the West Bank, who cannot get the correct permit to cross the Barrier into East Jerusalem. Delays at checkpoints, long detours, and potential harassment take such a toll that many are no longer willing even to attempt the journey” (OCHA, 2007:25).

As for the social services, there are only three welfare offices in East Jerusalem in comparison with the twenty in West Jerusalem (Alyan et al. 2010). Alyan et al. (2010) report that, as of 2009, social workers in West Jerusalem were each assigned an average of 101 household cases per month, while their counterparts in the Eastern part were forced to handle an average of 141 household cases per month. Their report shows that only 10.3% of Palestinian Jerusalemites, in need of support, actually receives social services. It also reveals that, only 19% of municipally allocated welfare worker positions are allotted to serve East Jerusalem residents, regardless of the blatant socio-economic gaps between the eastern and western sides of the city. Dumper and Pullan (2010) have also observed the municipality's uneven distribution of resources. They explain that the Jerusalem Municipality's policies of isolating and consequently neglecting the Palestinian population of the city, coupled with heavy policing, have created a sense of detachment from the Israeli city and have formed a kind of “urban warehousing”, where

Palestinians are confined to their underdeveloped and abandoned neighbourhoods, which are isolated and excluded from Israeli society (Dumper and Pullan, 2010:12).

This chapter has discussed the notion of citizenship in the State of Israel and what was found was that Israel's self-definition as a Jewish State for the Jewish people, automatically gives preference to a certain religion in the state. This is evidenced and reflected in the state's provision of civil, political and social rights to its non-Jewish citizens. Peleg (2004) has argued that the institutionalised distinction between Jews and non-Jews in the State of Israel makes it an exclusivist regime. Yiftachel and Ghanem (2004) also support this argument by saying that the fact that ethnicity and not citizenship forms the main basis for resource and power allocation in the State of Israel deems the state exclusivist and ethnocratic. Rouhana (2006) in his exploration of the Israeli State's self-definition as Jewish and democratic has observed that the states discriminatory policies amongst non-Jews contradict democratic processes. He explains that the fact that the criterion of inclusion in the state is not citizenship but rather religious affiliations reflects the exclusionist nature of the state.

This chapter has shown how the theories discussed in chapter one around social exclusion do apply to the case of Palestinians living in the Israeli State and in Occupied East Jerusalem. For example Pierson's (2002:7) definition of social exclusion which was discussed in chapter one states that social exclusion is a process that deprives excluded groups of the resources required for participation in the social, economic, and political activity of society as a whole as a result of poverty, discrimination or lower educational attainments. Buchardt's (1999:229) conception of social exclusion which was discussed in the earlier chapter also applies to Palestinians living in the State of Israel and Occupied East Jerusalem. He states that "an individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, but (b) for reasons beyond his or her control, he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of the citizens in that society".

This chapter has portrayed Israel's exclusionary policies towards its Palestinian Israeli citizens, by showing the difference in governmental spending and policies. It has also shown that exclusionary attitudes towards Palestinians in Israel are witnessed at both the state and the community levels. Palestinian Israeli's have unequal access and lower levels of participation

than Jewish citizens in all spheres of public life and decision-making: in the judiciary, the legislature, the government and the civil service (Adalah, 2011). This same pattern of exclusion can also be seen in Jerusalem. However, the conflict over East Jerusalem makes Israel's exclusionary measures fiercer and the gap between the developmental projects in Palestinian and Israeli neighborhoods wider. The chapter has shown how municipal deprivation in East Jerusalem manifests itself in several areas such as unequal allocation of land to Palestinian and Jewish residents, unequal allocation of municipal services to the Palestinian and the Jewish residents, limitation of demographic development of the Palestinian residents of the city (Margalit, 2007) and the continuous implantation of settlements within and around Jerusalem. This chapter has shown how life in East Jerusalem for Palestinians is a continuing cycle of discrimination and social exclusion by the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality.

3

Educational Policies in the State of Israel

This chapter will analyse the educational policies of the State of Israel and the influences that dictate and transform them. Leavy (2010:19) explains that education policy in Israel is hugely influenced by the political agenda of the governing political party and therefore education policies “swing back and forth in the ideological spectrum”, depending upon which party is in power. He added that the policies of the political party in Israel are not limited to the educational sphere. In fact, all the sectors of the Israeli society are penetrated by the ruling party, and are dependent on and influenced by it. Minority parties in the Knesset do not have representation in the cabinet, so they have no hand in the policy-making process (Leavy, 2010). He says that this explains why the Minister of Education in Israel is not just a bureaucratic official, but also a political figure that acts in conformity with policies of the political party in power.

Yogev (2001) explains how party ideologies have influenced educational policies throughout the history of the Israeli State. He explains that during the first four decades of Israel’s existence, educational policy was rooted in the principle of Statism (Mamlachtiut¹⁴), which is based on the ideology that the national survival and statehood are above all party partisans. Mamlachtiut was about state and nation-building, creating a shared identity and normative system among immigrant Jews from all over the world who spoke different languages, had different cultures and understood their own Jewishness differently. It was fundamentally about Jewish national identity, so necessarily excluded non-Jews from the objectives of education.

This ideology required the abolition of the pre-state divided educational system and its replacement by state education (Dahan and Levy 2000). Yogev (2001:227) explains that Statism in education policies advocated a centralised supervision of the education system and that all aspects of the system were to be controlled from above, that is by the Israeli Ministry of Education. These included: designing the curriculum, establishing the values and norms that the

¹⁴ A Hebrew word that means statsim, which is a political system by which the state has centralised control over social and economic affairs.

system was supposed to inculcate in students, overall funding for schools, supervision of teacher training and examination of the students' achievements up to matriculation level (Yogev, 2001:228).

There are several systems supervised by the Ministry of Education; the 1953 State Educational Law had separate Palestinian and Hebrew institutions, and the Hebrew institutions were divided into religious and secular branches, with enclaves of autonomy for ultra-orthodox Jews and for the kibbutzim¹⁵. Private associations, primarily ultra-orthodox Jewish groups and Christian churches, also run schools that are considered “Recognised but Unofficial”. All these functions are under the umbrella of the Ministry of Education (Dahan and Levy 2000). However, since the 1980’s, erosion of national consensus and the increase of sectorial polarisation has led to the decline of Statism in the educational policy (Yogev, 2001). This division was not limited to Palestinian and Israeli secular and religious, but also took place between Ashkenazi Jews (Jews of American and European origins) and Mizrachi Jews (Jews from the Arab counties). Ashkenazi Jews of European and American origins dominate the Israeli society in almost every aspect, social, economic, political and education. Dahan and Levy (2000:428) explain how since the creation of the state the Ashkenazi Zionist elite were concerned primarily with “modernizing” the Mizrachi Jews, by teaching them European values for their own “betterment”. Another major concern for the Ashkenazi was that Mizrachi immigrants were natives of the Arab world, which meant they carried “enemy culture” and therefore, should be replaced with Zionist patriotic values (Dahan and Levy, 2000:428).

The geographical segregation of children of different ethnicities and socio-cultural backgrounds in Israel meant that they attended different schools. This process eventually created different educational settings with differential allocations of educational resources. Dahan and Leavy (2000) explain that schools for Ashkenazi children enjoyed a more established and better-equipped system, which channeled students into academic high schools, whereas the Mizrachi and the Palestinian systems were relegated to ill-equipped and ill-staffed schools, from which children were directed to the vocational process. Dahan and Levy (2000:427) explain that this has led to the stratification of the labour market, where Palestinians and Mizrachi Jews were

¹⁵ A Hebrew word which means Israeli agricultural settlement.

“proletarianised”. The justification for this treatment was based on the cultural differences, which “necessitated the implementation of different educational methods” (Ibid). Therefore, public schools, which were meant to deliver equal services to all members of the state, played a crucial role in increasing social gaps and reproducing inequality.

Shavit (1990:115), in his research on segregation and educational attainment in Israel, explains that in ethnically stratified societies privileged ethnic groups usually attain higher average educational levels than members of subordinate ethnic groups. He attributes this to several factors: first, educational achievement is linked to the students’ backgrounds, meaning that students from the dominating ethnic group benefit from their parents’ educational, occupational and economic attainments. Second, the dominating ethnic group uses the educational system to secure their privilege across generations. Third, dominant ethnic groups has the ability to control the political processes by which school systems are funded and structured and are able to promote the schools attended by their children or in their own districts. As a result of these factors, Shavit (1990) believes that students from advantaged social origins do better in school and obtain more schooling, which enables them to obtain more desirable occupations.

Bourdieu (1979), in his concept of cultural capital, explains how stratified socialisation practices and the education system function to discriminate positively in favour of those members of society who by virtue of location within the class system are the natural inheritors of cultural capital (cited in Jenks, 1993:12). Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) note that students from families with the skills and preferences of the dominant culture are better able to adapt and further develop the cultural skills and preferences rewarded in the schools, and hence are better able to negotiate their way through the highest educational levels. Children from this class enter the school with those social cues, while children from other ethnicities and other socio-economic classes in society must acquire this knowledge in order to succeed in society. However, even if they do, they never master it as students who were born and familiarised with this knowledge and are therefore penalised academically on this basis. Lamont and Larreau (1988) explain that because difference in achievement is explained in terms of ability, rather than cultural inheritance, this social transition of privilege is legitimised as an academic standard and is not seen as handicapping students with different socio-economic backgrounds. Aschaffenburg and

Maas (1997:573) explain that social inequalities are perpetuated, when initial differences in cultural capital become systematically encoded in educational credentials, which then channels these students into social class positions similar to those of their parents. Therefore, schools lose their purpose as transmitters of equal opportunity and become active agents of social reproduction (Kingston, 2001).

This sort of differential treatment in the various academic spheres can reflect on the person's employment opportunities and economic income later in life. It is a form of social injustice which also affects the person's citizenship rights of being treated equally and provided with an equal opportunity for success in life. People with advantaged backgrounds are more likely to have access to resources and connections (social capital) other than educational achievement, which can serve to protect them from the consequences of educational failure (Marshall, 1950).

It should be noted, that the problem with Palestinians in the Israeli society cannot be pinned solely on social stratification. It is also racial stratification that determines the life opportunities of the Palestinians in the State of Israel. Ogbu (1997:768) defines racial stratification as "the hierarchal organisation of races or groups in society on the basis of assumed inborn differences in status, honour or moral worth". One is recruited into the racial strata by birth and is confined into this ranking until death, unlike social classes which can be acquired or lost during a lifetime. Ogbu (1997) explains that in a racially divided society, each racial stratum has its own social classes. However, classes in the different social strata are not equal. For instance, high class in the dominating race is not equal to high class in the subordinate race. This is because they do not have equal access to resources in society. Therefore, their occupational opportunities and other roles in society, depend more on their membership in a certain ethnic group rather than on merit. Ogbu (1997) gives an example of African Americans in the south before the 1960's, as a racial subordinate group, which was different from lower class Whites as an economic subordinate group. This is similar to the difference between Palestinians as an ethnic subordinate group in Israel and Oriental (Mizrachi) Jews as an economic subordinate group.

Coursen-Neff, the director of Children's Rights Division at Human Rights Watch, has published a study on the discrimination of Palestinian children in the Israeli education system in 2004. She

says that although Mizrahi students suffer similar marginalisation and poverty as Palestinian students in Israel, the government differentiates between Palestinians and Mizrahi Jews by providing more services to the Mizrachis. It provides disadvantaged Jewish students with an array of resources to improve their academic performance and prevents them from dropping out. The report says that Jewish students receive five times the amount of remedial instructions than Palestinian students receive. This is only one aspect in which Israel discriminates in the education system against its Palestinian citizens.

The report also shows that the Israeli Knesset has acknowledged the social stratification problem (Mizrahi v. Ashkenazi). Therefore, the Knesset approved an educational reform plan of which Jewish school integration was a main component, including the creation of junior high schools in which children from various neighbourhoods and different socioeconomic backgrounds were supposed to integrate. Part of the integration process included imparting a strong sense of nationalism, based on the Jewish heritage and cultural history in schools, which further alienated non-Jewish students (Cousen-Neff, 2004).

Marginalisation and the neglect of the Palestinian Arab culture is enshrined in Israeli education policies and laws, starting with the Law of State Education 1953, Article 2, which specifies the aims of education in Israel as follows:

“To base education on the values of Jewish culture; the achievements of science; on love of the homeland and loyalty to the state and the Jewish people; on the practice of agricultural work and handicrafts; on pioneer training and on striving for a society built on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance and love of mankind.”

Abu-Assad (2006) explains that even though this law was amended in 2000, it still maintains educational objectives for public schools, as it places emphasis on Jewish values, history and culture, while ignoring Palestinian values, history and culture. Due to this constant neglect, and discrimination against the Palestinian education sector, Palestinians have continuously demanded cultural autonomy and an independent education authority.

Al Haj (2002) studied Jewish–Palestinian relations in Israel through the education system. He traced the history curriculum in Palestinian and Jewish Israeli schools there, over the course of about 50 years, from the early fifties to the middle of the nineties. The analyses lead to the conclusion that the history curriculum reflects the dominant ethno-national culture, which is controlled by the Jewish majority. Al Haj concluded that throughout the years of Israel's existence the message that has been internalised by Jewish students is that Israel is a Jewish state and for Jews; there has been no attempt to foster a civic culture in which the Palestinian Israeli citizens are a separate but equal component. On the other hand, Palestinian students are called on to accept this situation of identification with the state, although its nature remains vague and unlike Jewish students they are not called on to play an active role in it.

The sabotage of Palestinian children's education, either through underfunding of the education system or manipulation of the curricula has been of great concern to the Palestinian community. Palestinian frustration with the continuous disregard of their children's education dates back to Ottoman rule (1517-1917), when the language of instruction was in Turkish, as this served the Turkish Empire. Education under the British Mandate (1922-1948) was not any better, even though the language of instruction was changed to Arabic, it still served the mandate's goals. According to Tibawi (1956), education during the mandate was neither compulsory nor universal and it only served half of the demand for admission to schools. As for post-secondary education, it was non-existent and higher education consisted only of teacher training grafted on to the curricula of the secondary school (Anbtawi, 1986). Girls' education suffered from further neglect. The ratio of girls versus boys education was 1:2 in cities and 1:11 in the villages (Tibawi, 1956). The problems with education in Palestine during the mandate included underfunding, lack of schools, lack of programmes for training teachers and the lack of suitable text books and materials. Tibawi (1956:205) explains that "it was not due to any lack of desire on the part of parents to educate their daughters, but to the insufficiency of government financial provision for education".

Palestinian educators lacked the autonomy over their own education system. Dr. Khalil Totah, a Palestinian educator during the British Mandatory period, stated:

“The major grievance of the Arabs [Palestinians] as regards education is that they have no control over it”. He explained, that due to this lack of control over their education, as it was not considered to be national enough in policy, personnel, curricula and general tone. “It would seem that Arab [Palestinian] education”, he said, “is either designed to reconcile the Arabs [Palestinians] to the Israeli aim of establishing a Jewish national home, or to make that education so colourless, as to make it harmless, and not as a danger to the carrying out of Jewish policies” (cited in Tibawi,1956:205)

According to Okun and Friedlander (2005), Jewish education during the British Mandate did not suffer like Palestinian education, because it was largely funded by internationally based Jewish institutions, which worked to provide the basis for a cohesive and viable Jewish community in Palestine. Jewish-run schools for Jews were universally available and well attended, while in the Palestinian communities educational opportunities were much more limited. This has contributed to the wide gap in the educational attainments between the Palestinian and Jewish students. According to Metzger (1998) cited in Okun and Friedlander (2005), in 1931 the illiteracy rates for Palestinian adult men and women were over 70% and 90% respectively, while the corresponding rates for Jews were only 6% and 22%.

The gaps in resource allocation and investment between the Palestinian and Israeli education persisted and were deepened under the State of Israel. One of the most crucial issues affecting the Palestinian educational sector in the State of Israel is the lack to funding. Funding for public schools in Israel comes mainly from the central government and also from local councils and municipalities, private organisation and parents. According to Coursen-Neff (2004) Palestinian schools receive proportionally less from each one of those resources compared to Jewish students. Her report states that “each year officials in the Ministry of Education consciously decide to allocate core education funds unequally and each year the Knesset approves a budget that makes this unequal allocation explicit” (Coursen-Neff, 2004: 760). The report also shows that some funding is allotted only to Jewish students. For example, the Ministry of Housing builds kindergartens in the new Jewish communities, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption gives educational assistance to new immigrants (who are only Jewish) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs contributes to Jewish religious schools.

The report shows that the Ministry of Education distributes funds unequally to impoverished Jewish and Palestinian students. Instead of using socio-economic indices, which show that most Palestinian students live under the poverty line, it uses other or additional criteria to allocate education-related subsidies and tax benefits. For example, up until 2006, the Ministry used the “National Priority Areas’ criteria” which gave priority to Jewish localities. In those areas teachers received an extra stipend for travel and living expenses, four-year tenure, attended special training courses, were exempt from workers’ compensation contributions, and students received scholarships (Coursen-Neff, 2004). The Government defended this discrimination between Palestinian and Jewish students on the basis that it was promoting certain periphery areas, saying that it wanted to promote certain regions of the country. Adalah in 1998 filed a petition against the Ministry of Education, arguing that the criteria for awarding extra funding ought to be socio-economic and educational, not geographic, which could be used as cover for favouring Jewish communities (I’lam, 2006). The petition says that Palestinians are the most deserving of the ministries’ support, since almost all Palestinian communities are ranked at the bottom half of Israel's socio-economic league tables. The 75 Palestinian Local Authorities in Israel are located at the bottom of the scale, presenting 87% of the lowest clusters in the state, and have no representation in the highest four clusters; those communities are also found to have the highest levels of unemployment (Adalah, 2011:20).

Coursen-Neff, in the Human Rights Watch Report (2004), showed that the Ministry of Education has also developed another discriminatory “index of educational disadvantage”, which it used to distribute resources to primary and intermediate schools, aimed at improving performance and decreasing drop-out rates. The report revealed that, instead of applying the same measurement to all schools under state control, the ministry applied two different systems of measurement to Palestinian schools and Jewish schools. By this measurement, Jewish schools are compared with other Jewish schools and Palestinian schools are compared with other Palestinian schools. Given that Palestinian schools are more disadvantaged than Jewish schools by any measurement, so by comparing the two sectors separately significantly underestimates the needs of Palestinian schools. The differential treatment was not only limited to that, even when the index was applied, Palestinian schools get fewer resources than Jewish schools of equal rank (Coursen-Neff, 2004).

Public spending on children in Palestinian localities is estimated to be at least one-third lower than for children in Jewish Municipalities (OECD, 2010).

A study published in 2009 by Professor Cahan of the Hebrew University's School of Education, supports the claims of institutionalised budgetary discrimination against Palestinian students in need. He explains that the special assistance budget, which totaled NIS 150 million (£25 million) in 2008 is by nature differential, as its purpose is to give extra assistance to schools with a large proportion of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. He explains that the special assistance budget is allocated in two stages. First, it is divided between the Jewish and Palestinian populations based on the number of students in each. Then, it is distributed among schools in each sector, based on an index with three components: the percentage of students per school from low-income families, the percentage from large families and the percentage whose parents have relatively little schooling. Cahan (2009) found, because the Palestinian sector has more students who meet these criteria but less students overall, "educationally needy" Jewish students receive anywhere from 3.8 to 6.9 times as much funding as equally needy Palestinian students. Cahan (2009) says that this discrimination defeats the whole point of the special assistance budget.

Another important source of income denied to Palestinian schools in Israel, is parental funding and funding from local authorities. Parents in deprived areas and poor communities cannot find the means to fund their children's schools. According to Coursen-Neff (2004), the Ministry of Education adds to the problem by granting schools where parents provide funding with matching funds, thereby widening the educational gaps between rich and poor localities. Since Palestinian localities are amongst the poorest localities in the state, they must use money that other communities might spend on education for infrastructure and other development expenses. Coursen-Neff (2004) explains that the allocation of government funding for extracurricular activities, special programmes and support services is dependent on matching funds provided by the local authority and parents. As such services of this type are often not implemented in the Palestinian education system, because of the lack of funds.

This neglect in funding and investment in Palestinian schools has led to a shortage of an estimated 9,300 classrooms in 2010, excluding East Jerusalem (Mossawa, 2010). The Ministry of Education plans to build only 2,850 classrooms in the next two years (2011-2013) within the entire educational system, only a small fraction of which will be built in the Palestinian community (Mossawa, 2010). Many of the existing classrooms serving Palestinian students are in poor physical condition; they are larger in number of students. The number of kindergarten children per full-time teacher was twice as high in Palestinian kindergartens, 39.3 students per teacher, compared to 19.8 students per teacher in the Jewish kindergartens (Coursen-Neff, 2004). As a result of the classroom shortage, many classes in Palestinian schools are held in rented spaces, in some cases only a room in a private home, or in prefabricated buildings. Most of the school buildings do not have proper emergency exits and safety measures and 30% of schools in the Palestinian communities in Israel are without shelter (Coursen-Neff, 2004).

Palestinians also find it difficult to lobby for their schools, as they are under-represented in the Israeli Ministry of Education. They never occupy high ranking positions in the ministry. The highest ranking Palestinian in the ministry is the head of the Palestinian education. Therefore, their voices remain silent and reforms and support to the Palestinian schools remain limited.

Discriminatory educational policies presented by Israeli members of Knesset, include

“A bill introduced by Member of Knesset (MK) David Rotem and three other Yisrael Beiteinu MKs on April 1, 2009, that proposed a new law entitled rights for those who serve in the military or national service (bill no. 1/18) . This bill contains a long list of special financial, housing and educational benefits, exclusively reserved for citizens who perform military or national service, including priority for access to higher education and employment in the civil service. The bill also provides for the establishment of a quota for employing citizens in the civil service” (Mossawa, 2010:33).

Support programmes for people serving in the military are a covert discriminatory tool that excludes Palestinian citizens in the State of Israel, who are exempt from military service.

“A bill introduced by MK Chaim Katz of the Likud proposed an amendment to the Council for Higher Education Law 1958 (bill no. 348/18) seeking to prohibit universities that receive state funding from admitting Israeli citizens between the ages of 18 and 21 who did not serve in the Israeli military or perform national service, unless they are certified as unfit to serve” (Mossawa, 2010:33).

Taken together, the socio-economic impact of the Israeli State’s educational policy has had devastating consequences on the Palestinian population. It has led to Palestinian children dropping out of school at three times the rate of Jewish children (Coursin-Neff 2004: 791). They are less likely to pass the National Matriculation exams for a high school diploma, meaning that relatively few will end up with a university degree. The Mossawa report (2010:18) shows that according to the state budget proposal 2009/2010, there is currently a 20-30% gap between the achievements of Palestinian and Jewish students in all matriculation exams and as a result, higher education is only accessible to one out of every four Palestinian high school graduates, compared to one out of every two Jewish graduates. This second-class education has hindered Palestinians opportunities for employment and income. While the overall unemployment rate in Israel stood at 7.3% in 2008, figure among Palestinian citizens of Israel was higher, at 10.9% (Adalah, 2011). Of the 40 towns in Israel with the highest unemployment rates, 36 are Palestinian towns (Adalah, 2011:27).

The case of young African Americans in the United States before the 1960s parallels the case of young Palestinians in Israel. Ogbu (1997:772) in his thesis discusses the effects of racial stratification on the education of African Americans in the United States. He explains how racial segregation has adversely affected Black education, through societal educational policies and practices which included denying Blacks equal access to education through unequal resource delegation to ensure that Blacks do not receive equal education in terms of quality and quantity. The other societal practice which severely damaged the motivation of young African Americans to pursue education was the denial of equal rewards with Whites for their educational accomplishments through a job ceiling and related barriers, which may have forced some to seek self-advancement through non-academic routes. Palestinians in the State of Israel face the similar problem; their employment mobility has a very low ceiling in the Jewish society.

This shows that the problem does not only lie in unjust educational policies or ineffective schools. Even when provided with good schooling, Palestinians find it hard to penetrate the Israeli labour market. Becker (1955) explains that sometimes education is not sufficient in itself to make social mobility possible, a person who acquires schooling has only begun to move, how far one gets depends on the availability of positions in the upper strata. He further states that “in colonial societies schooling does not achieve mobility but only frustrates desire” (Becker, 1955:159).

This chapter has explored how the educational exclusionary measures discussed in chapter one apply to the case of Palestinians in the State of Israel. The chapter has started by showing how educational policies in the State of Israel are dictated by the political ideology of the state and since the state defines itself as a Jewish state of the Jewish people this is also reflected in the ethnic educational services it provides to the population. Shavit (1990), in his research about segregation and educational attainment in Israel shows that educational attainment is linked to ethnic powers. Shavit has linked educational attainment gap between ethnicities to three factors: first, students from the dominating ethnic group benefit from their parents’ educational, occupational and economic attainments. Second, the dominating ethnic group uses the educational system to secure their privilege across generations. Third, the dominant ethnic group has the ability to control the political processes by which school systems are funded and structured and are able to promote the schools attended by their children, or in their own districts. As a result of these factors, Shavit (1990) believes that students from advantaged social origins do better in school and obtain more schooling, which enables them to obtain more desirable occupations. This is similar to Barry’s (1998) description of the weaker ethnic group in an exclusionary society, where the lack of occupational opportunities depress the educational motivation of the next generation, leading to poor educational outcomes and thus limit job opportunities for the next generation. Both Shavit (1990) and Barry (1998) argue that the socio-economic gap between the different ethnicities is caused and perpetuated by educational exclusion.

This chapter has provided details of the educational exclusion of Palestinian children in the State of Israel. It has shown how each year officials in the Israeli Ministry of Education consciously decide to allocate core education funds unequally to Palestinian and Israeli students and each year the Knesset approves a budget that makes this unequal allocation explicit (Coursen-Neff, 2004). Palestinian students are also excluded from funding provided by the the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which directs its funds strictly to Jewish students (Coursen-Neff, 2004). This neglect in funding and investment in Palestinian schools has led to a shortage in classrooms (Mosawa, 2010). This is one of the exclusionary educational measures mentioned in chapter one. Sayed (2009) reflects on three educational exclusionary measures, with the first one being restricted physical access to schools to the children of the subordinate group. This chapter has also shown that the neglect of the Palestinian educational system has resulted in poor quality education. This was the second exclusionary measure mentioned by Syaed (2009). As mentioned in chapter one, Sayed (2009) explains that the schools that are available for the socially excluded groups are of low quality, thus they do not equip the students with sufficient educational services that enable them to compete in higher educational institutions and in the job market.

This chapter has also discussed the devastating consequences of the Israeli educational policies on the Palestinian students. According to the state budget proposal 2009/2010, there is currently a 20-30% gap between the achievements of Palestinian and Jewish students in all matriculation exams and as a result, higher education is only accessible to one out of every four Palestinian high school graduates, compared to one out of every two Jewish graduates (Mossawa, 2010). This second-class education has hindered Palestinians opportunities for employment and income. This was the third exclusionary measure mentioned by Sayed (2009), exclusion in the labour market. Weaker ethnicities find it difficult to penetrate the labour market in the same society that excludes and neglects them and so they become clustered in low paid employment.

This chapter has presented data that is available on Israel's exclusionary measures in the education sector in Israel and its unequal distribution of resources to the Palestinian and Israeli students. The following chapters will present new data collected for this study that reflect Israel's

exclusionary measures on Palestinians residing in East Jerusalem and the consequences of these measures on the Palestinian community of East Jerusalem.

Methodology

This chapter will present the research strategy adopted to investigate and explore the education sector in East Jerusalem. The researcher has adopted a qualitative research strategy and has employed a mixture of qualitative research methods, which include semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observation. The chapter also presents details of the field work done for this study and the data analysis process.

4.1 Research Strategy

To be able to understand the experiences of Palestinian Jerusalemites living in Occupied East Jerusalem, the researcher needed to adopt a research strategy that will enable her to capture people's interpretations of their realities. This strategy should respect the difference between people and the objects of natural science. Therefore, an interpretive approach was found more suitable in this study than a positivist approach. Positivist philosophy stresses the importance of using the scientific model in studying the social world. It assumes that an objective reality exists which is independent of human behaviour and is therefore not a creation of the human mind (Crossan, 1996). On the other hand, interpretivism sees reality as the product of human interactions and perceptions of the world. Reality is not rigid, its composition is influenced by its context and so many constructions of reality are therefore possible (Hughes, 1994). In this study the researcher seeks to capture what it means to be deprived of citizenship rights and what consequences the deprivation of those rights has on people's lives. Hence, we cannot look at people as passive receptors of services and study them on that basis.

Trying to capture people's interpretations of their realities and the meanings they attach to different events in their lives is the heart of phenomenology. The philosophy of phenomenology is the base of interpretivism; it is concerned with how people view the world around them, without allowing the preconceptions of the researcher to interfere in the research (Bryman, 2004). For this reason, flexible research methods that reflect people's experiences and thoughts

at the mundane everyday-level should be used in gathering the data. Methods such as face to face interviewing, focus groups and routine informal contacts with local people allow the researcher to capture the social reality of the research participants in its totality. Participants should be allowed to express their thoughts and experiences freely, without being constrained with structured surveys, or a limited set of answers.

Qualitative research methods are more suitable for this research because they enable the researcher to collect a breadth of information on what goes on at the micro-level. They will help the researcher understand the meaning of the deprivation of social rights, the weak education system in East Jerusalem and its effects on the general population. Most of the research conducted on the education sector in East Jerusalem has been based on a positivist approach, by presenting statistics and numerical data that reflect a picture of the school systems in East Jerusalem. Little has been done to explore the phenomena in depth from the perspective of the people involved in this system; such as students, teachers, parents, administrators, policy makers etc. Little has been done to reflect the experience of Palestinian Jerusalemites from their own perspectives. For example, statistics clearly reveal that there is a high school drop-out rate in East Jerusalem, but to be able to understand why this is so, the researcher needs to use methods that will echo people's explanations of the circumstances that cause this problem and its direct effects on their lives.

We understand, from the statistics published by both the Palestinian and the Israeli Ministries of Education that there is a persistent problem with the educational system in East Jerusalem. However, the credibility of the statistics that are produced by both sides, in this context of conflict is questioned. Policy makers on both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides have different agendas, which cannot be fully understood by just collecting numerical data. Therefore, an in-depth, qualitative approach, with an interpretivist epistemology is required in order to get to the roots of this problem, so that a clear picture can emerge about what is really going on and this should provide a lead to what should be done to remedy the situation.

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), qualitative research has four purposes: exploration, explanation, description and prediction. The aim of this study is to explore the phenomenon

further, since little work has been done in this area to explain the factors and the networks that shape the phenomenon being studied, describe the phenomenon from the perspective of the participants and predict future implications and events based on the results.

4.2 Methods of Data Collection

For this research, flexible unstructured methods of enquiry are required to gather in-depth qualitative data. A wide range of those methods can be found in the field of research, such as observation, focus groups, unstructured or semi-structured interviews, written descriptions by participants, case studies, role playing and simulation etc. A single method or a combination of several methods can also be used for research.

For the purpose of this study the researcher has chosen to conduct semi-structured interviews and focus groups, as the main methods of data collection, in combination with observations of the field of the study and analysis of secondary qualitative and quantitative data as secondary methods of data collections.

4.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The reason for choosing semi-structured interviews as the main research method is because it provides a great breadth of data which helps one to understand the complex behaviors and experiences of people in society without imposing any priori categorisation that may limit the field of inquiry (Bryman, 2004). In semi-structured interviews research participants are allowed to tell their stories in ways which are meaningful to them with minimal researcher interference. With this method research participants can talk freely without being limited with a set of questions. However, this type of interview is not completely unstructured, because an interview guide is available. The interview guide ensures good use of limited interview time and the homogeneity of the topic amongst all interviewees. The interview guide can be formulated in a way to answer questions appertaining to this research which will make the data analysis easier. Respondents can also be encouraged to raise issues which were not contained in the interview guide. This is also advised by Denzin (1970) and Bryman (2004), to enable the researcher to broaden the scope of the research.

The choice of this type of interviewing is also based on the fact that the researcher is starting this study with a fairly clear focus, based on her previous research on education in East Jerusalem. If the researcher had a very general notion of the topic being studied, or if she was doing a one-case study then unstructured interviewing would have been more suitable.

Another advantage for semi-structured interviews is that they are more personal than the other methods, as they give the researcher the opportunity to ask follow-up questions for a better understanding and have respondents explain their taken-for-granted norms. Semi-structured interviews are a flexible and adaptable way of exploring phenomena (Robson, 1993; Bryman, 2004). They are easy, and less time consuming, than the other qualitative methods and less intrusive on people's lives. They are also efficient in gathering data that cannot be gathered through observation, such as feelings, emotions and past experiences (Bryman, 2004; Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

The analytical process of the data gathered through interviews can be done during the data collection phase. This saves time and allows the researcher to go back if necessary and refine questions, develop hypotheses and pursue the emerging avenues of enquiry in further depth (Pope et al. 2000). The first few interviews can serve also as a pilot for the study, instead of the researcher doing a separate pilot study.

However, by using this method the researcher might face several problems as well. Interviews are time consuming and research participants might be reluctant to spend 30-45 minutes of their time being interviewed. Therefore, the researcher needs to find the right time to interview the participants. The place of the interview is also very crucial, especially if the interviewer wants to record the interview. The interview place must to be quiet and the participant should not be distracted. These problems were tackled by the researcher when engaged in previous research, so this proved helpful in the present thesis.

The researcher asked the participants to choose the place and the time of the interview according to their convenience whether at their school, or office. Most of the interviews took place in schools and in participant's offices. The majority of the interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants. Some interviews were not recorded as per participants' request. All

the participants were reassured that the purpose of recording is only to ensure the accuracy of the data collected and no one other than the researcher will hear the recordings. The recordings were all transcribed by the researcher and no one had access to them. The names of the participants and their institutions were changed, except for people who are well known like the Minister of Education and heads of departments and committees. They were informed that it will not be possible to anonymise them, so whenever they wanted to say something off the record, the recorder was turned off and no quotes were made from their off-the-record comments.

Another problem usually faced by interviewers is establishing rapport with research participants. This was not a problem for the researcher in this study because the researcher has done field research in this area before on similar topics. The researcher speaks the same language as the research participants and shares the same culture. The researcher was also aware that too much rapport can prolong the interview time and the researcher may receive too much unimportant information and anecdotes.

Another problem with interviewing is deceptive or exaggerated information from participants. This can be solved by interviewing more than one person from the same institution and comparing answers to spot out huge discrepancies. Another problem with using interviews in this study is that the interviews were conducted in Arabic and then transcribed and translated to English, before being analysed. Sometimes, data can be distorted in the process of translation. However, to get control over this problem, the interviews were held, translated, transcribed and analysed by the researcher only, as this helped minimising any distortion of the data collected.

After weighing the disadvantages and the advantages of semi-structured interviews, the researcher decided to use this method, coupled with other methods, such as focus groups, observation in schools and analysis of previous quantitative and qualitative data. The results of semi-structured interviews were cross-checked against the results obtained when using other methods. This increases the trustworthiness and authenticity of the research findings.

Interviewees for this study were recruited using purposive (non-probability) sampling. This sampling strategy is widely employed in qualitative research, because through this strategy the researcher can seek out groups and individuals, where the process being studied is most likely to

occur (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). By this approach the researcher can elicit in-depth information on the phenomena being studied, instead of focusing on statistical representativeness and generalisation of the findings to apply to the greater population. Since this study is qualitative, it is not concerned with achieving representativeness, but with creating a diverse sample of people who possess certain characteristics, or live in circumstances relevant to the phenomenon being studied (Bryman, 2004, Mays and Pope 1995).

The researcher conducted sixty one individual interviews. The four systems that provide education in East Jerusalem were included in the study. The first system studied was that of the Israeli Municipal schools, serving education to Palestinian students aged 5-18. Ten schools were chosen randomly and the principals were contacted by phone and an appointment was set. All the interviews took place at the schools and they lasted between 30-90 minutes. The language of the interviews was Arabic and an interview guide was used for all the interviews with principals (available in the Annex). After that, focus groups were held with parent committees. The committees were not selected randomly (details will be provided in the focus group section) and later focus groups were held with teachers. After gathering all the information from principals, parents and teachers, an interview guide was developed and an interview was arranged with the head of the Palestinian education at Manchi¹⁶ (The municipal System) Lara Limbariki. To enable the researcher to draw a comparison with the municipal system, serving Jewish students, another seven interviews were held with the Israeli school principals. The schools were chosen randomly from the names of school provided by the head of the Israeli secondary school system. The same interview guide used with Palestinian schools was used with Israeli schools in order to draw comparisons. The interviews lasted between 30-50 minutes and the language was Hebrew and English. After gathering data from Israeli school principals, an interview guide was developed in order to arrange an interview with the head of the Israeli secondary school system in the municipality, Hava Bar Tour. The interview was held in English.

Further individual interviews were held with people involved in the fight for children's rights at municipal schools: a lawyer at the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, who had written several papers on state discriminations against the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem; the head of the

¹⁶ The Hebrew word for the joint body of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Municipality of Jerusalem.

parents' union in East Jerusalem, and the head of the parents' committee in Silwan. Individual interviews were also held with three teachers and the counsellor responsible for truant students.

The second system studied was the Awqaf system (Public Palestinian schools governed by the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, in collaboration with the Palestinian Ministry of Education). Ten schools were chosen randomly and their principals were contacted. The interviews were held in the schools and they lasted between 30-90 minutes. With one exception, all the interviews were recorded. The interviews were conducted in Arabic and then transcribed and translated to English. After that, an interview guide was developed to interview the head of the Jerusalem Directorate (the one responsible for Awqaf schools) Sameer Jibreel. The interview was conducted in Arabic and held in his office. Another interview was held with the head of the counselling department of the Awqaf system, Sameer Turman. In addition, informal interviews were held with different consultants working with the Faisal Hussein Foundation at Awqaf schools, a maths consultant who trained maths teachers, a learning disabilities consultant and a parents' participation and involvement consultant. After holding all the interviews and the focus groups with participants involved in the Awqaf system, an interview guide was developed and an interview was held with the Palestinian Minister of Education, Lamees Alami. The interview was held at her office. It lasted for 60 minutes and it was held in Arabic. After that the interview was transcribed and translated.

The third system studied was that of private schools in East Jerusalem. Seven schools were chosen, randomly, from the private system, and the principals were contacted by phone. The interviews were then held in their offices and they lasted 30-90 minutes. All the interviews were held in Arabic and they were recorded with the consent of the participants.

The fourth system studied was the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The researcher has conducted seven interviews with Principals of UNRWA schools, five interviews with school teachers and one interview with the Jerusalem Education Officer of UNRWA. The schools were not chosen randomly. There are eight UNRWA schools in Jerusalem, seven principals accepted to be interviewed. All the interviews were held in Arabic and they were recorded. As for the teachers interviewed, they were chosen based on availability. The ones who were free and accepted to be interviewed were interviewed. After interviewing the teachers and

the principals, an interview guide was developed to interview the head of the education office at UNRWA schools in Jerusalem, Durgham Abdel Aziz.

It should be noted that the research participants had different attitudes towards the researcher. For instance in the municipal system, Palestinian principals were very cautious with the information they disclosed to the researcher, many stressed the importance of ensuring their anonymity, one refused to discuss issues relating to his school budget. UNRWA school principals were also very cautious in the interviews, as for Awqaf school principals and private school principals; they seemed very confident and were not afraid to share any information. Surprisingly, for the researcher, who was intimidated to enter Israeli institutions, Israeli principals had very positive attitudes in the interviews and were unanimously happy to share information with the researcher, despite the fact that they knew that she was a Palestinian.

As for the choice of the numbers of interviews, this was determined by the fact that after a certain number of interviews no new data was being generated and information started becoming redundant. Previous qualitative research indicates that in-depth interviewing, beyond a small number leads to the generation of redundant data and can be time consuming to gather and analyse (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Lofand & Lofand 1984).

Bryman (2004) explains that theoretical saturation requires that a researcher continues to conduct interviews until little or no new data is generated. This approach of gathering and analysing data is called the grounded theory approach. Grounded theory as defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998:12) suggests that “theory that was derived from data systematically gathered and analysed through the research process. In this method, data collection, analysis, and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another”. Thus as Bryman (2004:401) explains the two processes of data gathering and analysis are “iterative or recursive” meaning that the researcher goes back and forth between the two process.

4.2.2 Focus Groups

To be able to study the effects of educational policies implemented in East Jerusalem, whether by the Israeli Ministry of Education or the Palestinian Ministry of Education or by schools themselves without recourse to official bodies, the researcher chose to conduct several focus

groups with both teachers and parents. The idea was to explore what influences parents to choose a particular type of education that they want their children to receive. The researcher was seeking to understand if parents were satisfied with their children's education, to understand their views on the education sector in East Jerusalem and also to identify the degree to which they held Israel or Israeli policy responsible for the limited educational services in the city. The focus groups held with the teachers were meant to capture their experiences, both as people living in Jerusalem and working in the education system. It was necessary to explore what problems they faced in their work and how they dealt with them. Answers to these questions would provide the researcher with an insider's view of the education system in East Jerusalem.

The researcher conducted fifteen focus groups, with parents and teachers from the four different education systems in East Jerusalem (Awqaf, private, UNRWA, municipal). In the municipal system, three focus groups with teachers were held, of which one was an informal focus group which took place in the teachers' room during break time. In addition to three parents focus groups held in community centres. For schools under the Awqaf system, two focus groups were held with parents and two with teachers. For schools under the private system, two focus groups were held with parents and three with teachers. All the focus groups were conducted in Arabic and were recorded with the consent of the participants. The responses were then transcribed and translated into English.

Focus groups were chosen for this research because they help the researcher capture people's thoughts and perspectives in a way similar to their natural environment. People in a focus group tend to influence each other, just as in real life people are influenced by their friends, neighbours and other family members (Krueger, 1994). They usually listen to other people's advice before making their decisions, as proved to be the case when they were choosing which school to send their children to. The interaction between research participants in a focus group is important, because it involves participants learning from each other and considering or re-evaluating their own understanding and experiences, just as in other situations in life. Bryman (2004) explains that the use of a focus group gives the researcher the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomena and construct meanings around it. He explains that the process of coming to terms with social phenomena is not undertaken by

individuals in isolation from each-other. Therefore, in this sense, focus groups reflect the process through which meaning is constructed in everyday life and to that extent can be regarded as more naturalistic, rather than a structured individual interview.

Another reason for using this method is that it has flexibility, which allows the researcher to explore unanticipated issues, which is not possible within structured questioning sequences (Krueger, 1994). The researcher is also in a better position to know if the respondents understood the questions being asked and then she can probe and ask more questions to explore the topic further. She can also explain the question to participants and this increases the validity of the answers. Focus groups are known to have high face validity, meaning that the technique is easily understood and the data is easily presented with quotes from the participants, obtained when they give their views on the topic. Compared to other research methods focus groups provide rich in depth data in a shorter period of time, the researcher can also increase the sample size without any dramatic increase on the research time.

Some of the key issues for ensuring the success of focus groups are: the selection of the participants, the number of participants in each group and the number of focus groups needed to obtain satisfactory results (Krueger, 1994). Ideally, each group should consist of six to eight participants, as this number ensures a flowing discussion and allows the researcher to witness a diversity of perspectives (Krueger, 1994). As Bryman (2004) explains, a focus group must be small enough for everyone to have an opportunity to share insights and yet large enough to provide a diversity of perceptions. If the group is too large, i.e. consisting of ten or more participants, the moderator (researcher) may have trouble controlling the session and the participants may feel that they are unable to express themselves within the time limit, also some members of the group may end up just talking to the people sitting next to them and the session then becomes fragmented. On the other hand, small groups consisting of four or fewer participants, have a smaller pool of opinions (Krueger, 1994). However, it is not always possible to have the ideal number in a focus group. In the research for this study, the numbers of participants in a particular focus group varied between ten and three per group. The reason was that school gatekeepers, such as school principals and heads of parents' committees were the ones responsible for gathering the groups of teachers or parents together and therefore the

researcher was restricted in the number of the participants. In some groups, the number of participants was intended to be six, but some teachers had other engagements, which meant that they could not attend, so the focus group ended up with only three or four participants.

Each one of the four educational systems in East Jerusalem was studied alone with a set of interviews and focus groups. The choice of including parents of students who are studying under the same education system was to ensure that each focus group is composed of homogeneous like-minded individuals from the same economic and cultural background and knowledge and experience with the given topic. Krueger (1994:59) explains that when participants perceive each-other as fundamentally similar, they can spend less time explaining themselves to each other and more time discussing the issue. The researcher's choice of working with homogenous groups, also lies in the fact that several social researchers have mentioned that people tend to disclose more to those whom they perceive more similar to them than to those who differ from them (Litosseliti, 2003, Morgan, 1988, Kreuger, 1994).

From each school system, several schools were chosen randomly and from each of these randomly chosen schools the principal assigned teachers to join the group (usually the ones available and willing to join). As for parents' focus groups, the parents chosen for the focus groups were members of the parents' committees. The purpose of choosing members of parents' committees was due to the fact that they are active members in the school, who are involved and are aware of the school problems.

Positivists might doubt the efficiency of this qualitative method as it lacks external validity. However, several social scientists have defended this method (see Krueger, 1994, Bryman 2004, Litosseliti, 2003). They have explained that the results of focus groups might not be generalisable or representative, but can be indicative, illustrating particular social phenomenon. Krueger (1994:87) further explains: "The intent of focus groups is not to infer, but to understand, not to generalise but to determine the range, not to make statements about the population but to provide insights about how people perceive a situation".

As for the number of focus groups for including in this study, there are several factors the researcher had to take into consideration. In focus group research there is a need for holding

more than one focus group, with different groups of people working on the same topic, because the outcome of one single session is not enough to generate comparative and in depth data around the topic (Litosseliti, 2003). Krueger (1994) explains that solo focus groups are risky because occasionally the group may encounter problems that affect the data being generated, such as cold groups with quiet reluctant participants, or sometimes one participant may dominate the session, or in some cases an accidental remark may cause chaos in the session. Therefore, the researcher conducted several focus groups with participants from the different school systems to compare results.

All the focus groups were held in schools and community centres and they lasted between one and two hours. The sessions were sound recorded after obtaining the consent of the participants. Recording ensured the accuracy of data collection and it is much easier for the researcher to concentrate on the flow of ideas in the session than to take notes of what people are saying. The researcher maintained the group's focus, ensured that key questions are discussed and that the discussion is developing and participants do not shift away from the topic or dominate the session. The researcher held the whole series of focus groups. This proves very important as it reduces the risk of manipulation and bias in the data produced. Also since the researcher is the moderator and the analyser of the data this has increased the coherence across the different stages of the research.

More importantly the researcher is aware of moderating pitfalls in focus groups which include the danger of leading participants and encouraging them to respond to the researcher's prejudices. Therefore, the researcher took the role of a listener in the discussion and only interfered when certain participants dominated the discussion or were too shy and reluctant to participate or if the discussion drifted away from the research topic. To reduce detours in the session the researcher has followed a guide so the sessions were moderately structured.

The funnel approach was used in designing the interview guide for the moderately structured focus group, moving from the broader to the more specific (Kruger,1994:53). In this approach the researcher starts with one or two broad open-ended questions and then introduces three or four general topics, reaching to several specific questions.

Finally, to ensure that the participants are not harmed by this research, the researcher followed the ethical code of the British Sociological Association (2002). At the beginning of each interview or focus group's session, the research participants were informed of the research topic, how the data will be used, why this research is being conducted and how their anonymity will be protected. Their permission was taken to record the sessions and they were informed that the purpose of the recording was to make it easier later in the process of data analysis. They were also informed that their names will be changed in the reports and other publications. Before the focus groups sessions started, the participants were informed of their absolute freedom to talk and that they were not pressured to speak, they were not expected to reach a consensus or to provide answers and that they can decide how much to disclose to the group. They were reminded of their full freedom to withdraw from the session any time and for any or no reason.

4.3 Data Analysis

The researcher started the analysis process immediately after each session. This helped determine the number of interviews and focus groups that needed to be further conducted, it also allowed the researcher to revise the interview guides and the moderating techniques.

Due to the open-ended nature of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, large amounts of unstructured textual data was produced. Therefore, the researcher has chosen to use the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software NVivo 9. This has lessened the amount of time spent on data analysis and helped with organising and protecting the data, which was saved electronically and backed up. The researcher has chosen this software package because she has previous experience using it. Its tools are very flexible, as they allow the researcher to edit and rework ideas as the project proceeds. They also allow the researcher to be reflexive by using memos and annotations.

However, NVivo cannot code and analyse the data by itself. The researcher is the one who detects the themes from the raw data. Coding was used to categorise and sort the data collected. Coding was divided mainly into two stages: initial coding, which is the process of looking for what themes can be discovered from the data and focused coding, which is the process of

elaborating more recurrent codes and removing the less productive ones (Lofland and Lofland, 1995, Charmaz, 1983). Respondents' accounts were organised by categories and sub-categories, suggested by the topic guides, as well as the new categories that emerged from analysis of the transcripts (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993).

Special care was taken in the data analysis. Interviewees' statements were not taken at face value they were scrutinised carefully, because sometimes the group might reach a false consensus as participants with strong personalities can dominate the discussions. The researcher was aware that sometimes people tend to express culturally accepted views rather than their own views (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, words and statements were considered in context. As Litosseliti (2003:92) explains, statements by participants can be analysed only in light of "who articulates them, at what point they occur in the discussion, in response to what comment, in what manner, in association with what kind of non-verbal cues and within what kind of broader socio-cultural context".

This chapter has described the research strategy and methods used in this study. The research strategy adopted for this thesis is an interpretivist research strategy with a phenomenological philosophy, which is concerned with how people view the world around them. By this research strategy the researcher managed to capture the consequence of educational exclusion on people's lives interpreted in their own perception and presented in their own words. The researcher has used qualitative research methods, namely sixty one semi-structured interviews and fifteen focus groups. Those research methods have enabled the researcher to collect a breadth of information on the effects of Israel's educational exclusionary measures on the Palestinian population in East Jerusalem. The researcher has then used the grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in analysing the data, which meant discovering theories from the analysis of the data collected. The themes extracted from the data collected are presented in chapters five to nine. Those themes presented were the main problems faced in the education sector in East Jerusalem according to the research participants. Each theme produced is supported with quotations generated during the interviews and the focus groups. To determine the contributions of the findings to research done on this area, the findings are presented alongside information relating to previous research.

The Structure of Educational Provisions in East Jerusalem

This chapter explores the structure of the education sector in East Jerusalem. It provides a detailed description of the different supervising bodies and the conflicts between them. The existence of several supervising bodies and the fragmentation of the Palestinian educational system in the city is caused and perpetuated due to the fact that Israel's provision of educational services to Palestinians in the city is profoundly insufficient, highly politicised and appears to be a means of serving a political process of perpetuating the subordinate status of the Palestinians. This is also fostered by the restrictions that Israel imposes on the Palestinian Ministry of Education, which prevent the latter from taking charge of the education sector in East Jerusalem. Therefore, in attempts to fill the gaps in the Palestinian educational provision, several systems have been established, which are obstructed and discriminated against by the state. The forms of discrimination are delineated in exclusionary policies that place obstacles on those educational institutions, which range from unofficial exclusion of state support to official non-recognition.

5.1 Fragmentation in the Provision of Educational Services

The major problem with the education sector in East Jerusalem is that it is not overseen and governed by just one body. There is no one authority that takes responsibility for implementing policy for public education and is held accountable for any deficiencies in the education sector. Just as there is political conflict over the sovereignty of the city, there is conflict over who takes charge of the education sector. The triad of public education (consumer, government, service provider) (Besley and Ghatak, 2003) is dysfunctional in East Jerusalem. There are four different triads. The first triad consists of the Palestinian consumer, Israeli government, and Manchi as the service provider; the second triad is formed by the Palestinian consumer, the Palestinian Authority, and the Jerusalem Directorate of education as a service provider (Awqaf schools), and the third triad is the Palestinian consumer, the United Nations, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which is a schools system provider. The educational provision is made also by private schools, which are not governed by one supervising body. One would

assume that because there exists several service providers there will be an ample supply of services. On the contrary, according to the 2009 State Comptroller's Report, there was a shortage of over 1000 classrooms in East Jerusalem (Ir Amim, 2010). This shortage has led to overcrowding in the existing schools, in all the systems including private schools, with a slight variation between the systems.

The four different supervising bodies:

1. Manchi – The Jerusalem Education Administration. The Joint body of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality and the Israeli Ministry of Education
2. Awqaf or Muslim Endowment, in collaboration with the Palestinian Ministry of Education, but the latter is prohibited from operating in Jerusalem according to the Oslo Accords, so those schools are governed by the Palestinian Jerusalem Directorate of Education. They are called Awqaf schools.
3. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) who supervise primary and elementary schools for Palestinian refugees.
4. Local charities and other private schools.

Table 1: Supervising bodies of the education sector in East Jerusalem (2011/2012)

Supervising Body	No. of schools	No. of students	Percentage of Students
Manchi- Municipal Schools serving Palestinian students	57	42, 271	47%
Awqaf schools	38	12,400	14%
UNRWA schools	8	2,442	3%
Local charities and other private schools	82	28,824	31%
Students not registered in any system		4,387	5%
Total	181	90,324	100

Source: This table was created by a compilation of data from the Palestinian Jerusalem Directorate of Education (مديرية التربية والتعليم في القدس) and The Israeli Jerusalem Education Administration (Manchi"מנהל)

Three systems in East Jerusalem provide free education to Palestinian students; Israeli controlled municipal schools, Palestinian controlled Awqaf schools and United Nations Controlled UNRWA schools. The two systems, Awqaf and UNRWA try to fill the gaps in the municipal provisions. However, they do not have full control over their schools in Jerusalem and they are not recognised by the Israeli Municipality. There is no cooperation between the Israeli Municipal system and the other two systems, which means that it is difficult to gauge how many children are being served, by whom, where, and how well.

According to the Israeli Ministry of education, Manchi is the official provider of the educational services in East Jerusalem and the other systems controlled by Awqaf and UNRWA are considered unofficial. The Israeli Ministry has two categories for private schools. The schools that abide by its rules, are granted subsidies and are considered recognised but unofficial, whereas private schools that refuse to work with the municipality and abide by its rules are considered unrecognised and unofficial. The opposite applies to the Palestinian Ministry of education. The Palestinian Ministry of education considers Awqaf schools as the official provider of education in East Jerusalem and it recognises UNRWA schools and all private schools functioning in Jerusalem, regardless of whether they are subsidised by the Israeli government or not. However, The Palestinian Ministry does not support private schools financially due to its limited budget; it only supports Awqaf schools. The Palestinian Ministry of education does not recognise Israeli Municipal schools that provide education to Palestinian students and they do not cooperate with them.

In the current political situation, Israel is controlling East Jerusalem and so the stronger educational system in the city is the Israeli system. This system provides education to larger numbers of students; it is connected with the social services, the ministry of interior and the police. It also enjoys bigger budgets and recently has expanded to subsidise and control private schools in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Palestinian Ministry of education provides education to 14% of the student population in Jerusalem. It does not have full control of its school buildings because those buildings are located in Jerusalem, which is under Israeli control, so Palestinian schools cannot renovate the school buildings or expand those buildings without Israeli permission. The provision of educational services and the struggles between the PA and

the Israeli Municipality is a mirror of the political conflict over the city. The following sections in this chapter will give details on each system and the services it provides to the Palestinian residents of the city.

5.1.1 Manchi-Municipal Schools

From interviews with principals, teachers, parents and officials at the municipal system, several recurring themes emerged. The first and most pressing issue was lack of space. Municipal provisions are insufficient, as they provide education to less than 50% of the Palestinian student population in East Jerusalem. The second problem, expressed by the research participants, was the centralisation of the system, which means that most of the policies are dictated from “above” and so principals and teachers feel that their demands and their schools’ needs are neglected. None of the municipal schools in East Jerusalem is autonomous. They are not managed by the school management, instead they are all managed by the municipality, whereas all the schools in West Jerusalem serving Jewish students are autonomous and are free to direct their budgets wherever they see fit. Many of the research participants also expressed cases of corruption at the municipal system serving Palestinian students in East Jerusalem. The third problem was the serious lack of funding for this system and glaring differences between schools serving Jewish students and the ones serving Palestinian students. Lack of funding means poor maintenance of the school buildings and a lack of programmes for the schools serving Palestinian students.

The Jerusalem Israeli Municipality provides education to children in the city through a Joint body, called The Jerusalem Education Administration which is a joint body of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Municipality of Jerusalem (Manchi). This body provides public education to Israeli and Palestinian students in the city. There are fifty seven schools serving 42,271 Palestinian students, which represent 47% of Palestinian school age students in Jerusalem (excluding kindergarten) (Manchi, 2011). On the other hand, there are 457 schools (excluding kindergarten) serving 156,442 Israeli Jewish students, of which 97,529 students are in Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) education and 58,922 students are in secular public education (Manchi, 2011).

In a liberal democratic state the social contract between the citizens, residents and the state entitles them to receive free quality educational services. That is why approximately 93% of British schoolchildren (UK Department for Education, 2011) and 85% of American schoolchildren (US Department of Education, 2011) attend governmentally funded schools. In East Jerusalem however, this is not the case. The State of Israel provides education to only 47% of the Palestinian schoolchildren. This is a breach of both Israeli Compulsory Education Law 1949, and International Law (the Fourth Geneva Convention Article 50) and a breach of the Convention against Discrimination in Education 1962 of which Israel is a signatory party and a breach of human rights laws, CRC 1989 Article 2, Article 26.

By law, Israel is supposed to ensure that education is compulsory and free to all the citizens and residents, between the ages of 5 and 18 years in the state regardless of their ethnicity and religion. It also forbids any discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, socio-economic status or political views (Student Rights Law, 2000). However, when examining the education sector in East Jerusalem, one can see that there are massive deficiencies in the education provisions by the Israeli Municipality.

According to the Palestinian Human Rights Monitor Group (2000), neglect of the education sector in East Jerusalem dates back to 1967, when the State of Israel annexed East Jerusalem. From 1967 till 2001 only one new municipal school was built for Palestinian students. The report says that the Palestinian student population in 2000 was approximately 68,700 and only 28,120 students had a space in public governmentally funded schools, a mere 40.9% of the Palestinian student population. In the report they compared these figures with figures for students in Jewish West Jerusalem schools, in order to show how Israeli policy and administration differ in the two sides of the city. Their results show that Jewish student-aged population in Jerusalem for 1998-1999 was about 151,200 children. That year, there were 137,523 students enrolled in secular and ultra-orthodox Jewish schools, which means that the State of Israel and the Jerusalem Municipality provided education for 91% of Israeli students in Jerusalem. The report shows that unlike the situation in Palestinian East Jerusalem, where less than half of the Palestinian students received free governmentally funded education, the vast majority of children in the Jewish sector of Jerusalem were enrolled in publicly funded schools.

The Palestinians' frustration from lack of schools in Jerusalem accumulated and reached a climax in the year 2000, when parents of 26 children from East Jerusalem appealed to the High Court of Justice for help in exercising their children's right to free education. The authorities have found a place for those children in public schools. However, the problem of thousands of other students was not solved (Maymon and Alian, 2011). The educational institution master plan for East Jerusalem, prepared by the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies in 2002 at the request of the Jerusalem Municipality, predicted a shortage of more than 1800 classrooms in 2010 (Maymon and Alian, 2011).

The severe shortage of the classrooms in East Jerusalem means that many children who apply to municipal schools are turned away. Due to this happening, the Association of Civil Rights in Israel in cooperation with parents whose children were turned away submitted a petition to the supreme court of Israel, demanding that the municipality cover the fees for private schooling for the children it turns away.

In February 2011, the Israeli Supreme Court accepted the petition HCJ 5373/08 (Abu Libdeh et al. v. Minister of Education et al.)

“The Court ordered the state to create, within five years, a physical infrastructure to absorb all of the East Jerusalem students who are interested in municipal schools. If after five years any student remaining without a place in school, the state will have to cover the cost of their attending recognised but unofficial schools” (Maymon and Alian, 2011:4)

Justice Procaccia who ruled in the case described the situation of the education system in Jerusalem as dreadful and strongly criticised the authorities' behaviour:

“The figures presented above indicate that there are presently 40,000 children entitled to free official education in East Jerusalem who do not attend official schools but alternative ones. At least some of them turned to alternative education after they were rejected by the official system, because of a shortage of sufficient infrastructures of

buildings and teaching staff. It appears that the right of many children in East Jerusalem to receive an official education for free is not being fulfilled and at this point the authorities are not fully meeting their legal obligation to give every child in Israel a free official education. This situation violates the constitutional right of children in East Jerusalem for equality in education. The violation of the right to equality in education in East Jerusalem is not the plight of a few. It is the plight of a significant portion of an entire sector of the population, which is not able to exercise a basic right it is afforded by law and the constitutional values of Israeli law” (cited in Maymon and Alian, 2011:3)

She further states:

“Unfortunately, despite their efforts, the authorities in charge of education have failed to fulfil their duty to provide free education to the children of East Jerusalem... Along with the progress and the efforts made by the respondents to find solutions to the problem of the shortage of classrooms in East Jerusalem, their progress has been too slow. The result is that many children in East Jerusalem remain without appropriate educational frameworks. This outcome is unacceptable. The status and importance of the right to education require that all the relevant parties endeavour to find a prompt and effective solution to the problem” (cited in Maymon and Alian, 2011:3)

Discrimination in the educational services provided to Palestinians in Jerusalem starts at the Kindergarten level. Out of the 15,000 Palestinian children between the ages of three and four living in Jerusalem, only 443 have a place in municipal kindergartens, a mere 3% (Alyan et al. 2012a). The Israeli Ministry of Education announced in 2012 that free education should be available to three and four year olds starting with the academic school year 2012/2013. However, the Jerusalem Israeli Municipality, due to its insufficient provision of schools and nurseries, mainly in East Jerusalem, only put this announcement on the Hebrew side of their website and did not put it in Arabic for the Palestinian residents in Jerusalem. According to Alyan et al. (2012a) there are only six municipal kindergartens available in East Jerusalem serving only 121 students, aged three and four, and the other 260 students go to school with five year olds.

Municipal educational provisions to Palestinian students in terms of accessibility and quality are low. According to Lara Limbariki, the head of the Palestinian education sector in Manchi, they do not have accurate statistics on the number of students who drop out of the municipal system. According to the Knesset, the drop-out rate in East Jerusalem in 2006 at the secondary level was 50% (cited in Dayan, 2010). Limbariki believes that those figures are misleading, because many students are studying in schools that the municipality does not recognise such as the Awqaf schools and these students cannot be considered to be “dropouts”. When asked about any future plans for reform, Limbariki answered that their limited budgets prevent them from doing any extensive research or reform in the Palestinian education sector.

The municipal system is highly centralised. The principals in municipal schools, serving Palestinian students, complained that they are not in charge of their budgets, unlike schools in West Jerusalem that are fully autonomous. The Principals do not get to decide on the hiring of teachers. This process is highly monitored and censored by the Israeli intelligence. No Palestinian with a political background is allowed to teach at municipal schools. The Principals are not in charge of the curriculums or the programmes that have to be implemented in the schools. The Principals interviewed explained that they do not feel like leaders in their institutions and that this affects their incentives and motivation to improve their schools. They felt that they are mere employees in the municipality and that constantly they have to “follow orders”. Alayan and Yair (2009:241) in their study on the schooling system in East Jerusalem have noticed the same issue amongst their interviewees. One of their interviewees at the municipality said that the top-down strategy of the governing bodies makes for a disconnection between students’ needs and school provisions:

“Some things are simply dictated in the first place. There is no meaning to principals’ requests or the needs of their schools. There are no arguments; the principals simply do not argue. They say, “You want us to focus on violence, we will focus on violence”, even if this is no issue at all. They don’t ask anything. They accept whatever they are told to do” (Alayan and Yair, 2009:241)

The Principal is always monitored by an inspector from the municipality, who mainly makes the school decisions. Teachers and principals interviewed complained that the high bureaucracy and

constant intentional neglect of municipal schools serving Palestinian students, has led to unbearable school conditions.

“I feel that we are employees not leaders of our schools. We have to follow orders. For instance if we have a certain vision and we want to improve the school, but we don’t have the budget and what we are suggesting doesn’t apply with the municipality rules, then everything gets cancelled and we keep on doing what we always do. We can’t take any decisions”¹⁷ (Principal at X Municipal School)

Besley and Ghatak (2003) explain that this high centralisation in the education sector will result in the creation of a one size fits all basic education, with lack of variety in programs and extracurricular activities and in return, absence of choice for the parents. The principals become passive bureaucrats who follow orders with no leadership or entrepreneurial skills, also the fact that the numbers of students are much larger than the available space demotivates schools to improve. Palestinian students in Jerusalem are fighting to find a seat in the school, instead of the schools competing to offer students the best quality education.

The lack of funding was one of the most difficult problems the schools faced, as reported by officials and principals in the four systems in East Jerusalem. Starting with the municipal system, Palestinian principals at East Jerusalem Municipal schools complained that the current dire state of the schools is due to the chronic lack of resources and funds. Funding to East Jerusalem Municipal schools comes from two sources, the first one is the municipality and the second is the tuition fees, which are not compulsory. Both sources are very limited compared to the resourcing Israeli schools get in Jerusalem. Municipal funds allotted to East Jerusalem schools are lacking, and as a result, students suffer from an uncomfortable and poor learning environment (Alyan et al. 2012b). Schools are at times disconnected from a water supply due to debt (Ibid). Municipal schools serving Palestinian students receive 234 NIS (£42) per student every academic year, at the primary level, in comparison municipal schools serving Israeli Jewish students receive 488 NIS (£88).¹⁸ At the secondary level Israeli Municipal school Principals interviewed said that they

¹⁷ The quotes obtained from the researcher’s field work are italicised in this thesis to show their originality.

¹⁸ Jerusalem District Court Order 25832-09-10 accessed on the following link on 21/3/2012 <<http://www.acri.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/hit25832metuqenet.pdf>> data provided by a lawyer from The Association for Civil Rights in Israel.

receive 660 NIS (£118) per students, whereas Palestinian schools refused to disclose this information about their budgets. As for tuition fees, Palestinian students are asked to pay a maximum amount of 260 NIS (£47) for the school in tuition fees, in comparison with 1,500 NIS (£270) for Israeli students. Some Israeli schools charge more for afternoon activities. Religious schools charge more for afternoon religious studies. They also get donations from Jewish religious societies in the form of scholarships for the students. Israeli students who cannot afford the fees are exempt, but according to six of the seven Israeli schools visited, most students pay.

Municipal schools, serving Palestinian students, do not receive any donations from the Israeli community. They also do not receive any donations from the Palestinian community, as they are under the supervision of the Israeli Municipality which is considered by the Palestinians to be an entity of the occupiers. The principals interviewed at municipal schools complained that they are forced to “make do” with the budgets they received from the municipality. Principals working in municipal schools serving Palestinian students also complained that the budgets for schools in West Jerusalem are higher. However, none had any figures to support their claim. The head of the Palestinian education office at the municipality Lara Limbariki, held the same view. However, she said that they cannot prove it, because the funding systems for Palestinian and Israeli schools are different.

“The limited budget is always a problem. Even though, I suspect that this school is better off than many other schools like the Awqaf and the UNRWA schools. However, most of the time the budget is limited and insufficient for our needs. We have so many expenses and I wish to implement many projects, but we cannot due to the limited budgets” (Principal at B Municipal School)

“We always complain about the budget but they say that’s it. It’s about one third of what schools get in West Jerusalem. I don’t have specific numbers, but in all the meetings that’s what we hear” (Principal at X Municipal School)

“There is a huge gap between Arab and Israeli schools. Really, I mean in Jerusalem there are I think 13 Arab high schools under the Jerusalem Municipality. The school conditions are bad, I mean there aren’t enough buildings. Now, lately, that is in the last four years, quite a few new

schools have been built in Arab neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, but still there are not enough; the studying conditions are horrible. I went to Shufat to visit an elementary school, I forgot its name. It was in an apartment. It is shameful. Nobody should be in such a system. No wonder people go to the private system. It is not only with the Arabs, there is also a problem with the religious orthodox, the kharedim population is very big and they also study in poor conditions” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Israeli Secondary Education at Manchi)

Municipal schools serving Israeli students earn more from the municipality, from the parents, and from the civil society.

“We charge between 1,500 NIS (£270) and 2,000 NIS (£359) depending on the programme that the students are taking. Around 85 to 90% of the students pay the full fee. They don’t pay a lot, if we ask for more money fewer students will be able to pay. We don’t give a service here at the school for free, they have to pay. If they don’t have sufficient money, we will help them, the municipality will help them and the ministry will help them, but there will be no option for paying nothing. The municipality in Jerusalem is very poor compared to Tel Aviv and Ranana, where they pay two and three times more. Jerusalem is a very poor city because there are a lot of Kharidim (ultra-orthodox Jews) and lots of Arabs, who are not rich, so the government gives the municipality more money compared to what it gives to other cities” (Principal at MG, Secular Municipal school)

“The budget is divided into three parts: the parents, the municipality and I rent the building in the afternoon. We rent the school for classes like karate and basketball. The fees are between 2,000 NIS (£359) and if you want extra programmes you can pay about 2,500 NIS (£449). The municipality pays exactly 660 NIS (£118) for every student and about 100% of the students pay the tuition fees” (Principal at J, Secular Municipal school)

An additional support for Israeli Municipal schools is made by the parents’ committees. Parents’ committees are more active than in municipal schools that serve Palestinian students. In the Israeli schools visited, the principals said that parents support the schools extensively. Another support for municipal schools serving Jewish students stems from donations of the Israeli community.

“There are all kinds of groups that join the municipality or the Ministry of Education, by combining budgets, and they provide special programmes for the schools, like the programme called “Khalon”. They give money, and they come to the municipality and ask for partnership to build a programme for improving the schools together. It is mainly about helping weaker populations, problematic students, and Khalon is one of them, “Asrieli” (Business enterprise) also joined the municipality to help children. There are lots of programs like this.” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Israeli Secondary Education at Manchi)

Municipal schools serving Palestinian students do not only suffer from lack of funding, another issue that was raised in the interviews was corruption in the Palestinian education office in the municipality. All the principals, teachers and the parents interviewed have confirmed the allegations. Several interviewees said that any teacher from East Jerusalem wishing to teach at a municipal school should have the approval of the intelligence office first, that is why it takes several months for a teacher to be hired by the municipality. Most of the interviewees complained that there is discrimination against East Jerusalemites, because most of the high positions in the office of education are occupied by Palestinians holding Israeli citizenship.

“Well I’m going to say something, because I’m a brave person; how come all the officials at the office there are not from East Jerusalem? Aren’t there any qualified East Jerusalemites? You never find an inspector from East Jerusalem you never find an East Jerusalemite in a high position. Are we that far behind? Don’t we have any qualified people?” (Fawaz, Deputy Principal, RS Municipal School)

“There is discrimination 100% it’s obvious. All the officials at the Palestinian office at Manchi hold Israeli citizenships; there are no Palestinian Jerusalem residents. Now there is an opening for the position of the head of the Palestinian education office at Manchi, so we asked to meet with the head of Manchi to ask that the person assigned for this position be a Palestinian Jerusalemite.” (Sameh, Head of Al Silsal Parents Committee)

Teachers complained that all the inspectors at the office of education and many principals are Palestinians holding Israeli citizenships and not residents of East Jerusalem. They said that they are occupying positions that should be taken by people from Jerusalem and this creates friction.

One of the principals said that there are always tensions between Palestinian teachers holding Israeli citizenship and East Jerusalemites at his school and that holders of the Israeli citizenship have a sense of superiority over East Jerusalemites, who only have residency permits, and their lives are more restricted. One of the principals interviewed stated that she has trouble dealing with teachers who come from the north (who hold Israeli citizenships) because she said that they feel empowered and in any conflict they threaten to sue. Another principal complained that Palestinian Israeli teachers were taught the Israeli curriculum and are not aware of the requirements of the Palestinian curriculum. He said also that since the inspectors are responsible for hiring, they tend to favour teachers who come from their towns and villages.

“You know the problem of corruption in the education office is not the Israelis, it’s us Palestinians. We are still guided by our tribal instincts, meaning that if an inspector is from so and so village then he favours teachers and principals from so and so village” (Principal at RS Municipal School)

“As I told you before there is a very corrupt Arab presence in the municipality. This is a fact, I’m telling you that I have witnessed it myself, from the inspector down to the smallest employee. They do not care, it is all about their business and as a result we suffer from all this. I don’t want to say more. There are cases where Principals cannot talk to certain teachers because those teachers are backed up. You know, this is a shame that people like this work in educational institutions, where they are taking care of our children.” (Maher, Head of Al Tufah Parents Committee)

“We gathered with the inspector and we explained to him, we gave him a long list disqualifying the principal at the primary school. At the end he said that he is a “supported” principal and we cannot fire him regardless of what he does and doesn’t do” (Tawfiq, Member of Al Burtoqal Parents Committee)

“One of the teachers was forced on one of the schools here. She hits the students and curses them. We have talked to the police, to the social services, to the municipality, but she is still working here, because the people at the office of education are interested in her” (Tamer, Member at Al Tufah Parents Committee)

When the topic of recruitment at the office of education was raised in the focus groups, some teachers said that Palestinian Israelis tend to do better because they master the Hebrew language whereas not all East Jerusalemites master the language. Other teachers said that it is because they hold the Israeli citizenship. One of the teachers said that she holds the Israeli citizenship but she doesn't speak Hebrew and she is not very informed of Israeli laws. She believes that is why she has been in the same position for over 15 years. She said that Palestinian Israelis excel in such jobs as they find it easier to penetrate Israeli institutions. They live in Israel and are well aware of the laws and they are not "intimidated" like most East Jerusalemites. Another teacher said that Palestinian Israeli teachers can fight for their rights, because they have more experience in dealing with Israeli institutions.

"What I'm trying to say is that many people in East Jerusalem have lots of qualifications, but they are limited by the language. OK, there are exceptions, some speak Hebrew but most don't master the language. In addition to the fact that everything here is politicised, even if you want to be hired as a small employee in the municipality, your papers will have to pass by the intelligence, before you can obtain approval to work there. I'm talking here about a small employee, imagine what happens when they hire an inspector or a head of a certain office"
(Munir, Arabic teacher, RS Municipal School)

When asked about corruption at the office of education, Limbariki said that the municipal schools system is a huge system with over 300 employees and so "there are anomalies, like everywhere else in the world" but according to her, most of what teachers, parents and principals say are rumours, as no one reported any case of corruption. She said, if people report to her she will attend to the problem. When she was asked why all the inspectors and people in high positions have Israeli passports, including her, she replied that it is by chance, as most Palestinian Israelis speak fluent Hebrew and if a person wants to work with the Israeli Ministry of Education one should be fluent in Hebrew and should have the ability to submit reports in Hebrew, on a daily basis, which East Jerusalemites, except for a few, find very difficult.

According to Alayan and Yair (2009:251), there are two administrative reasons for this presence of Palestinian Israelis in East Jerusalem. The first reason is that the standards for employment,

set by the Israeli government, commonly require a Bachelor's or Master's degree from an Israeli-accredited higher-education institution, which most Palestinian Israelis hired in such positions obtain. The second reason is that teachers and administrators are required to obtain security clearance from the General Security Service and the police, which many East Jerusalemites find shameful and also any Palestinian resident who was caught by the police in anti-Israeli protests and consequently has a criminal record is barred from employment in Israeli institutions.

Those are the major issues reflected by the research participants on the Israeli educational system providing services to Palestinian students. The research participants whether principals, teachers or parents reflected dissatisfaction with the services provided by the Israeli municipality. They felt that the number of schools available is insufficient; they felt that the developmental programs implemented are a replica of the programs implemented in West Jerusalem which do not suit the culture or the physical environment of the schools in East Jerusalem. The participants also mentioned corruption in the system which negatively influences the schools. As expressed by research participants municipal schools serving Palestinian students are weak in terms of accessibility and quality.

5.1.2 Awqaf or Muslim Endowment, in collaboration with the Palestinian Ministry of Education

Awqaf schools are run by the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, which is administered by the Palestinian Ministry of Education. There are thirty eight Awqaf schools spread around Jerusalem and its suburbs and they serve around 12,400 students which amounts to 14% of the total student population in Jerusalem (JDOE, 2011).

These schools were first established in 1971, as a result of the struggle at that time, between Palestinian academics and the Israeli Municipality, which attempted to impose an Arab-Israeli curriculum in public schools in East Jerusalem, similar to that used for Palestinian Israelis in 1948 Israel, instead of the Jordanian curriculum. Palestinian Jerusalemites did not accept the new Israeli curriculum and immediately started withdrawing their children from the schools, in fear of losing their Palestinian Arab identity. Palestinians insisted that their children should be taught using an Arab Jordanian curriculum, as they did not have a Palestinian curriculum in the 1970's.

A group of Palestinian teachers, headed by Hussny Al Ashab, the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education back then, established make-shift schools in houses and started teaching students in these schools, using the Jordanian Curriculum. Then he registered the schools under the Islamic Waqf in Jerusalem. This is how they obtained their name: “Awqaf schools”. Some people call them Al Ashab schools after Hussny Al Ashab.

After a vicious struggle between Palestinian educators and the Israeli authority in East Jerusalem, which ended with the imprisonment of several teachers, including the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, Israel allowed the use of the Jordanian Curriculum in Palestinian schools. However, Awqaf schools remained and still serve Palestinian students up to this date. These schools remained under Jordanian administration for almost twenty three years. In 1994 the Palestinian Authority took control of the education sector in the West Bank and Gaza, and indirectly took authority over the Directorate of Education in East Jerusalem.

The Palestinian Ministry of Education was established in 1995. In its first years the ministry was faced by many challenges. The education sector it inherited was plagued by fragmentation. The UNESCO (2004) report quotes high ranking officials describing the education sector in Palestine in 1995 “we inherited a shamble” (cited in Nicolai, 2009:43), another official at the ministry said:

“The first school year in 1994-1995 was purely crisis management. In the second year we began some work on teachers training and curriculum development, but it was not until the third year and beyond when we really started thinking about the future” (cited in Nicolai, 2009:51).

They lacked the data and the funding for reform. The first set of planning the ministry did was internal. “We did not have enough data and what we did have did not always match, but we collected what we could” said Professor Agnes Hanania, who was involved in the internal planning (cited in Nicolai, 2009:51). The ministry formed its first Five-Year Education Development plan 2000-2005, with the assistance and support of the UNESCO’s International Institute for Educational Planning. The plan was shared internationally, in order to get funding from the donors. By the time the plan was ready to be implemented, the education sector was hit

by the second intifada (2000-2005), and the success of the plan, according to the Ministry of Education was hindered:

“Implementation appears to have been somewhat fragmented, not surprisingly, given the conflict which has raged for most of its duration and it has been suggested that the overall policy and the vision of the plan are insufficiently elaborated and are not always evident as the guiding principle for the development across the sector” (Nicolai, 2009:53)

The Ministry of Education was also struggling with the budgets. When it was first established, the Palestinian Authority had no tax base and thus no domestic budget. After the ministry set its plan, it tried to gather donations to get the work in motion. However, they only managed to get 2.5 billion dollars over five years which was less than two thirds of the budget for which they had planned (Nicolai, 2009).

The Palestinian Authority began to build its own budget through domestic revenues and tax transfers from Israel, since all the Palestinian imports and exports leave through Israeli ports and so Israel has control over Palestinian tax revenues. Israel has always used the tax transfer as a tool to pressurise the Palestinian Authority (PA). Whenever they disapprove of the PA’s decisions, the transfers are halted and by that over about one hundred and seventy five thousand (175,000) government workers become unable to receive their monthly salary; which includes thousands of school teachers (World Bank, 2012). In 2007, Hamas¹⁹ won the parliamentary elections, Israel considers Hamas a terrorist organisation and Hamas does not recognise Israel’s right to exist, so Israel stopped the transfer of Palestinian money to the Palestinian Authority and pressured the international donor community to stop the support to Palestinians.

The Palestinian Authority Chairman, Mahmoud Abbas, replaced the Hamas-led administration in the West Bank with an emergency administration, mostly made up of Fatah²⁰ friendly academics and intellectuals, of which Israel approved. Consequently, the funding freeze by the European Union and the United States stopped, and Israel transferred the tax revenues to the

¹⁹ Hamas is an Islamic political party in Palestine.

²⁰ Fatah is a Palestinian political party and the largest faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Palestinian Authority. They managed also to pay the teachers their salaries in installments. However, the majority of teachers still suffered financially, because their salary scales were very low in comparison with the living expenses in Jerusalem. Therefore, the teachers union organised additional strikes in 2008 to demand an increase in their salaries.

The same freeze in salaries occurred again in October 2011, after Palestine was accepted in the UNESCO. The Israeli government decided to punish the Palestinian Authority Chairman, Mahmoud Abbas, by stopping transferring tax money it collected for Palestinians. Israel withheld approximately \$100 million (£66 million) a month, that it collects in taxes and customs duties on the PA's behalf, under the terms of the Oslo Accords. Every time the PA stops being able to pay teachers' salaries, teachers go on strike. This has led to many disruptions in school days, leading parents to withdraw their children from Awqaf schools. In 2005, Awqaf schools served around 18% of Palestinian Jerusalemites. This academic year (2011/2012), they serve 14%.

By the time the teachers were interviewed for this study, they had not received their salaries for two months.

“This is a general problem for the Palestinian Authority they could not pay the last two salaries but now I don't think there is a problem with the salaries in general. The lowest salary now is 3,600 NIS (£646) for beginners and it reaches up to 6,000 NIS (£1,077) for older teachers. (Sameer Jibreel, Head of the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem)

The freeze on the salaries occurred again after the field work for this study was finished. In November 2012 The United Nations General Assembly endorsed an upgraded U.N. status for the Palestinian Authority, from “non-member observer entity” to “non-member observer state”. Following this endorsement Israel expanded its sanctions on the Palestinian Authority, placing them under a massive economic crisis. The Palestinian Authority, due to the freeze of funds was unable to pay its public servants their salaries. The teachers at Palestinian Public schools have not received their salaries since November 2013 up to this date, February 2013. As a result teachers have been striking on and off during this period.

The public education provided by the Palestinian Ministry of Education to students in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem (through Awqaf) is very poor with a budget reaching \$288 million (PMoE, 2004) compared to Israel's \$6 billion budget for education (IMoE, 2004). Over 85% of the budget at the Palestinian Ministry of Education goes to cover operational costs, mainly staff salaries, which leaves very little left over for reform and development (Nicolai, 2009). Other claims for money, like school construction and textbook printing, are all funded by donor money. Budgeting by the Ministry of Education is a problem. According to UNESCO's report, budgeting at the Palestinian Ministry of Education is "neither contestable nor transparent" (Nicolai, 2009:63). According to the World Bank "there appears to be no fiscal analysis, and the current budget is not based on a comprehensive knowledge of the funding available for education investments" (Nicolai, 2009:63).

The problem of limited funding, lack of transparency and sound educational policies has affected the Palestinian Authority public schools in the West Bank and the Awqaf system in East Jerusalem. What exacerbated the problem further is the political conflict in the city and the restrictions imposed by the State of Israel on Palestinian institutions linked to the Palestinian Authority. The Palestinian Authority is not allowed to function in Jerusalem, as a result of the Oslo agreement of 1993, which defers negotiations on the status of Jerusalem. Therefore, even though Awqaf schools are in fact administered by the Palestinian Ministry of Education, the Ministry has no direct control over them. The Palestinian Ministry, in effect, works in Jerusalem through the Jerusalem Directorate of Education.

Buchman and Hannum (2001:81) explain that the absence of a strong state explains the deterioration of the education system, with extreme regional disparities in school supply and poor school quality. They explain that such governments face substantial barriers to educational development and meeting school demand, such as limited economic and organisational resources, a lack of legitimacy, and peripheral status in the world system. Therefore, non-state actors, like local community groups and national and international nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), have stronger roles and influences on the education sector in such communities.

Awqaf schools in Jerusalem receive limited funding, they do not have a designated budget set by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and they are not even recognised by the Israeli Ministry of Education, in addition to being under massive restrictive and exclusionary measures imposed on them by the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem.

The Palestinian Ministry of Education does not provide direct funding to Awqaf schools in Jerusalem. It pays teachers' salaries and school bills, but it does not cover developmental projects nor does it provide any additional funding to schools. This was explained by Sameer Jibreel, the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education.

“We don't have a designated budget from the Palestinian Ministry of Education, because we are in Jerusalem, and it is outside the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. So we depend on the donors to help us renovate and fix things at the schools. The ministry supports us but doesn't work with us like they work in Ramallah, because, according to the Oslo accords, they should not interfere with anything that goes on in Jerusalem. Teacher training and salaries are covered by the Ministry of Education, in addition to the rent of the school buildings and the utility bills. However, we get support from NGO's to renovate the schools. Honestly in the past five to ten years the schools have improved, before that they were honestly in a dire strait.”

Principals interviewed at Awqaf schools complained that the continuous lack of funds resulted in many problems for schools. According to Sameer Jibreel and the Awqaf school principals interviewed, they charge a minimum amount of tuition fees consisting of 50 NIS (£9) a year at the primary level and 70 NIS (£12.5) a year at the secondary level. If the student has any siblings at an Awqaf school he/she pays 40 NIS (£7), if he/she is a son/daughter of a civil servant he/she pays 25 NIS (£4.5), if he/she is an orphan or if his/her parents suffer from a low economic status he/she is exempt. Of the tuition fees the school manages to gather, 10% is taken by the Ministry of Education and 20% goes to the Jerusalem Directorate of Education. Apart from the fees and the income from the canteen at certain schools, the schools have no other fixed income. Therefore, schools with larger student numbers have higher incomes and they are asked to support other Awqaf schools that have smaller student numbers. This is considered an additional burden according to school principals with higher student numbers.

For instance, a primary Awqaf school that serves 500 students, of which 80% pay fees, receives an income of 20,000 NIS (£3,588), of which the Ministry of Education and the Jerusalem Directorate of Education deduct 8,000 NIS (£1,437). This leaves the school with 12,000 NIS (£2,154) in addition to the 2,500 NIS (£449) of income from the canteen. Thus the total income of the school amounts to 14,500 NIS per annum (£2,603). From this amount the school Principal then pays for stationary, ink for the photocopy machine, cleaning products, school trips and activities, and all the events at the school.

“The budget is never enough. You know the only income is the 50 NIS (£9) that we take from students at the beginning of every school year. This does not do much at all. I don’t get anything from the Awqaf. Some students don’t pay at all because they are poor or orphans and there are many of them” (Principal at FA Awqaf School)

“We are very limited with the small budgets we have, so we can’t spend money on anything, just the basic necessities. They also take money from us (The Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Education), and there are so many limitations on what you can do with the money, you can’t buy anything above 500 NIS (£90) without doing a bid. Those are all old rules when the 500 NIS (£90) was worth more, but now it doesn’t get you much and those old rules just limit you further.” (Principal at SM Awqaf School)

Awqaf schools are not recognised by the Israeli authorities and they are not granted the license to function as non-profit organisations in Jerusalem. Therefore, the Israeli Municipality of Jerusalem demands that they pay council tax. According to the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, Sameer Jibreel, there are several law suits by the municipality demanding payments of unpaid council tax and fines that add up to around 150 million NIS (£27 million).

The Jerusalem Municipality never grants Awqaf schools licenses to build or expand, and, therefore, there are several cases where demolition orders have been issued. For instance, in Dar al Aytam “A” School, a whole floor had to be closed down, because it was not licensed by the municipality. Other examples include a demolition order for four classrooms at Al Thory School, and major demolition orders at Al Fata Al Laji’a “D” School, Sharafat School and Al Fata Al

Laji'a "C" School. Since Awqaf schools are not granted licenses to build, most Awqaf schools in Jerusalem have similar names with different endings, so there are Fata lajia A, B, C, D and Secondary. Similarly, Aytam Schools have A, B, C, Secondary and Thory, also Nahda A, B, and C (etc).

The Palestinian Minister of Education Lamees Alami, expressed deep concerns about their lack of control over schools in Jerusalem.

“One of the main problems we suffer from is that there is no sovereignty for the PA [Palestinian Authority] in Jerusalem. That is why we have no direct control over schools in Jerusalem. We work indirectly with schools there through the Awqaf, so one of the major problems relating to the infrastructure in Jerusalem, is because the Awqaf are not given construction licenses, so you will find that most Awqaf schools are in buildings that were not designed to be schools. Therefore, most of the schools in Jerusalem are not up to standard, unlike the schools that we are building in the West Bank.... the infrastructure affects the quality of education. In rented schools, for example, you will find students in tiny classrooms, where sometimes there is insufficient lighting and, sometimes, overcrowded classrooms” (Asaly, 2008:35)

The Palestinian Minister of Education, Lamees Alami, commented on how officials from the ministry are not allowed to attend any functions or activities held in Jerusalem.

“Once one of the schools in Jerusalem published in their Events Programme that I am going to attend a function at the school, so the Israeli police came and closed the school down. I always avoid going to graduations and events in Jerusalem because I know the Israeli police will close the school down and it's a pity for the parents who waited for so long and are excited to see their children graduate. I don't want to ruin that for them because of a political move.”

Another problem with Awqaf schools is their continuous politicisation. Palestinian teachers have complained that the Palestinian Ministry of Education is influenced by politics. Employees and teachers are hired based on their political affiliations. The Ministry is mainly dominated by Fatah supporters. This has impacted negatively on teachers' performances, job stability and job

satisfaction in public schools all over Palestine. Teachers complained about being interrogated when applying for a job in the Ministry of Education. Some teachers complained about constantly being moved from one school to another, as a punishment for belonging to a certain political party and some have even lost their jobs because of their political affiliations. A teacher on one of the hiring committees and a member at Fatah, commented on the issue:

“Now after the coup in Gaza, it became a tit for tat thing, because in Gaza they fired all Fatah teachers, so they are doing the same in Ramallah for Hamas teachers. They made a new rule, which says that people who acquired Israeli citizenship will be fired, because they are considered traitors. For people who had the Israeli passport since birth, its fine, but for those who applied for the passport and swore allegiance to the State of Israel, they will fire them. As for Hamas teachers who were fired, as long as there is no reconciliation between Gaza and Ramallah they will stay fired. There are thousands of Fatah teachers in Gaza that were kicked out of their jobs, whereas here, there may be ten or so of the Hamas teachers were fired and some got their jobs back. We hope they reconcile soon, because the situation is very difficult.”
(Principal at S Awqaf School)

In the interview with the head of the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem, Sameer Jibreel, he was asked whether politics influenced the hiring process of Jerusalemite teachers, and he denied it:

“Maybe in the West Bank, but not here in Jerusalem. We have a limited number of teachers, so we cannot afford to think about politics. Everyone is free to have whichever political views they want, but they cannot impose them on the students, if they involve the students with such things we prevent them.” (Sameer Jibreel, Head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education)

The Awqaf system faces more problems in Jerusalem, details will be provided in the coming chapters. Another system that is categorised by the Israeli Jerusalem municipality as unrecognised and unofficial is the UNRWA school system.

5.1.2 UNRWA Education

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), was established in 1950, by the United Nations General Assembly, under Resolution 302 (IV). The initial aim of this agency was to provide food and shelter for Palestinians who fled, or were evacuated, as a result of the 1948 war with Israel. However, UNRWA's definition of a Palestinian refugee now includes any Palestinian who lost both home and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 and 1967 conflicts and their descendants (UNRWA, 2012). According to UNRWA 2012 statistics, there are five million Palestinian refugees registered with UNRWA.

At First, UNRWA's mission was to provide Palestinian refugees with food and shelter until they return to their houses. Throughout its sixty years of existence its role shifted to provide social services in education, health, and relief in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine, with funding mostly stemming from the United States and European countries.

Education is UNRWA's largest area of activity, accounting for nearly 50% of its budget and two-thirds of its staff (UNRWA, 2008). In late 1949, the United Nations Relief for Palestine Refugees (superseded by UNRWA in 1950) was supporting 39 schools with 31,000 refugee children in attendance (Dickerson, 1974). In 2010 the numbers of UNRWA schools multiplied, reaching 686 schools serving 481,672 refugee students (Menon, 2010). It provides mainly primary education (grades 1-6), preparatory education (grades 7-9 and in some schools grade 10), and secondary education (grades 10-12) in Lebanon only, because Palestinians are denied access to Lebanese public schools, while private schools are financially out of reach for most families (Save The Children, 2008). Thus, all Palestinian refugee pupils registered with the agency are eligible for nine to ten years of free basic education. Even though the education is free the schools ask the students to pay a donation to the school, if they can afford it, which is 5 NIS (equivalent to £0.9) per annum, at the primary level and the older students are asked to pay 10 NIS (equivalent to £1.8) per annum.

UNRWA schools suffer from lack of resources and funds, many of the schools are situated in rented properties and often lack adequate classroom space, recreational areas, sanitation facilities, ventilation and space for extracurricular activities (Save the Children, 2008).

Achievement levels at UNRWA schools are low, particularly in Arabic (40%), Mathematics and English (50 - 60%) (Save the Children, 2008). In 2009 UNRWA implemented the Monitoring Learning Achievement (MLA) baseline study. The Agency collected comparable student achievement data from all UNRWA schools offering grades 4 and 8. The agency links the poor test results to the fact that there are many cases of undiagnosed students with learning disabilities (Menon, 2010). According to Save the Children (2008), about 20% of children in UNRWA's schools have special needs that are not attended to.

The UNRWA Education Review Report (2010) also identified several factors which affected the quality of education at the agency's schools. "Some of the critical factors highlighted by the report include teacher-centered pedagogy with insufficient active student learning, predominant concern for academic achievement with a heavy curriculum, low focus on holistic development of children, insufficient instructional time due to school closures affected by conflict or labour actions, lack of out-of-school support, large class sizes, poor pupil attendance and late arrivals, double shift, inadequate computer access and low teacher quality" (cited in Menon, 2010:5)

Al Lahawani, a teacher at Balata Girls UNRWA School in Nablus, wrote in 2007 a thesis on problems with the UNRWA primary school system from the perspective of headmasters. The study shows that UNRWA schools suffer from the following: 1) low funding has resulted in lack of proper school facilities and equipment, overcrowded classrooms that lack proper lighting and ventilation. 2) The teachers complained of being forced to teach subjects they are not specialised in. 3) The students lack the motivation, they are tardy and do not do their school work. 4) The parents are unable to give their children the support they need and they are neither involved in nor interested in the school activities.

Al Lahawani (2007) also talks about the complaints of the refugee leaders regarding UNRWA schools. She explains that even though the refugee leaderships acknowledge the efforts done by UNRWA in providing the refugees with the needed educational facilities, they believe that there are several problems with the agency's school system. Of the main complaints were low achievement levels of students and high percentages of failure. Students tend to drop out from UNRWA schools at an early age and there is a lack of vocational training to absorb those students, so they end up becoming a low income and unskilled labor force. The numbers of

teachers and supervisors are not sufficient and their salaries are very low and they do not receive the needed training. They complained as well about the design of the school buildings that lack essential facilities, such as playgrounds, labs and libraries. The biggest problem they mentioned was that of overcrowding, which leads teachers to use dictation as a main teaching method, because it is easier and quicker and it allows the teacher to maintain class discipline. This leaves little space for student individuality and creativity.

As for complaints by teachers at UNRWA schools, Al Lahawani (2007) explained that teachers suffered from low salary scales and lack of benefits, lack of proper training, lack of proper school facilities, lack of access to computers and internet. A major problem that 91% of teachers at Al Lahwani's sample complained about is that students pass their grades automatically, even if they are not doing well and this hampers motivation and competition in class.

UNRWA in Jerusalem

There are eight UNRWA schools in Jerusalem serving 2,442 students which represent around 3% of the student population in Jerusalem (JDOE, 2011). Four schools are inside Jerusalem in the neighbourhood of Silwan, Soourbaher, Beit Safafa and Wadi Al Jouz. The other four of the UNRWA schools in Jerusalem are located in Shufat refugee camp. UNRWA schools are the poorest schools in Jerusalem, because of the limited funding they receive from the UN, in addition to the declining numbers of students that attend those schools. The principals interviewed at UNRWA schools said that their low budgets limit their ability to do any developmental projects in the schools. The school budgets consist of the donations paid by the students and the income from the school cafeteria which in small schools amounts to a maximum of about 2,000 NIS (an equivalent to £359). The principals complained that they can hardly cover the expenses of the stationary needed for the school. At one of the schools, the teachers donated to the principal money to buy a fax and a telephone for the school.

“Our only income is from the cafeteria and from the girls donations which are 10 NIS (£1.8) for the older ones and 5 NIS (£0.9) for the younger ones. The UNRWA pays the bills. The needs of the girls are much higher than what we earn. We didn't have a photocopy machine and they bought one for the school also the fax and the phones and the headsets in the computer lab, all those were provided by the teachers. We need the support of the community but the community

here in Silwan is deprived and we can't burden them further." (Principal at BA UNRWA School)

"Well, here I am in December, and I was told to get the budget ready by the 25th. My budget for last month was 15 Jordanian Dinars (£14), for this month it is 6 Dinars (£5.5), so we end up paying the school expenses ourselves. Last year the teachers and I, we put together 600 NIS (£108) from our pockets to pay for the photocopier's ink and to get internet for the school" (Principal at BS UNRWA School)

Shufat refugee camp residents are legal residents of Jerusalem and they have the right to have a Jerusalem residency permit. However, the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality does not provide any services for camp residents e.g. street pavement, mail, garbage collection, water. Most services in the camp are provided to residents by UNRWA, despite the fact that 40-50% of the camp residents are not refugees (Freidman and Seidman, 2006). Israel does provide some health services, via clinics inside the camp and two schools which opened recently in the past few years (2008/2009). Electricity to the camp is provided by East Jerusalem. Water to the camp is mainly pilfered from the Israeli water system, due to a disagreement between Israel and UNRWA over who should pay to provide it (Freidman and Seidman, 2006). As a result, the water supply in the camp is always a problem.

The camp is now surrounded by the Separation Barrier which limits the freedom of movement of the residents of the refugee camp. Residents of the camp are required to show their Jerusalem identity cards in order to leave the camp and residents under the age of 16 (the age when Israel issues Jerusalem residents their identity cards) are required to produce their original birth certificates (Freidman and Seidman, 2006).

There were no secondary schools in the camp until recently (2009); UNRWA added a tenth grade to the elementary schools.

"The wall and the checkpoints in Shufat Refugee camp are a problem that's why we added grade ten because the students pass checkpoints and they need an ID to pass and they don't have one before tenth grade and they faced problems coming in and going out of the camp on

the checkpoints, that's why we were forced to add grade ten" (Durgham AbdelAziz, Area Education Officer, Jerusalem UNRWA)

Many families in the refugee camp do not approve of sending their daughters outside the camp to continue their secondary education. This is due to the troubles their daughters go through when they pass the checkpoints and this has resulted in many girls dropping out of school when they finish 10th grade of the UNRWA schools. Therefore, the Awqaf and the municipality built two schools in the camp in 2009 to try and solve this problem.

"There are now other schools in the refugee camp. There are private schools and municipal schools. When the municipal school opened here at the camp, we lost so many students to that school, because the students feel that if they are enrolled in that Israeli system they can prove their residency status as Jerusalemites and their chances are better than being enrolled in an UNRWA school system. This has led to a substantial number of students going to municipal schools" (Principal at SG school, UNRWA)

The municipal and the Awqaf systems provide better educational services than the UNRWA education system. According to one of the UNRWA school principals, in 1996 her school served around 300 students and this academic year 2011/2012 the school serves 89 students with only 7 students in first grade meaning that the numbers are expected to shrink further. The reason behind this negative enrollment according to the school principal is that municipal schools in the area attract students because they have better facilities, in comparison to the facilities at her school, and students feel that to maintain their Jerusalem residency permits, it is advantageous for them to be enrolled in a municipality school.

UNRWA schools outside the refugee camp are all suffering from high attrition. According to the UNRWA school principal, when municipal schools opened in the area in 2004 the school lost 60% of its students because the location of the school is far from the village and people had to pay transportation to get there, also the facilities provided at the new municipal school are better. The school now serves 211 students.

Another UNRWA school principal said that at her school there are 13 students from first till seventh grade, with only one student in first grade. The principal said that for the academic year

2011/2012 they were thinking of closing down but they did not. She says that all the students have left her school to go to the municipal school that was built in the area. The principal said that also part of the problem is that the UNRWA school offers education only up to ninth grade and then the students have to find another school, which means enrolling the children in a different system. Municipal secondary schools and Awqaf secondary schools give priority to the students coming from primary schools in their sectors, so UNRWA students feel excluded. The number of secondary classrooms available in Jerusalem in all systems is very limited, so UNRWA students feel that there is no space for them after they finish the 9th grade. There is some co-ordination between the Awqaf system and the UNRWA system for absorbing UNRWA students into the Awqaf secondary schools, but only with a few schools.

When Durgham Abdel Aziz, the Jerusalem area education officer at UNRWA was asked why the number of students was shrinking at UNRWA schools, he said that they are facing a lot of competition from the other school systems and they do not have the proper school facilities. They do not have science laboratories, computer laboratories or libraries. The schools do not have heating systems, so they are extremely cold in the winter, especially the rooms which have broken windows.

The school environment is also adversely affected by the political conflict in the area.

“The building also needs a lot of maintenance and renovation, but it is not possible because its location is very sensitive and we are surrounded by settlers. The municipality doesn’t allow us to institute any developments for this building. We had to close down two classrooms, because they faced the settlement behind us. The settlers get parking spots and the school doesn’t. We get fined if we park our cars. They also close off the whole street on their holidays (Jewish holidays), so we have to come to school by foot.” (Arabic Teacher at BA UNRWA School)

“You know Silwan is a very sensitive area, many of our students’ parents have house demolition orders and many have siblings in Jail. On a daily basis, there are troubles with the Israeli soldiers. They invade the houses and harass the people, so we have a programme at the school for counselling and supporting the students and their parents. We have first aid programmes and we try to help the students in other ways” (Principal at BA UNRWA School)

Durgham AbdelAziz, the area education officer sums up the UNRWA problems in Jerusalem

“We have problems with access to Jerusalem, because some of the supervisors don’t have permits. We also have a problem with the school buildings, because in Jerusalem we cannot renovate or build, because the municipality makes it very difficult to do so. The procedures in Jerusalem are very complex, as we need a license and it’s very complicated to get one. Finding a piece of land is not the issue, as we can find one easily enough, but getting a license from the Israeli Municipality to build is a problem. We have three schools in Jerusalem that exist in buildings that are built as houses not as schools and they need a lot of renovation and upgrading but we cannot do it. At one of our schools, two classrooms collapsed and we are finding it difficult to renovate them. In Jerusalem it’s very difficult and keeping those schools running is a challenge. Our schools are also not very attractive, unlike some of the municipal schools that have better facilities. Less and less students are enrolling in the UNRWA schools”

To overcome some of its problems and to tackle the low achievement levels, UNRWA has been implementing remedial programmes in their schools since 2003. Through these programmes, three extra teachers were hired at every school to help the students, from grades 2-8, to overcome their problems in Arabic, maths and science. These programmes are considered to be controversial by UNRWA staff, with some believing that it is an effective programme and others condemning it as a waste of UNRWA resources (Ashour, 2007). UNRWA has also launched its education reform strategy 2011–2015, in the hope of improving the quality of learning for Palestine refugee students in UNRWA’s 700 schools. This strategy focuses on teacher development, curriculum and student assessment, inclusive education and technical and vocational training.

The question remains, why have the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality not shut down Awqaf and UNRWA schools, just as it did with many Palestinian institutions in the city? It could be argued that these schools unburden the municipality of around 15,000 students, so if the municipality shuts those Palestinian schools down, they will be forced to provide those students with schools. There are already many lawsuits in the high court demanding from the municipality to build over 1000 new classrooms. Consequently, the municipality is forced to turn a blind eye to those schools.

5.1.3 Local charities and other private schools

Private schools are another sector that functions on its own and is very diverse. They do not provide free education and some are even profitable. Because of the weakness of the state education system in East Jerusalem, private schools are preferred by parents who can afford them. Private schools are mostly run by Christian denominations, with an evangelical drive behind their establishment. When they were first established they served Christian Palestinians. However, today the majority of students that attend such schools are Moslem. There are sixty nine non-profit private schools in East Jerusalem and those include faith-based schools, philanthropic schools and community schools serving 24,110 students (JDOE, 2011). There are also thirteen commercial profit-making schools called Sakhnin schools serving 4,714 (JDOE, 2011).

Out of the eighty-two private schools, forty seven decided to join the municipal school system (Manchi, 2011) in order to get funding and support from Manchi (The joint body of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Municipality of Jerusalem). Currently, Palestinian private schools receive an income of around \$34 million (£22.5 million) annually from the Israeli Municipality. According to the municipality's data, it has been subsidising 22,686 Palestinian students in private schools that are considered by Manchi recognised schools but not official schools (Manchi, 2011). According to private school Principals, the municipality pays them 40% of \$3,000 (£1,988) the cost of each student. This means that the municipality is currently paying \$1,200 (£795) to each of the 22,686 students at private schools in East Jerusalem. That amounts to around \$34 million (£22.5 million) annually. The municipality agreed to subsidise 40% of the costs of children at those private schools, under several conditions. The requirements of the municipality were all human resource related, asking the schools to abide by Israeli law in providing teachers with pension schemes and requiring teachers to hold degrees in education etc. As for the curriculum, the original Palestinian curriculum is taught at those schools.

As a result of agreeing to take the subsidy from the Israeli Municipality, these private schools received mixed opinions from the Palestinian community. As a result of this merger, several conferences were held in Jerusalem and Ramallah, for Palestinian academics to discuss this

matter. The opinions in the conferences were mixed, some argued that private schools have the right to ask the occupying power to pay the cost of occupation and therefore to subsidise the costs of their children's education. Since Jerusalemites are forced by the municipality to pay taxes, they feel that they deserve to get support from the municipality in return. Other people were against private schools receiving money from the municipality, because they felt that in this way the Israeli Municipality would control Palestinian education.

Principals interviewed at private schools said that the fears of those who opposed this funding from the Israeli Municipality were realised when Manchi issued an official letter in April 2011 to all the Palestinian private schools that it funds, asking them to stop teaching the Palestinian curriculum, produced by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and to start teaching the modified version of the Palestinian curriculum. This version was modified by the Israeli Municipality and printed under the supervision of the Israeli authorities. The modification included the removal of the Palestinian flag or national symbols in the books, the omission of any mention of the Palestinian authority or state, the omission of Palestinian civic education and Palestinian National text books, the omission of poems by Palestinian poets and the omission of Palestinian names of cities that are now under Israel sovereignty, including the sections relating to them. It should be noted, that this modified version of the Palestinian curriculum is taught in municipal schools serving Palestinian students. Private schools were obliged to take the modified Palestinian curriculum from Manchi. However, they did not want to risk upsetting the Palestinian community, so they kept it in storage, and continued to teach the original Palestinian curriculum.

“Well this Palestinian curriculum was written and modified to suit the Oslo agreement. Palestinian patriots have certain reservations about its content anyway. This curriculum that was changed according to the Oslo accords to please Israel was also taken up by the Israeli Municipality and modified further and passed on to municipal schools. Now they (Israel) want to impose it on private schools, as their future aim is to enforce it on all schools in Jerusalem. They can do it by preventing the Palestinian school text books from entering Jerusalem. They want to remove more and more information from Palestinian books, under the pretext that Palestinian textbooks are provocative. If you put up a map of Palestine they consider it provocation. If you display a poem by Mahmoud Darwish it is seen as provocative. If you say

that there is UNRWA, and there are refugees, again they consider it provocation. Israel is an occupying power that wants to enforce its culture and its curriculum. It is the responsibility of the Palestinian Authority to fight for these issues. Even the Europeans here are obliged to protect the culture and education of the occupied” (Principal at F Private School)

La Paz (2004) suggests that a way to ensure equal political participation in society is through civic education. He says that civic education can be considered an instrument for empowerment, a method for distributing among powerless groups and individuals the knowledge and skills indispensable for participation in the political arena. In Israeli Municipal schools serving Palestinian students, civic education is banned from the curriculum and anything related to citizenship in the Palestinian State and being members of any polity is denied to those students. They do not learn anything about transparency, government accountability, the general rule of law or simple knowledge about citizenship.

When the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality bans Palestinian Civic education books it violates Palestinian students' rights. According to La Paz (2004:8) by denying students civic education, the state denies them the “basic knowledge skills and attitudes. Civic education contributes to the effective articulation of demands, that is the knowledge of rights and duties, the identification of state authorities and institutions responsible for the application of laws and rules that guarantee the exercise of those rights and duties and the skills necessary to make demands through legitimate and effective means”. Secondly, it destroys any sense of Palestinian citizenship and Palestinian identity by censoring and banning books that deal with the subject and preventing teachers who are politically active from teaching. Thirdly as La Paz (2004) explains when children are offered low standard education the state robs them of their ability in expressing and defending their demands, and therefore for articulating their economic and political interests in collective decision-making and promoting wealth redistribution.

The mere interference of the Israeli Municipality in the Palestinian curriculum before distributing it to the students in schools is an attack on the Palestinians culture and identity. It also reflects Israel's political agenda on the Palestinian education sector. The constant undermining and attack on the Palestinian curriculum and culture in Jerusalem leads Palestinian students to believe that the Israeli curriculum and the Israeli final exams (Bagrut) are superior to the Palestinian curriculum and are a prerequisite to successes in life in Jerusalem.

Thiong'o (1986:3) in "Decolonizing the Mind" talks about the damage caused by colonial educational policies:

"The process annihilates people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves"

Palestinian children are led to think that they are an inferior race and their culture and identity are backward. In a parallel context, Carter Woodson (1967:20) has talked about the occupation of the mind in the "Mis-education of the Negro":

"The negro's mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor. The problem of holding the Negro down therefore is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary"

Despite the interferences of the municipality with the Palestinian curriculum, principals of private schools said that they were forced to accept the municipality's subsidies. Principals at private schools who accepted municipal funding said that, year after year, parents' financial situations are getting worse and are therefore less able to pay the full fees. The principals at private schools said that in order for the schools to keep their standards, they need to take money from the municipality; otherwise, they will not be able to provide the students with good facilities and qualified teachers.

"We are having problems with the Palestinian Ministry of Education, because of the books problem. Anyway, they can't work properly in Jerusalem, they are influenced by the Oslo accords and they are pressured. I told them (Palestinian Ministry of Education) stop blaming the private schools when you can't support them, what do you want from me? Do you want me to shut the school down? I have 1800 students; shall I let them out on the streets? If I do that, I will support Israel's mission of keeping the Palestinians ignorant" (Principal at R Private School)

Palestinian private schools get the highest amount of funding, in comparison to the other school systems in Jerusalem. The tuition fees range between 2,500 NIS (£449) and 6,000 NIS (£1,078). According to the principals interviewed at private schools, a student costs around 12,000 NIS (£2,157). The municipality subsidises 40% of the cost of the student and the parents pay 40% in fees and the rest is donated by churches and charitable organisations. However, all the schools interviewed complained that they have a big problem covering their running costs and expenses. Private schools offer better school facilities, longer school days, more extracurricular activities and several languages. In fact, students are usually taught in two languages: English and Arabic and an additional language is sometimes included (German at Schmidt's Girls College, French at Rosary School and Freres School and Spanish at Espaniol School).

“We don't have much funding. We don't have any support from foreign countries. We have a big economic problem and a problem in finding proper staff. Now our only financial income is through fees. In the year 2000, we started getting some money from the municipality, because we wanted to claim our rights as Jerusalemites. We have to follow everything according to the Israeli law; otherwise the parents will have to cover all the expenses. The cost of each girl is 12,000 NIS (£2,157) and the highest fees are 6000 NIS (£1,078) so we need the support of the municipality otherwise the parents will have to pay the total fees. They say look at those private schools accepting money from Israel, but we are in fact claiming from them what's rightfully ours. We pay loads in taxes, so instead of asking parents to pay 12,000 NIS (£2,157) every year we ask them to pay half and we try to get the rest from the municipality” (Principal at R private school)

“We charge low fees in comparison to other private schools, the Franciscan Fathers help us. We get money from the municipality but it is not enough. Do you know how much it costs to paint a room? We need 4,000 NIS (£718) to paint a room. 2,700 NIS (£485) is the fee for tenth grade. I don't know how much the municipality gives but I know it is somewhere between 40% to 60% of the cost” (Principal at J Private School)

“Each student costs us around 12,000 NIS (£2,157). The tuition fee is 4,000 NIS (£718). So it's about 40% and the municipality covers an additional 40%. The rest is donated. The problem is that the donations are not steady, some years we don't get much” (Principal at G Private School)

Being confined in Jerusalem, where the economic sector is deteriorating, has had its toll on all the residents of East Jerusalem. The Principals said that year after year, parents are finding it difficult to pay tuition fees. Many parents, after having the second or third child take their children out of private schools and enroll them in Awqaf or municipal schools. This was also confirmed by parents interviewed at municipal and Awqaf schools. Some said that they had to take their children out of private schools due to financial problems. This was also confirmed by Awqaf and municipal school principals.

“The numbers of needy girls are increasing; you see there are many parents who are in debt, and some haven’t paid the fees for two years. Year after year it’s becoming more and more difficult, but I talk to them and I tell them if they have financial problems, they should inform me at the beginning of the year and we can do an arrangement for them to pay on a monthly basis instead of lump sum” (Principal at R Private School)

“No we don’t get any support from the parents; on the contrary we help them when they can’t pay the fees” (Principal at I Private School)

“There are economic problems, the students can’t pay the tuition fees and some can’t participate in school trips because they don’t have the money. The number of needy students is increasing every year” (Principal at F Private School)

“There are lots of social problems, economic problems, year after year it’s getting worse and there is violence at home. People are stressed and hit their children, there are lots of tragedies. This never happened before, all the closure and the political problems made it worse” (Principal at R Private School)

The parents interviewed complained that they cannot afford to enroll their children in after school activities, because there are only two or three institutions that teach music or offer sports activities and those institutions are expensive. So the children cannot enjoy after school activities, unless those activities are done in the school.

The rest of the non-profit private schools that did not join the municipality and do not have the recognition and the funding from Manchi suffer like Awqaf and UNRWA schools in East

Jerusalem suffer from lack of funding. They have problems with the municipality and problems in getting licenses and permits for teachers, etc.

“As we refused to join them (Manchi), they don’t consider us a non-profit organisation and they want us to pay council tax, just like any other profitable institution, that’s a lot of pressure on us. We cannot pay the salaries; we are surviving on charity so if we do not get funds we cannot cover the costs. Last year when we increased the fees the parents formed a committee on their own and they started imposing things on us. If people care about this institution they should donate. We do not take money from orphans, not even the ones with rich families. Some people donate we cannot deny that, but they donate food and so on and so forth, but we need money, we need to cover the running costs. If the girl costs \$3,600 (£2,385) and each girl pays \$1,500 (£994), and we have 83 orphans that don’t pay and 120 poor girls who cannot pay, that means about 900 of the students pay. And the ones that pay do not pay lump sum, they pay in installments, even parents who have the money pay in installments” (Principal at D Private School)

“We have a serious funding problem. We take less fees than other private schools and still not all the parents can pay, and we refused to take money from the municipality. We only rely on charity and funding from churches.” (Principal at Z Private School)

“For ten years they gave private schools money and attracted them and now they want to dictate their own rules, this is occupation, the occupation of the mind. At municipal schools they have all these different programs but look at the students’ achievement levels, it is so low because no one cares” (History Teacher at Z Private school)

5.2 A Chaotic Education Sector

The existence of several conflicting bodies that supervise education in East Jerusalem has resulted in several problems. There is no one body that oversees the provision of educational services in the city and ensures that the services provided are sufficient and of quality. Lack of cooperation, between the different systems, means that there is a great difficulty in obtaining proper statistics and data about the education sector, which means that intervention programmes will not be evidence-based. The existence of several policies that cater for different assessments

of what is the “public good” results in the fragmentation of the Palestinian education and ultimately diminishes the quality of education.

In East Jerusalem there is no one supervising body that regularly collects data about schools, condition of school facilities, number of students broken down by age and sex and localities, number of teachers and their qualifications, data on retention and completion rates, achievements broken down by schools and localities. There are no studies that examine statistics in terms of gender, income, etc. There is mistrust and lack of cooperation between the different systems; it is very hard to track students who drop out. Therefore, most of the educational policies in East Jerusalem are not evidence-based.

The municipality does not do any research or studies on the education sector in East Jerusalem. Any developmental programs and educational improvement policies in municipal schools are not catered to serve Palestinian students. Principals in municipal schools serving Palestinian students complained that most intervention programmes that the municipality follows in their schools are replicas of the interventions implemented in Israeli Municipal schools for Jewish children, which do not suit Palestinian student’s needs, or the circumstances in which their schools function. Alayan and Yair (2009) agree on this matter, as they say that the Israeli Ministry of Education does not have long term programmes for Palestinian education in East Jerusalem. Therefore, every educational programme is administered in an ad hoc manner and every problem in the school year is dealt with according to the present circumstances, rather than by using an established, authorised method.

Municipal statistics about the education sector in East Jerusalem are inaccurate due to several reasons. Starting at the very basic level, for the municipality to be able to assess the needed schools in a certain locality, it needs to know the number of the population in that locality. That is very difficult in East Jerusalem, because there are people who are not included in the statistics, due to them not living in licensed housing, or having a West Bank identity. Sometimes when one of the parents holds a West Bank identity, the child faces difficulty in acquiring a Jerusalem residency permit, so he/she spends a year or two without being recognised by any system. Those children are non-existent in the records of the Ministry of Interior (B’Tselem, 2011).

Another problem with the data collection is the lack of cooperation between the different systems. The municipality does not recognise institutions that provide education to around 25% of the student population in East Jerusalem, that is the Awqaf schools, UNRWA schools and 28% of private schools and that means that it does not have any data about those students, in addition to the students who live in Jerusalem, but do not study in Jerusalem. Those students study in the West Bank in either private schools or public schools and either way the Israeli Municipality does not cooperate with any of the educational institutions in the West Bank and has no track of those students.

What complicates the matter further is that even though the municipality controls the education of 47% of the student population in Jerusalem, it just controls the infrastructure and the hiring of the teachers only. The curriculum taught in those schools is the Palestinian curriculum (which it censors for political purposes) and due to this the Israeli Ministry of Education does not supervise what is being taught in the schools. They cannot provide training for the teachers in the materials and basics of this curriculum and they do not authorise their teachers to take the training supervised by the Palestinian Ministry of Education, which is responsible for the Palestinian Curriculum. The students in municipal schools take the Tawjihi exam (Palestinian Final Exams), which is supervised by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and the records are tracked by the Palestinian Ministry of Education. If there is a need to institute an intervention programme in municipal schools in order to raise achievement levels, this cannot be done, because there is no cooperation between the Palestinian and the Israeli Ministries of Education.

The interference of the municipality in the curriculum does not extend to subjects like maths and science to improve the quality of education. The only interference of the Israeli Municipality in Palestinian students' books and curriculums is to censor Palestinian symbols and to attack the Palestinian and Arab culture. It does not interfere in the sense of developing and improving the students' education. This politicised interference in the curriculum further creates lack of trust in the municipality and confirms its ethnic drives and policies in controlling the education sector. This act drives Palestinian academics and educationalists to push for a boycott of municipal schools and institutions and pressure private schools to stop taking subsidies from the municipality.

In West Jerusalem, on the other hand, according to the Hava Bar Tour, the head of the municipal secondary education system for Jewish students, the Israeli Ministry of Education is always working on improving the achievement levels and academic standards in Israeli schools. The ministry has produced an “intervention programme” in 2011 and it raised the Bagrut’s (Israeli Final Exam) achievement level amongst Israeli students in Jerusalem. They identified the students who lagged behind in one or two topics and gave them extensive support in the last year of schooling. It was found that this helped them pass their Bagrut examination. Certain programmes initiated by the Israeli Ministry of Education exclude Palestinian students, because the ministry works on the Bagrut system and the Palestinians use the Tawjihi. Therefore, they are automatically excluded from those programs.

“We instituted a special programme. We got a lot of money from the (Israeli) Ministry of Education and the municipality. In most schools we get people to find out who are the students who don’t graduate with a full Bagrut, because of one or two subjects and we place emphasis on them. We contend that there is no reason why students shouldn’t graduate with Bagrut, because of the one subject or two. So we put in money and we provide courses in each school for the subjects with poor results, and for students who were borderline, and we have been successful. I mean that the schools where intervention has taken place there has been an increase of 6-7% in the rate of Bagrut results” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Israeli Secondary Education at Manchi)

Such interventions are not possible in municipal schools serving Palestinian students, because the expert in the Palestinian curriculum and the Tawjihi is the Palestinian Ministry of Education and it is prevented from interfering in municipal schools, also the Palestinian Ministry of Education does not have such programs or the budget necessary to implement any reform programs and by that Palestinian students miss out.

This chapter has set out to describe the education sector in East Jerusalem. It has shown that the State of Israel that claims sovereignty over East Jerusalem is claiming the land but not fulfilling its duty towards the Palestinian residents. Its provision of educational services is both insufficient and highly politicised. It provides educational services to only 47% of the population; this

insufficient provision of educational services is not the only problem, this system is also underfunded, highly centralised, lacks strategic planning that takes into account the needs of the Palestinian children, in addition to allegations of corruptions mentioned by the research participants.

This chapter has also shown that the problem does not only lie in the Israeli Municipal educational system, but also in the other systems providing education to Palestinian children in East Jerusalem. The other three systems are not compensating for the lack of provisions by the municipality. Educational services provided by the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem are even weaker than the services provided by Israeli Municipal system. They suffer from limited funding, lack of transparency and sound educational policies. The PA provides services to only 14% of the Palestinian school children in Jerusalem and the numbers are decreasing, there is a decrease in enrollment by 4% since 2005. The third system providing services is UNRWA and it provides education to a very small percentage of students which is 3% of the student population. The Fourth system is the private system which provides education to 31% of the student population and is available only to students with higher socio-economic backgrounds, which further increases inequality in East Jerusalem. The chapter has also shown that lack of schools is not the only problem faced in the education sector in East Jerusalem, but also the quality of the educational services available are poor. What makes the problem of service provision worse is that the Israeli Municipality discriminates against the other systems that provide educational services to the Palestinians, thus limiting their scope of work further. Awqaf, UNRWA and unrecognised private schools are subject to restrictions in terms of renovating and expanding their school building and acquiring work permits for their teachers that come from the West Bank.

This chapter contributes to the main theory of this thesis by showing how Israel provides services unequally to Palestinians and Israeli's in East Jerusalem. While the state invests in its education sector in West Jerusalem, it neglects and discriminates against Palestinian educational institutions in East Jerusalem, which results in a fragmented and weak educational structure in East Jerusalem. This reflects the ethnocratic nature of the state that prefers and promotes the welfare of the Jewish population solely; as mentioned in chapter one, an ethnocratic state

distributes resources unequally, thus ensuring the domination of the chosen ethnic group (Yiftachel, 2006). This chapter has also shown how the structure of the education sector in East Jerusalem with its fragmentation, underfunding, lack buildings and strong programs is the basis of the problem of underachievement amongst Palestinian students. The theoretical grounding in chapter one has reflected on the issue of governmental underfunding and achievement disparities between the different ethnicities in the state (Darling-Hammond, 2004). It has also discussed how educational exclusion of weaker ethnicity can be used as measure for collective punishment (Lowenberg and Kaempfer, 1998). This chapter has shown that the disparities in the educational services provided to Palestinian and Israeli students are engineered to channel the students to different and unequal life opportunities. This reflects the ethnocratic, exclusivist nature of the state and contributes to arguments made earlier by Yiftachel (2006) and Rouhana (2006) that argue that Israel is an ethnocratic state that favours its Jewish citizens.

The Infrastructure of the Education Sector in East Jerusalem

The inadequate provision, by the municipal authorities, of educational services to the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, has led to extreme overcrowding in schools, and has forced the students to study in unhealthy and unstimulating school environments. From the data collected, the problem of space seems to be the most pressing of all the problems experienced, by both children and staff, in the four educational systems of East Jerusalem's schools. This problem stems from both the neglect by the Israeli Municipality of the Palestinian education sector and the restrictive policies it imposes on the Palestinian institutions who are responsible for providing educational services. The researcher has chosen to discuss this issue, in order to evidence what is available for Palestinian students in terms of educational resources and how those limited resources affect students' achievement levels and engagement in the education system. This chapter will discuss the effects of the schools' physical environment on the students' educational experiences. It will present the accounts of the school staff and parents, and their reaction to the physical environments found in the schools' buildings in East Jerusalem. To draw comparisons between the two sides, it will also present the accounts of Israeli principals about their school buildings. By this comparison, the researcher intends to show the different school facilities the Israeli Municipality provides to Palestinians and Israelis, thus reflecting how the state prefers a certain ethnicity in its resource distribution strategy.

6.1 The Physical School Environment

The results of the research emerging from the analysis of the schools' environment indicates that a child's environment has a direct effect on his/her self-identity, self-esteem, and academic performance (Ulrich, 2004). In a study by Kumar et al. (2008:455), who concentrated on several environmental factors, such as cleanliness, lighting, ventilation, classroom size, and location of the school, showed how these factors affect both the learning potential and the behaviour of children in the school. She presented several other studies that support her findings, as they place

an emphasis on the correlation between the quality of a school's physical setting, and children's behaviour, self-esteem and performance in school (Killeen, Evans, & Danko, 2003, Kuo and Sullivan, 2001, Read, Sugawara, & Brandt, 1999; Ulrich, 2004).

Read et al. (1999) found that the design elements, within child-care facilities, are thought to have important effects on children's behaviour. They say in the study that a child's environment is full of abundant and complex information, which he or she is motivated to discover and explore. Therefore, what the physical environment affords to this child will have an influence on his or her perception, learning, and behaviour, within that environment. A positive and healthy school environment will provide students with a safe, healthy and stimulating learning space, which will allow them to learn, grow and feel valued in society; whereas an unfit, unhealthy school environment, can negatively affect the learning process and children's behaviour and health (Read et al.,1999).

Mendell and Heath (2005) also have shown that unhealthy indoor environments in schools can affect health and so directly impair concentration and memory, or cause other health effects that indirectly impair learning, through discomfort, or distraction. They explain that unhealthy environments might cause asthma or allergies to emerge that result in absenteeism, which in turn impair learning or lead to use of medications that can have negative effects on children's performance. To further support their point of view, Mendell and Heath present Richard's (1986) study which shows that 20% of absence in elementary and high schools is caused by asthma and related diseases. They suggest also that children have a greater susceptibility to some environmental pollutants than do adults. This is because they breathe higher volumes of air, relative to their body weights, when their tissues and organs are actively growing. They also point out that children spend more time in school than in any other indoor environment other than their homes and so unhealthy indoor environmental quality at school will not only affect their learning and performance, but can also have lifelong consequences on their health.

According to Comrdon and Roscigno (2003:22), spending on building maintenance influences a student's attendance and engagement in school "one can envision a greater likelihood of students' disengagement when walls are cracking, roofs are leaking, heaters are not working and

the school is generally not a comfortable place in which to be, let alone learn” Cordon and Roscigno (2003) also have discovered that run down schools are less likely to attract teachers with higher degrees and more credentials than do better maintained schools.

According to the researcher’s observations of the schools that she visited during this study, most of them, on the Palestinian side, were in old and poorly maintained buildings. Very few buildings now used as schools were designed to be schools. Most of the buildings were designed as apartment buildings. They were overcrowded with very limited space in the classrooms. The corridors and the stair-cases in the buildings were very narrow. Several buildings did not have playgrounds or space outside for the children to play in. In fact, there were serious health and safety issues in the schools visited. There were classrooms without windows, classrooms in the shelters and classrooms in storage rooms.

The problem of overcrowding and limited space in East Jerusalem is a political one, stemming from two Israeli policies in the city. The first one is restricting building permits to the Palestinian residents of the city and neglecting the development of Palestinian neighbourhoods. The second one is the Center of Life policy issued in 1995, which requires Palestinian residents of Jerusalem to prove that they are living and working in Jerusalem to maintain their residency permits.

The Jerusalem Municipality has used urban planning as a way to control the demographics of the city. According to a report by Ir Amim on the city’s urban plans (2007b), Israel’s planning policy in Jerusalem since 1967 has been dictated largely by the desire to achieve full Israeli sovereignty over the area and maintain a solid Israeli majority within the city. Ir Amim’s report also shows that since 1967 the government of Israel has built some 50,000 housing units in East Jerusalem for Israeli citizens, while during the same period less than 600 apartments were built with government help for Palestinian residents of the city. The last of them were built more than 30 years ago.

The government spokesman, Yakir Segev, who holds the East Jerusalem portfolio in the Jerusalem Municipality stated:

“We will not allow the residents of East Jerusalem to build as much as they need. I do not think the most important goal is to resolve East Jerusalem's housing shortage. Ultimately, even if it is not politically correct to say this, we will look at Jerusalem's demographic situation, so as to

make sure that in 20 years, we do not wake up to an Arab city” (cited in Ir Amim, 2007b)

Israel has also obstructed and continues to obstruct the development of Palestinian neighbourhoods through private construction. According to Ir Amim’s report (2007b), some 35% of the land in East Jerusalem was confiscated, in order to build major Israeli settlements on it (Gilo, Har Homa, French Hill and others). Construction on most of the land that remained in Palestinian hands after that confiscation (45 km²), is impossible for a number of reasons: first, the Jerusalem Municipality deemed 30% of the land that remained in Palestinian ownership after the confiscation, as "green zones," where building is not allowed (Ir Amim, 2007b). Second, the Israeli authorities rarely approve a single outline plan for the Palestinian areas of East Jerusalem. Without a valid outline plan, it is impossible to issue construction permits. In East Jerusalem, most of the burden of statutory planning falls on the shoulders of the Palestinian residents, when it should be done by the Government (Ir Amim, 2007b). In the few areas where there are outline plans, the building ratios granted are very low, resulting in construction being permitted on only 25-75% of the land, compared to the much higher building ratios in West Jerusalem (75-125%) (Ir Amim, 2007b). It can be argued, that urban planning policies, have played a central role in intensifying the uneven social order in Jerusalem by widening the gaps between Palestinians and Israelis living in the city (Yiftachel, 1996). Israel uses urban planning as a means to empower its Jewish Israeli citizens on the one hand and on the other hand to disempower the Palestinian residents of the city.

The lack of space for building is not solely due to the restrictions imposed on Palestinian building and development, as another Israeli policy has made the problem even worse. In 1995, Israel issued its Centre of Life Policy, which requires Palestinian Jerusalemites to prove, constantly, that their centre of life is in Jerusalem, otherwise they risk losing their residency rights in the city. The purpose of this policy was to curb the numbers of Palestinians living in Jerusalem. However, people in fear of losing their residency permits, prefer to move into Jerusalem, abandon their houses and property in the West Bank and make do with small shared apartments and houses in the city. Since the policy became law, overcrowding has become a major issue, not just in housing, but also in all the services provided to the people in East Jerusalem. Jerusalem residents are forced to prove to the Israeli Ministry of Interior that they live and work in Jerusalem and they are forced to find a school for their children inside the

municipal borders of Jerusalem, otherwise the child will not be granted a residency permit and will lose his/her right to live in the city. This law strips parents of the choice in where to enroll their children, so they are limited geographically. Therefore, due to the chronic lack of classrooms in East Jerusalem, parents find it very difficult to find a place for their children in schools, especially in the public systems. The Israeli Ministry of Interior sets this rule despite the fact that there is a lack of over 1000 classrooms in Jerusalem.

The Palestinian Minister of Education found this as a breach of the Parents right to choose the sort of education they want for their children.

“One thinks that parents have the right to choose the school for their children to go to and what sort of education they are looking for. No, mostly, this is not an option they have. Take for example, if they want to enroll their children in any school in Ramallah, or any other place, they have to consider the protection of their ID cards, which is an obstacle to their right to education. So say these children decide to go to school in Ramallah; when the child reaches the age of 16, he goes to get his own ID card and the Israeli Ministry of Interior official will ask him for his school grades from the previous two years, to prove that his centre of life is Jerusalem. If the ministry sees that those grades were achieved in a West Bank school, the ministry informs him that “Jerusalem is not your place of residency” and does not issue him with an ID card. So the parents find themselves constrained to have their children taught in this small circle of schools in Jerusalem, which means that they are deprived from the right to choose what school their children will attend”

The parents interviewed for this study were very disturbed about the overcrowding in the schools and the difficulties they faced in finding a suitable school for their children in their neighbourhood. This problem was mentioned in all the focus groups held with the parents who had children in the four different systems: Private, Awqaf, Municipal and UNRWA.

“When the classroom is too small, the children suffocate. My daughter says, they keep blaming her for having bad handwriting. Well, how can she write when she doesn’t have enough space in class? It quickly gets very noisy, with too many girls stuffed into a small space. If we put ourselves in their place, imagine how we would feel if having to spend such long hours in a

crowded bus. They feel suffocated due the lack of space in the classroom, and constrained, as they are children with so much energy” (Mother, High School Graduate, Unemployed)

“My daughters complain that the class is overcrowded and they cannot move. They find it difficult to go out to the bathroom. When there are only 25 girls in a large classroom that has good ventilation, they can learn better, but when the room is too small, neither the teacher nor the students enjoy it and if it is cold they freeze” (Mother, who dropped out of school in 8th grade, Unemployed)

Most of the Palestinian students in East Jerusalem are schooled in rooms that are not suitable as classrooms. According to official municipal figures, more than half of the classrooms in the municipal educational institutions (647 out of 1,398) are not up to standard (Ir Amim, 2010). Also, two-thirds of Awqaf school buildings do not meet the minimum requirements of space (Abu Lafi, 2008). To solve the problem of overcrowding, the municipality has resorted to several temporary solutions. They have started using every empty inch in the school to turn into a classroom, to take in more students. This has led to the transformation of spaces that formerly would have been used to serve as libraries, science laboratories and computer laboratories, rooms for the school counsellor, teachers’ rooms or clinics. These are now turned into classrooms. Most of those facilities mentioned above and in some cases all of them are lacking in municipal schools. The municipality has also turned unfit storage rooms and shelters into classrooms. Such conditions can never be found in schools that serve Israeli students in West Jerusalem, even though the municipality should be providing equal services to both Palestinian and Israeli students, who learn under its umbrella of supervision.

A Jerusalem City Council Member, Yosef Pepe Alalo, Deputy Mayor and Holder of the education portfolio for East Jerusalem until June 2010 described his visit to municipal schools in East Jerusalem that served Palestinian students (cited in Dayan, 2010:11)

“I visited many schools and their condition is bad, including the very newest ones. In one of the new schools I visited I saw entire empty rooms and I asked why they were empty. I was told they did not receive tables, shelves or books and therefore they have no use. The budget shortage of the schools in East

Jerusalem is huge; they do not have money like in West Jerusalem where schools have budgets for self-administration. The consequences are far-reaching: I was always getting complaints from schools that could not pay for their electricity because they did not have money and they got cut off, could not heat the classrooms, or reached a point where their phones were disconnected”

In recent years the Jerusalem Municipality has been under pressure to reduce the shortage in classroom numbers in East Jerusalem. So it has resorted to installing caravans in the school playgrounds, if the schools have playgrounds, to provide more classrooms (Abu Lafi, 2008). Those caravans are known to be very hot in the summer and very cold in the winter. They have introduced a two-shift school day to cope with the large number of students. The first runs from 8:00 am till 12:00 pm, and the second from 12:30 pm till 4:30 pm (Abu Lafi, 2008). They have also resorted to renting apartments in buildings, but those apartments were not constructed to serve students, so they have narrow corridors, small rooms and small bathrooms. They do not have halls or playgrounds or laboratories and they do not have proper emergency exits.

Even though there are health and safety inspectors at the municipality who supposedly monitor the health and safety of the students in East Jerusalem schools, still the conditions at those schools are in a very dangerous state, according to the school principals' statements. The principals said that this major issue has led to an avalanche of problems, such as the invasion of personal space of each student, leading to unhealthy classroom environments, violence amongst the students, deterioration in academic performance, lack of students' and teachers' motivation and an increase in truancy.

Awqaf and UNRWA schools, like the municipal schools, suffer from unfit school buildings and overcrowding. However, the problem of Awqaf and UNRWA schools is worse, because the Israeli Municipality does not allow them to expand or build in Jerusalem, so they are mostly in rented houses. The number of students that can be accommodated in the classrooms differs according to the design of the room. The desks usually fill up the space in the classroom, reaching up till the whiteboard, consequently restricting the movement of the teacher and the students. Every three students share a desk that is designed for two. These desks are old-fashioned, of dark colour, heavy and difficult to move. Some rooms have no windows and the ventilation is very poor. Each child is designated between 0.5 and 0.9m² (Hijazi, 2012). This is

an extremely limited space, in comparison with Tanner's (2009) study of the "Minimum Classroom Size and Number of Students per Classroom", which stated that the minimum space for a student should be 49 square feet (4.55 m²) and 64 square feet for larger students (5.94 m²), according to the social distance concept. Tanner explains that the effects of high density adversely affect academic accomplishment. He adds, that the consequences of high density conditions that involve either too many children or too little space are: "excess levels of stimulation, stress and arousal, a drain on resources available, considerable interference, reductions in desired privacy levels and loss of control" (Wohlwill, and Van Vliet, 1985: 108-109 cited in Tanner, 2009).

Sameer Jibreel, the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education, talks about the problem of space in East Jerusalem:

"The Directorate of Education in Jerusalem is not the only one suffering from lack of space. It is a general problem affecting all the systems in Jerusalem, including municipal and private schools. The main reason for this problem is the occupation. Since 1967 the occupying power has not been building enough schools and the schools that do exist are not up to standard. They never take the growth rate into account or people's needs. The heavy migration into Jerusalem also exacerbates the problem. After they built the Separation Wall people who held a Jerusalem ID and lived in Bethany or Arram (suburbs of Jerusalem cut out by the wall) and even Ramallah and Bethlehem moved back to Jerusalem to protect their residency permits and this put more pressure on the schools. So there are two main problems, the increasing growth of the Palestinian population in Jerusalem and the occupying power that doesn't take this into consideration. Up to the nineties they did not build any new schools in East Jerusalem and so now we have lots of students, in addition to the students that come from the West Bank and we do not have enough space for them"

Teachers and Principals talk about their schools' physical environments:

"OK. Let us start with the buildings; their condition is very bad. They are in apartments that are not suitable to serve as schools. They (The municipality) do not provide us with licences to build schools, so the solution is to buy buildings and turn them into schools. This could be the work of foreign institutions and donors, but they will not do it, unless we get a licence. However, it is

very difficult for us to get one. We are working hard to find buildings to turn them into schools, but we need to find a building with a surrounding area for the children to play in, but that is very hard to find” (Principal at NP Awqaf School)

“The class is full, so two students are almost sitting outside the classroom. In the Old City we do not have enough space, we do not even have playgrounds. The over-crowdedness affects the student and the teacher, physically and academically. Here, this building is not a proper school. Worldwide, in normal schools, a child needs at least one meter squared to sit in, but here they hardly get 30 centimeters” (Principal at AS Awqaf School)

“The buildings are not suitable to serve as schools. They are all apartments for living in, not for studying. The space is limited, but here in Jerusalem we have to adapt to what is available. You know we can’t build new schools, only municipal schools can build. I have to reject students, when I have three girls sitting at one desk and the classroom is overcrowded, 28 girls in a small room, I have to say no to people. The buildings are not designed to serve as schools. We don’t have science or computer labs or spacious classrooms. Yes, there have been renovations, but it’s not enough” (Principal at AC Awqaf School)

“We fill the classrooms to the maximum. For instance, rooms that were designed to be living rooms, in the apartment, now serve 43 girls and the rooms that were designed to be bedrooms, serve 28 girls. We put as many girls as the class will take, in desks that are designed for two girls we place three girls” (Principal at NS Awqaf school)

“The school building was designed as a house and there are no playgrounds or labs or anything. The students’ movement is limited. My daughters complain that the class is overcrowded and they cannot move about. They also find it difficult to go out to the bathroom” (Mother and Teacher, BA in Arabic literature, Teacher at NP Awqaf school)

In the UNRWA schools, similar problems with the school buildings are found. The interviews held with UNRWA teachers and principals in Jerusalem, inside and outside the camp, gave similar results. Previous research regarding UNRWA schools in the West Bank, show the same results (see Al Lahawani, 2007). The first and major problem, faced by the six of the eight schools interviewed was lack of proper school buildings and school facilities.

“We don’t have a science laboratory. The teacher does the experiments in the class to show the students, rather than the students doing them. We do not have a computer lab either. The teacher can demonstrate the lesson and explain to the students, theoretically, how the programmes on the computer work and then the students can go home and practice this lesson on the family’s computer at home, provided that they can recall what the teacher has told them” (Principal at TA Primary UNRWA School)

“The students need computers and technology to use in school, but we do not have any for the students to use. The school buildings are also a problem. If we get the approval to build new schools, then we would build them, but we do not have that approval and I think that other public schools suffer from the same thing, and so they have to rent houses. This is a serious problem, as I said earlier” (Durgham AbdelAziz, Area Education Officer, Jerusalem UNRWA)

In the Shufat refugee camp the teachers in one of the schools were very upset with the conditions they are forced to work in.

“The building needs to be bigger and have bigger playgrounds. You know the students are cramped together and under pressure in this camp. They need a place to release their energies. Here in this refugee camp, we have around 50,000 people and there aren’t any places for entertainment. The windows of the school are always broken and everything is hazardous in this building. The UNRWA authorities have been saying that they want to demolish this building. We are hoping that this will take place and new buildings will be erected. There is no heating at the school, so in winter the parents do not send their children to school because it’s freezing. In the summer it is so hot and they have to switch on a fan on the ceiling, which does not do much and is pretty hazardous. They have been promising us, for three years, to do something about it. Every year an architect comes and says that this building needs to be demolished, as it is not safe, but nothing gets done” (English teacher, SB school, UNRWA)

“I think this is the worst of the UNRWA buildings and we are hoping that they will demolish it soon and build a new building. The classroom I work in is very cold and so both the children and the teachers suffer. I keep getting flus and colds, because the environment we are working in is so cold” (First Grade Teacher, SB UNRWA School)

“The school building is a big problem, not a small one. The classrooms are very small with bad ventilation and lighting. The sunlight cannot get in and the rooms are so humid. There are even insects in the building. Even if I try to make the classroom colourful, by adding posters, they fall off the damp walls. I teach the first grade, where the girls like to see colourful and beautiful things, but unfortunately, it’s not possible. We still have the old blackboard and this causes allergies. The girls are always coughing, due to the chalk dust and the dampness in the room”
(First Grade Teacher at BQ UNRWA School)

The following quotes are taken from the interviews with teachers and principals, working in the municipal system, on the subject related to the schools physical environments.

“The building makes you feel as if you are living a hundred years ago. The walls here are cracked and so are the stairs. When I was a student, I studied here in this same school building and nothing has changed since then. Nothing functions in this building, if you enter the bathroom, you will want to run away. I know that most of the school buildings that belong to the municipality are, also, in a similar poor state” (Arabic teacher, SP Municipal School)

“The schools that we have are not up to standard. For instance, there is a girls’ school next door and honestly it’s a shame that it’s a school. It’s in that building, in the middle floor, with no halls, no playground, nothing. There are accountants and lawyers’ offices in the same building. It is not a proper school. The whole purpose of schools in East Jerusalem is to stuff the students and the teachers in a room” (Munir, Arabic teacher, RS Municipal School)

“There is no playground at this school. The space, where the children play, is a road for people to cross from one side to the other. Any help for repairing broken down equipment, that we ask for from the municipality takes time, a long time to be remedied, if at all. Last year we had a problem with the electricity and it was very dangerous, as the electricity would constantly go off in class. This lasted for four months. When this happened, I could not see anything in class, other than the children’s eyes, as the classroom was so dark, because we don’t have any windows here in the classroom”(Khaled, Arabic teacher, BA Municipal School)

“We have 40 students in class and sometimes 45. There is not enough space to use any contemporary teaching methods and we cannot put the students in groups to learn. The desks are stuck to the walls; the walls are always dirty, because if the students move to the right or left they

will bump into the wall. We don't have playgrounds for the children to play in. We don't have music lessons, because there is no space, and no music teacher or instruments. The shelter serves as a computer lab, a science lab and a storage room” (Mazen, Principal, S Municipal School)

When Limbariki, the head of the Palestinian education office at the municipality, was asked if this was also a problem in West Jerusalem, she said that they have the opposite problem. In West Jerusalem there are empty schools, because many secular Jews are leaving Jerusalem and the religious Jews are taking control of the city. She said that those empty schools cannot serve Palestinian students and so solve the problem of over-crowdedness, because they are in Jewish neighbourhoods and “you cannot send Arab children into Israeli neighbourhoods”. She added that in a religious Israeli neighbourhood there are some problems with school buildings, but these problems are not as severe as in Palestinian neighbourhoods and she believes that building in West Jerusalem is much easier than in East Jerusalem because “the case of East Jerusalem is very complex”. However, she is hopeful that within the next ten years the municipality will solve the problem of overcrowding in schools in East Jerusalem.

She said that the neglect of schools in East Jerusalem was chronic, there were years when not one new classroom was opened for children, but this problem cannot be solved “in a day or two, it will need years to solve”. When she was asked about the safety of the students, she said that there is a safety inspector and, if anything happens to the students, he can be sued. However, in some schools, the teachers and principals interviewed believed that the health and safety of the children is jeopardised, since there are no proper emergency exits, small and overcrowded classrooms, which make it difficult for children to evacuate the school building quickly, in case of an emergency. Humid classrooms, with no proper ventilation can cause respiratory diseases for both the students and the staff. In addition to the psychological damage that can be caused by the lack of proper light, over-crowdedness, lack of playgrounds and gardens for the children to play and release their energy.

“This school is not safe for the girl. The rooms are not safe for the children. You know how it is in the municipality; their work is like the progress of a tortoise. They don't give us anything straight away. It takes ages, and so much effort to get the municipality to fix or change the current situation in the schools. We will work very hard to solve the problem at this school, as

we have to somehow move the girls from this building” (Maher, Head of Al Tufah Parents Committee)

“They have used the shelters to teach preschoolers. This is not healthy, as the rooms are not prepared to serve students. When you stuff 30 students in a room that is not well lit or ventilated this harms them physically, mentally and socially” (Firas, Member of Al Burtoqal Parents Committee)

Parents also complained that the roads leading to their children’s schools are in a bad condition. Many of the roads in Palestinian neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem are not paved; there are no traffic signs and their children are forced to walk in the middle of the street.

“The story of the Arameen child is still remembered from a year and a half ago. The student crossed the street, a car came and ran him over and he died on the spot. They should come and teach children about traffic rules; we do not have this service here. They are interested, I mean the police, in keeping us ignorant. After the boy died, we worked so hard for three months to put some bumps on the road and the zebra crossing for the children to cross the street safely and some traffic signs. But still, all the routes that lead to the schools have no pavements and so the children have to walk in the middle of the street to get to there. As you know, there are some reckless drivers and so it is dangerous for our children to walk to school. There are so many things missing, but if I’m going to tell you about them, I won’t finish today” (Maher, Head of Al Tufah’ Parents Committee)

6.2 Insufficient Provision of Educational Services

Many students get turned away every year because of lack of space for them. Principals interviewed at Awqaf, municipal and private schools said that, every year, they turn down an estimate of around 50 to 300 students because of the lack of space. Even though, according to Israeli Law, the state should provide free education for every child in the state, between the ages of 5 and 18, regardless of his/her religion. Also, as mentioned before, the Ministry of Interior requires Palestinian Jerusalemites to enroll their children in schools in Jerusalem, to be able to protect their residency permits and their right to stay in the city. However, many people find this

difficult, because their children are rejected at the schools that offer free education and many cannot afford to enroll their children in private schools.

“You can see written on the door outside: “Please do not embarrass us, as there is no place to register your children”. We have spent five years doing two shifts at this school, a morning one and an evening one, because there was no space to accommodate the children in one session. We used to have to use the shelter as a classroom” (Principal at SE Municipal school)

“If a girl comes to me and says that she suffers from problems with the National Insurance office, and so she might lose her residency permit, because of residency issues and problems with the Ministry of Interior, I am obliged to take her, even if the class is overcrowded. That is why I have some overcrowded classes with 44 and 45 students. I do it, so as to help the parents and prevent the revocation of their ID or the revocation of their health insurance” (Principal, M Municipal School)

“Every year we turn away many students, every year, and all the other schools turn down many students, and so I wonder what happens with all those students, where do they go?” (Deputy Principal at RS Municipal School)

“Classes that are fit for 30 students, I have to fit 40 students, so imagine, in three classrooms I have to add 30 more students. I never say no to children. I accept students whose families were forced to come and live in Jerusalem from the West Bank. There are many difficult cases and sometimes people cry and beg me to take their children. A man once cried in front of me to enroll his child in my school, I said to him, “stop humiliating yourself, I’ll take him” I feel sorry for these people. The problem with private schools is that they make people pay a lot, and when all of sudden, with the increasing life expenses, the fathers feel the burden of school fees is too great, they come to me and they start begging me to accept their children. So I fit as many as I can” (Principal at S Municipal School)

According to Limbariki, every year they are forced to turn down half the student applicants to municipal schools, because they do not have enough space. She said that many people take them to court. However, there is nothing to be done due to the lack of space. She believes that this leads to students quitting out on schooling all together.

In 2001, a group of parents from the Silwan neighbourhood got fed up with the deteriorating state of the schools in their area, and the neglect of the children, by both the parents and teachers, so they decided to form a Parents' Committee, and work for resolving all the issues surrounding their children's education. They decided that the first issue that should be addressed is the problem with space. They thought that, once the issue of space is resolved, they can start working on the other problems. There were only three schools in the Silwan area, back then, one mixed primary school and two elementary schools, one for boys and the other for girls. The schools were overcrowded; some classes consisted of 56 students. Therefore, the committee decided that there is a need to build over 90 new classrooms. The committee spent the next two years negotiating with the municipality to provide the needed schools in the area. After many failed attempts to convince the municipality to build new classrooms, the committee in 2005 held a strike for 14 days in the Silwan schools. 4,350 students went on strike and refused to attend school for that period. This attracted a great deal of attention, from the media and several Israeli non-profit organisations, forcing the municipality to sign a contract with the committee to build five new schools for the children of Silwan. Up to this date, three of the five schools have been built. However, funds meant for the construction of the other two schools were redirected by the municipality to fund other projects.

The Awqaf schools face similar problems of overcrowding and having to reject students. There is a priority list: first, they take students who come from the West Bank, whose parents hold Jerusalem residency permits and need to enroll their children in schools in Jerusalem to protect these permits, or in some cases students who come from abroad and are in an urgent need to protect their residency permit (a consequence of the Centre of Life policy). Second, they take the children of civil servants (parents who work for the Palestinian Authority) and siblings. Those who have the most difficulties are the ones moving from one public system to another. Those students almost never find a place in another school.

“There is a problem of overcrowding. In some classrooms there are 40 girls and in some classrooms there are 26 girls, depending on the size of the room. This year I turned down 300 girls because we don't have enough space” (Principal at FZ Awqaf School)

“I reject around 300 girls every year. We have a limited number that we can take, so the only way for me to take in new girls is when a girl leaves the school and so a vacancy arises. We have

priorities. We take people who were forced to come live in Jerusalem to protect their IDs and also girls who come from private schools and cannot afford to pay anymore. If we don't have any such cases, we take girls with the higher average marks. When I look at two or three girls wanting to enroll in the school, who have averages of 90 and one girl with an average of 60, I take the better ones. I am concerned about the poor girls with low averages. Where will they go or who will accept them? They deserve an education. Private schools refuse to accept girls with low grades as well” (Principal at NS Awqaf School)

Overcrowding changes from one grade to the other, depending on the availability of schools to offer education to those students of a certain grade.

“Many schools only go up to the sixth grade, so they want to come here for seventh grade and other schools just go up to the eighth grade, so they want to come here for ninth grade. So we have overcrowding in seventh and ninth grades. Some schools force the girls to join the art stream, even when they feel that they can cope with the science stream. They come here hoping to join the science stream, but this is not always possible” (Principal at FS Awqaf School)

Private schools also reported rejecting hundreds of students every year, because of overcrowding and lack of space in their schools. The private schools are much bigger than those of Awqaf, municipal and UNRWA schools. Most private schools were built and designed to serve as schools. They have spacious, well lit and well ventilated classrooms, playgrounds, halls and they have science and computer labs and some have music and arts rooms. That is why they are in high demand, for those who can afford them. The quality of education a child receives in the public system is inferior to that offered by the private system, so children from better socio-economic backgrounds receive better education and this contributes to social inequality in East Jerusalem. Many parents of children in the public system expressed their preference for the private schools, because of the schools' better facilities, smaller number of students, bigger classrooms, the social environment and they said that the influence of other students there is better. However, due to financial burdens and the selective enrollment criteria of the private schools, they find it difficult to enroll their children in them. Even if they managed to enroll their first or second child in private schools, they start to feel the financial burden when they have more children.

“My children were enrolled in private schools and we used to pay a lot, but it became too much for us, so we were unable to afford it anymore. This school is a good Awqaf school, because the number of students is small, whereas in other schools there is a lot of neglect because of the large numbers of students” (Mother, High School Graduate, Unemployed)

“My Daughter went to a private school up till sixth grade. Now I have three other children, so I cannot afford it anymore. Her school was good and it is not fair to her, but what can I do?” (Mother, High School Drop-out, Unemployed)

A few private schools do not have proper buildings, as they were houses before being transformed into schools and so those schools suffer from the same building problems as Awqaf schools. Most of the private schools visited, big or small, had the problem of overcrowding. In the private schools interviewed the average number of students in class was 30, though in some classrooms there were 46 students.

“Oh, the problem with overcrowding is difficult. There are around 6,000 students that don't have a place in East Jerusalem schools, so if we keep saying no to students, where will they go? Therefore, we have to take as many students as we can. Then, there is the problem of the cost, meaning that the more students you take, the less money you can take from each student. If you want to provide a good education, with extra-curricular activities, each child will cost parents around \$3,500 (£2,318). If you want to reduce the numbers of students, it means you have to increase the tuition fees. We are now taking from the students 40% of the cost, and the rest is covered by the municipality and donations. So, if we cut down on the numbers of students in class, this means we will deprive some children of education on the one hand, and we will increase the price on the parents of the present students in the school, on the other hand. So we are trying to increase the numbers- but not too much. On average we have 30 students in class, but some classrooms have 37 students if they are big enough” (Principal at F Private School)

“I have 210 students on the waiting list for the kindergarten. If we have more space we would have taken them all. We can't accept more than 30 students for one class, which we divide it into two sections, where one teacher works with each group of 15 children. We can't take more, otherwise, the children feel “lost in class”. When they move to KG2 there is a teacher and a

teaching assistant for the class, so the children don't feel lost in class. We give French from 1st grade and English from KG1” (Principal at RZ School)

“The average number of students in class in my school is 30, and every year we get around 250 applications, but we can accept only 70” (Principal at SG Private School)

“Every year we get 400-500 applicants and we can only accept 120 students, maximum 130. This is a problem, because the parents don't want to accept it. In 95% of the cases I reject them because of the numbers. When their children get accepted they complain that there are lots of students in class. So, what can I do?” (Principal at F Private School)

“The class with the smallest number of students in this school is 35, which is the smallest class and we are happy with it. In some classrooms we have 44 or 46, and the girls sit three on one desk, so they have difficulties when they write and they distract one another. We don't have time to support the weak students, when we have 40 students in class. We don't have time to work with all the children. When they have exams, they find it difficult to write them, due to the uncomfortable surroundings, so they get stressed. Another problem is that as some children are right handed and some are left handed, sharing desks and limiting writing space can be problematic. It is also hard to discipline a class so big and unhealthy, especially in summer when the classrooms get stuffy and smelly” (English Teacher at D Private School)

There is particularly a problem in boys' schools. Teachers and parents complained that there is a big shortage of boys' schools in East Jerusalem. The shortage is severe, especially at the secondary level. In the old city there is only one Awqaf boys' secondary school, one private school and one mixed school, which serve boys up to the secondary levels, but no municipal secondary schools for boys. This means that in the old city, there is only one school providing free secondary education for boys. Outside the old city, there are only six schools providing free secondary education for boys in the whole city. The remaining are seven private schools which have a selective criteria and charge high fees.

It is also very difficult to find qualified staff for boys' schools, because West Bank teachers are restricted from entering Jerusalem. Most staff members at Awqaf schools are practicing Muslims and the constant lack of male teachers poses major problems in secondary boys' schools. Furthermore, highly qualified males are usually not interested in teaching, because it is not a

highly paid or prestigious job, for a man in East Jerusalem. Those men, who choose to work as teachers, usually have other jobs in order to be able to provide for their families. Most male teachers have afternoon jobs, some work as labourers in West Jerusalem, taxi drivers and some give private afternoon lessons. The result is that education is becoming a female profession in Jerusalem.

“Awqaf schools for boys are poor and the staff is not committed to teaching. This does not apply only to Awqaf, but, also, to the municipality boys’ schools. The private schools for boys are the best schools” (Teacher at FC Awqaf School and a mother)

“Lately, I have come to realise, that private and public schools are similar in what they teach, so I am considering enrolling my daughter in an Awqaf school, but not my son, because Awqaf boys’ schools are not as good. There are reasons behind this. It is the lack of teachers and staff, because men are not interested in working in Awqaf schools. Lack of staff in all boys’ schools is a big problem. The salaries are low and so the school doesn’t attract a qualified labour force” (Principal at N Awqaf School and a mother)

“A good boys’ school is hard to find in Jerusalem. When I wanted to find a place for my boys, I could not find one in my neighbourhood, as all the boys schools were full. So I had to look far away from my home for a boys’ school. Private schools make it impossible to accept our children” (Mother and Teacher at SP at Awqaf School)

“In the boys’ schools the male teachers do not care, as they are always upset because their salaries are so low. They go and work in other places. I know they work in the Israeli super markets, or in cleaning, and so they get to school in the morning extremely tired and sometimes they miss class, but the principal cannot do anything to them. They can only write a report and if the teacher knows people in the education office or the ministry, he’ll get away with it, easily” (Mother and Teacher at FC Awqaf School)

Mr Sameer Jibreel, the head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education was asked to comment on the problem of the lack of schools, and state if he could suggest any solutions.

“We wish to build new schools up to the required standard, but it is very difficult because Israel demands impossible requirements for granting us permission and we can’t meet these demands. They require 410 m² of land for every classroom and we cannot afford that with the resources we have. If we have 410m² we would build half a school on it, not just one classroom. Renting new buildings is also a problem because of the problems with the landlords who always cause trouble. We do not always have enough money to pay the rent, so there is the danger that we could get evicted. We are paying, at the moment, around a million US Dollars (£662,226) in rent every year and this is a huge amount of money and getting this amount of money, annually, is always a problem. The best solution is to find donors to buy us buildings, but most buildings were built for living in, so they need a lot of renovation to make them suitable for schools, and you need to find a space around them to transform into playgrounds, and that is not easy to find, but we are always looking. It is difficult because, as I told you, immigration to Jerusalem has made every space overcrowded, as people are transforming small places under the ground into homes”

Many of the schools are in rented buildings and they face problems with the landlords who refuse to have any renovations done to the buildings. As Sameer Jibreel has mentioned above, the landlords sometimes threaten to evict, when they do not get the rent on time and due to the financial problems, schools find it difficult to pay the rent on time.

“You may know that at the beginning of the school year, the landlord of one of the school buildings in Jerusalem closed the school down because they didn’t pay him the rent. Then they had to renegotiate with him, in order to reach to a temporary solution. This is a problem for all the schools in Jerusalem. Look at this small room, we fit 25 girls into it. In the next room here, we fit 36 girls. When people come and want to enroll their children, and they say, “just place a seat in the room for my daughter”. It’s not just a seat, as the classes are full” (Principal at NS Awqaf School)

“This is a rented property, and it has been rented for a long time. The owner does not let us do any substantial changes to it. The building needs a lot of work, but there are many restrictions put on it by the municipality. We can do little things, but we need to do more. It would be good to have bigger playgrounds, a science lab and a computer lab” (Principal at TA UNRWA School)

“Unfortunately we cannot expand or renovate, because renovating in the old city is very difficult, due to restrictions. We do not have a playground. This space in the middle of the school is used as a place for the girls to stand outside in, in the morning, and to play in, during sports lesson” (Principal at J Private School)

This is not the case for schools serving Israeli students. While the average number of students in class in East Jerusalem is 36, the average number of Jewish students in class is 24 (Dayan, 2010). The researcher has visited seven municipal schools serving Israeli Jewish students. From the researcher’s observations all the schools visited were constructed to function as schools. They had big playgrounds, spacious classrooms with proper lighting and wide corridors and stairs, several science and computer labs, multipurpose rooms and at some even school theatres. However, some of the school buildings are old and need renovation and painting, but there were no major problems that are a risk to the health or the safety of the children, and there were no problems of overcrowding, on the contrary, the number of students at secular municipal schools is declining. According to Hava Bar Tour, the Director of Secondary Education at Manchi, in the past ten years (2001-2011) school enrollment of secular Israeli students in Jerusalem has declined by 20%. The reason behind this, according to Hava and the principals interviewed is the migration of secular Israelis from Jerusalem, because the city is becoming more and more ultra-orthodox.

“The number of religious (Jewish) students is increasing, very slowly, but in the secular section in the last ten years, there has been a reduction of around 20% of the high school student population. I think we are now over the big crash, but still there are too many schools for too few students. We are keeping the schools, because we are hoping and our mayor is working very hard to get people (secular Israelis) to return to Jerusalem or to get new couples and students to stay and build their families and homes in Jerusalem, otherwise there won’t be any secular (Israeli) school system in Jerusalem” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Secondary Education at Manchi)

The declining number of students also means that there are a lot of empty spaces in the schools. At the Israeli schools visited, the average number of students per class is 20, compared to 36 in the Palestinian schools visited.

“We have many, many, rooms in this school. This campus is actually built for around 500 students (there are currently 247) and we are planning to grow, so right now we are retaining the space. I will say that this is a very good campus. Its very centrally located, the buildings are old but well taken care of” (Principal at ER Religious Municipal School)

“I am happy with the building and all the facilities. We get, almost all what we need and ask for, from the municipality and so we are happy. We have two studios for dancing, a spacious room for the arts, special large rooms for teaching Arabic, geography, history and the Social Sciences, five labs for science and a building close to us that is specialised for science and for the arts, like dancing, painting and theatre” (Principal at M Secular Municipal School).

“We have everything at this school. We have a theatre, we have music, biology, maths, media, movies, arts, photography, painting, literature, physics, geography, computers, social studies, Arabic, Israeli philosophy, French, English” (Principal at Z secular Municipal school)

“I almost get everything I ask for from the municipality, but still this is a big school and a big responsibility. We have teachers for the arts, sport and theatre studies. In addition, we have big playgrounds. This is a big school and is an old one” (Principal at J Secular Municipal School)

This chapter has set out to show the difference in the physical environment of the school buildings available to Palestinian and Israeli children in Jerusalem. It has evidenced the huge gap between the services provided to Israeli schools and Palestinian schools. It has shown how Palestinian schools are over-crowded; many lack the standard requirements of space and the needed facilities such as computer and science laboratories, playgrounds, clinics etc. The chapter has shown that this deteriorating state of the Palestinian school’s buildings is a result of three Israeli policies, the first one being neglecting its duty in building new schools for Palestinian students, restricting the other Palestinian educational systems from building and imposing the “center of life” policy on Palestinians, thus increasing the migration of holders of Jerusalem residency to live in the city, in order to maintain their residency permits. By that they add more pressure on the institutions that provide services in East Jerusalem.

This chapter has reflected Israel's ethnocentric policies of unequal resourcing of Palestinian and Israeli schools. Palestinian students are fighting over spaces in schools and the ones who do manage to find a space are offered very poor facilities. This is not the case in the services provided to Israeli students in the city. Israeli students are enjoying better schools services and facilities. This chapter contributes to the overall argument that says that Israel is an ethnocentric state that differentiates in the services it provides to the Israelis and Palestinians and that this difference in the provisions of services reflects a structure of the education sector in Jerusalem that is designed to perpetuate inequality between the two ethnicities. Israel's policies in Jerusalem are directed to push the Palestinian residents to seek better educational and work opportunities outside the city, as for the ones who decide to stay or are forced to stay, they are deprived of their basic rights. As discussed in earlier chapters, students achievement gaps is directly related to disparities in governmental educational spending (Darling-Hammond, 2004). It is also a main determinant of socio-economic inequality (Mazawi, 1995). Educational policies that deny equal access to quality educational services can be seen as a tool used to limit the advancement of the weaker ethnicities (Ogbu, 1997).

This chapter has shown the inequality in terms of accessibility to schools and the available schools buildings and their physical conditions. The next chapter will discuss the human resources base of the education sector the programs available to Palestinian and Israeli students.

Human Resources, Educational Programs and Parental Support

This chapter discusses the human resource base of the education sector of East Jerusalem, the available educational programs and services at Palestinian schools. It also compares educational services available to Palestinians, to those provided to the Jewish citizens of the city. The different learning opportunities offered to Palestinian and Israeli students can explain the reason behind the difference in achievement and later life trajectories. The researcher has chosen to explore the issue of resourcing, because it reflects the role of the Israeli State in engineering the unequal provision of educational services and experiences to the two ethnicities in the city, thus reflecting the ethnocratic nature of the state.

7.1 The Human Resources of the Education Sector in East Jerusalem

Whether students have access to well-qualified teachers can be a critical determinant of how well the students do in school exams and how prepared they are to continue their education. Darling-Hammond (2004) explains that unequal access to well-qualified teachers, which is a major side-effect of unequal expenditures, appears to be one of the most critical factors in underachievement in school. Strauss and Sawyer (1986) found that a 1% increase in teacher qualification (as measured by national teachers' examination scores, which is a licensed test for measuring basic skills and teaching knowledge) was associated with a 3 to 5% decline in the percentage of students failing the exam. This influence remained after taking into account per-capita income, student race, district capital assets, pupil/teacher ratios and students' intention to attend college (cited in Darling-Hammond, 2004:14).

Underfunding of the education sector of East Jerusalem has affected the human resource base. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2010), teachers' salaries in Israel are amongst the lowest in the world, in relation to the gross domestic product. The annual salary of a new teacher is around 69,000 NIS (£12,394), in comparison to an OECD average of 109,580 NIS (£19,682).

The basic salaries at the municipal schools in Jerusalem are around 6,000 NIS (£1,078) a month. Even though this is a low salary, in comparison with the OECD average, it is almost double the amount of what the teachers get in the other school systems in East Jerusalem. A basic salary at UNRWA and Awqaf is 3,500 NIS (£629) a month and they receive a “Jerusalem Allowance”, because life expenses in Jerusalem are higher than in the West Bank, which is an extra 1,500 NIS (£269) for Awqaf teachers and 1000 NIS (£180) for UNRWA teachers. The minimum wage in Israel is 4,300 NIS (£772), so teachers at Awqaf and UNRWA schools are earning only a little above the minimum wage.

At private schools, the salaries vary, as do the tuition fees. A basic salary ranges between 3,500 NIS (£629) and 6,000 NIS (£1,078). Private schools that are recognised by the municipality and official municipal schools also cover the health insurance costs of teachers in Jerusalem. They also offer for teachers additional increments and a pension scheme. Municipal schools provide additional increments to teachers for attending courses or undertaking additional academic studies, which is not the case in the other three systems. Teachers can also join the Israel Teachers Union and enjoy all the privileges offered by that union, such as funding for a teacher to undertake further study and support if a teacher faces trouble at his/her school. On the other hand, Awqaf, UNRWA and the private schools, which are unrecognised by the municipality, do not cover health insurance costs in Jerusalem, though they have some arrangements with Palestinian clinics which offer very limited health services.

All the teachers interviewed in the four systems expressed little job satisfaction. Their main concern was the low income they receive.

“We get 6,000 NIS (£1,078) a month; out of which I have to pay 2,000 NIS (£323) rent. I need another 2,000 NIS for food and nappies and milk for the little ones. If they say that the salary is high, well life expenses here are higher. We are talking about taxes and other things. If you get 3,000 NIS (£484) in the West Bank; maybe this will be better for you, because the expenses there are less. Everything here (Jerusalem) is more expensive, even petrol for the car” (Arabic teacher at BA Municipal School)

“The living expenses are very high in Jerusalem. I think that our expenses are double the income we earn as teachers. That is why part time teachers are forced to find an extra job elsewhere. I

mean what does 2,000 NIS (£359) or 3,000 NIS (£539) do for him. If he has a family with children and he has to pay taxes and bills, what can he do? This is a big burden on people, especially teachers. That is why they are forced to find extra jobs, e.g. on construction sites, cleaners, etc. anywhere, just to provide enough money for their families to live on” (Maths Teacher at BA Municipal School)

“This extra work affects the teacher’s performance and also his health. Sometimes, the type of job that he needs to take is embarrassing for the teacher. For instance, if he works as a cleaner in a hotel and his colleague is one of his students or if he works at a construction site and one of his students is his supervisor” (Arabic Teacher at B Municipal School)

In the two systems, Awqaf and UNRWA, the teachers have even lower salaries. All the UNRWA teachers and principals interviewed were not satisfied with their salaries. Teachers’ salaries, in these systems do not increase if they get more degrees or attend more training courses and this affects their motivation for self-development. The results were similar to those found in Al Lahawani’s study (2007), where 89% of teachers in her sample complained about the lack of monetary incentives at UNRWA schools and 82% of teachers complained that UNRWA does not provide any incentives to encourage them to enroll in training courses or acquire additional degrees.

“Teachers get low salaries, little training and hardly any supervision. Our salaries might be the same as Awqaf salaries, but they are much less than municipal and private schools’ salaries. Life is very expensive in Jerusalem. Here at UNRWA, the most a Principal can earn is 6,000 NIS (£1,078), whereas, in the municipality you get up to 12,000 NIS (£2,155) and they have an insurance scheme, a pension fund and other benefits. When we retire they give us a lump sum of money, which is so low, that you could spend it all in one go” (Principal at BA School, UNRWA)

“The salary is very low and it doesn’t even cover our expenses. It doesn’t increase if you acquire an additional degree or do any further courses. It doesn’t increase if you do extra hours, or undertake extra projects. This really kills the teacher’s motivation. I compare myself to my niece, who has been a teacher at the municipality for 10 years, whereas, I have been working at the UNRWA for 25 years. Her salary is higher, she gets health insurance. They do provide us, at

the UNRWA, with health insurance, but it's such a small sum that it doesn't cover all the expenses involved when you, or your family, are ill. My son had problems with his teeth and I had to pay everything myself and it was so expensive” (Arabic Teacher at BA UNRWA School)

Teachers also do not feel that they are getting the support they need. Rarely do they get visits from the UNRWA supervisors, because there are only eleven supervisors working for thirty three different schools. Some supervisors cannot get access to Jerusalem, because they are West Bank identity holders and UNRWA cannot get them permits from Israel, for them to enter Jerusalem.

“I have been working at this school for three years and not once has my supervisor visited me. When I went on a training course, I saw her, so I went to ask her, when she was coming to visit me. She replied: “Why don't you tell UNRWA to hire more supervisors, because I am currently supervising 160 teachers”. She is under pressure, but so am I. I am the only English teacher at the school and I have to give 27 lessons a week. I have to prepare the necessary material, take the exams, and mark them for the whole school” (English Teacher at SB UNRWA school)

“We have to go on training courses once a year and sometimes once every two years. I once participated in a course called “Teaching children through story telling”. It was a nice course and they gave us certificates for attending” (Arabic Teacher at SB UNRWA school)

Teachers in Awqaf schools also complained about their salaries.

“Some graduates apply and get accepted, but only work with us for a few months, until they get another job in the municipality. We can't blame them really, because they need to provide for their families. The ministry (Palestinian) and the Directorate (Jerusalem) try their best to provide the necessary staff at the beginning of the school year, but it's very difficult. The reason behind this is the bad economic situation in Jerusalem. If teachers are better paid, then we will be able to find more of them and better qualified teachers. In the municipality, they pay them much higher salaries. A beginner gets a higher salary than does an older teacher at the Awqaf, plus they have all the benefits and a pension” (Principal at AS Awqaf School)

Teachers in private schools face financial problems as well.

“You know the teachers in Jerusalem are the most marginalised people. They have so many expenses to meet. I have been working for 24 years and I still don’t get half what teachers get in the municipality. Yes, I want to work hard, but I would like to be appreciated and to cover my expenses. When I don’t have enough money to buy the necessities for the house, I curse education and the work I do. The teacher is being marginalised. Male teachers, who are the sole supporters of their homes and families, need to get another job as well; for example, as a taxi driver, or some other menial job, to be able to meet their expenses” (History Teacher at RZ Private School)

The overall package at Awqaf, UNRWA and the unrecognised Private Schools is unattractive for teachers. The teachers interviewed said that they felt under pressure. They work in unhealthy unattractive school environments and in overcrowded classrooms, for little monetary award. The teaching profession has lost its prestige in East Jerusalem and the education sector attracts mainly people who cannot find better paid jobs.

“My nephew, who graduated from Bierzet University with a degree in maths and was the first in his class, got accepted to work as a teacher at a Private School, but the salary was low, so he didn’t take the job. I am a teacher and my husband is a lecturer at the university and both our salaries are low. Therefore, I feel that after paying all the children’s expenses, we have hardly any money left over for unexpected expenses” (Arabic Teacher at BA UNRWA School)

“I am not satisfied with my salary, when compared with what I have achieved so far and the amount of work that I do. Compared to what other principals make in different school systems, I feel that my salary is too low, in relation to the rising living expenses here. My husband, who is a doctor has helped pay for our children’s education. Without his money, it would have been very difficult to meet this cost” (Principal at SP UNRWA School)

Teaching in Jerusalem is becoming a woman’s profession. This is reflected in the high number of female teachers. For example, 70 % of teachers in Awqaf schools are female. In Private Schools, 75% of teachers are female, and in UNRWA, 72% (PCBS, 2012). This data was acquired from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics 2012, but there is no data available for municipal schools. In Awqaf schools, most of the head teachers at female schools are women. While this

might seem to be a sign of women's empowerment, it is not. Many of the female teachers resort to teaching, because it is a socially acceptable profession for women in conservative societies.

All the female teachers interviewed for this research said that they joined the field of education, because it is easier and “proper”, for a wife and a mother to be a teacher. The working hours are short and they can be home early enough to attend to their children. They do not have to work late hours and they do not have to mix with male colleagues. Some teachers interviewed stated that they had problems finding work, since the labour market in East Jerusalem is very weak. They discovered that they could find jobs in Ramallah, but this would mean having a daily commute across the Separation Barrier, which is a long and exhausting journey and means that they would be late in getting home to their children.

Many female teachers interviewed in the four systems in East Jerusalem never desired education as a profession, in the first place. Many said that they ended up teaching by chance or due to limited job opportunities. Some said that they had personal problems that prevented them from studying further and working in their desired profession.

“I think the best job for a woman is to be a teacher, because of the short school day and the vacations. It is suitable for a mother, because you get back home in time for the children. My husband advised me that this was the best job for me. Originally, I was hoping, unrealistically, to work in a company in Ramallah, but my husband made me understand that this job (a teacher) is much better for me” (English Teacher D Private School)

“None of us really wanted to be a teacher, it just happened because the job opportunities in Jerusalem are slim. Being a mother and a wife also restricts you as you need to be home early for the children, so that’s why I became a teacher” (PE Teacher, at F Private School)

“For a married woman, it is the easiest job in terms of holidays and short working hours, but it is not an easy job at all, as it is one of the most stressful jobs ever; though, I think, being a doctor might be more stressful” (English Teacher at F Private School)

“I used to work in a company in Ramallah and I got so tired and exhausted from all the delays at the checkpoints and the transportation and so I found this job here as a teacher in Jerusalem, so that I could cope with the day’s stresses. Its much better than finishing your job at 16:00pm in Ramallah and spending two hours at the checkpoint to get home” (English Teacher at D Private School)

Schools, not recognised by the Israeli Municipality attract another section of society, which is formed by those people who cannot penetrate the Israeli Market, like Al-Quds University graduates. The university has accreditation from the Palestinian Authority and the Ministry of Higher Education, but not the Israeli one. The university administration building and some of its faculties are situated in East Jerusalem. Being in Jerusalem, the university has to operate with a permit and accreditation from the Israeli Council for Higher Education. Israel, so far, has refused to issue this permit. Therefore, students graduating from Al-Quds University are not recognised by Israel as university graduates and have a hard time finding jobs in their fields of study in West Jerusalem or in any Israeli Municipal related institutions. Therefore, they resort to teaching in Palestinian schools or work in low-paid hazardous jobs in West Jerusalem.

Private schools accept Al Quds University graduates, but when they started getting subsidies from the Israeli Municipality, they were forced to abide by municipal rules. Therefore, if a private school has several teachers with degrees from Al-Quds University and the school wants to get the support and recognition of Manchi (Israeli Municipality). This means that the teachers need to get other degrees. Teachers, who do not have a degree in education, are required by Manchi to get one. If the teachers get degrees from Palestinian universities and colleges, it takes them a long time to be recognised by Israel. If they are not recognised, this means that they will get less money, or in some cases, are in jeopardy of losing their jobs. Manchi clearly prefers degrees acquired at Israeli universities. This was explained, by the principal at one of the private schools:

“There are Arab universities that provide a good education. Listen to this, even though we registered and we are recognised by Manchi, if a teacher has a BA she needs to get an Education Diploma; this is available at Bethlehem and Beirzet

Universities (Palestinian Universities). However, if we want Manchi to recognise the degrees teachers acquire at those universities, the teachers need to study three levels of Hebrew and pass exams and then they need to present their papers to the ministry (Israeli) which takes forever, because they don't want us; afterwards they send an inspector to see the teacher and attend a lesson and then they write a report in order for the teacher's diploma to be recognised. The inspectors come whenever they feel like it and they favour their schools (municipal schools), so it takes two to three years for a teacher's diploma to be recognised. This is hard for the teachers because recognising this diploma means an addition of 10.75% on the salary. That is why they opened those Israeli colleges where you can do the diploma and the minute you get the diploma from there, you get recognised immediately with no need for an inspector or anything. Another way to lure teachers to study at those Israeli colleges is that the ministry covers the expenses if you study there, they cover at least 90% of the fee and of course they never do that with Palestinian colleges. This way they attract teachers to learn at Israeli institutions and people here in Jerusalem care about themselves and choose the easy way. Here I have about 10 teachers doing diplomas in education at David Yalin (an Israeli college) and some are getting an MA in education there as well'' (Principal at R Private School)

Many of the teachers working in the education system do not even hold a degree in education. According to the Jerusalem Statistics Manual of Education in East Jerusalem, of the teachers in the three systems, Awqaf, UNRWA and Private Schools (they do not provide data on municipal schools, because of the lack of cooperation with the Israeli municipality), 70% of the teachers hold a BA in the subjects they teach, but without also having a diploma, or another type of degree in education, 6.5% of teachers hold a bachelor degree, plus a diploma in education, 6% of the teachers have a higher diploma, or a master's degree, and 12.5% have a diploma or a high school degree (PSBC, 2011:83). Teachers do not get any pre-school training, as none of the systems require newly qualified teachers to get any training, before they commence working in their teaching profession.

Non-profit organisations working on improving the education sector in East Jerusalem have become aware of the urgent need to hold teacher training courses. For the purpose of this study consultants hired by the Faisal Hussein Foundation, a Palestinian non-profit organisation working on the development of the education sector in East Jerusalem, were interviewed to talk about teachers' qualifications and what they can offer students. The consultants have been working at Awqaf schools since 2005 and they believe that teachers do not get the proper training they need at the university, as many of the teachers do not hold degrees or diplomas in education. The teaching methods are based mostly on the teacher dictating the subject of the lesson. The lessons are therefore teacher centered not student centered. The teachers are pressured into finishing the designated units in the curriculum in the required time, regardless of whether the students thoroughly understood the material. Since the main method of teaching and in some cases the only method used is dictation so students have to learn by memorisation only, even in the maths lesson where they have to memorise concepts, without putting them into practice.

“What our teachers lack is training, some teachers come to us with honours from school and honours from university, but they fail as teachers, because they lack the training and they don't know the necessary skills or the teaching methods and how to employ the appropriate tools. They need a diploma in education to learn these skills, because education is based on communication. So if the teachers cannot manage to pass on the information to the children, the children will not succeed” (Principal at FA Awqaf School)

“Teachers still use the method of memorisation. People talk a lot about critical thinking and so on and so forth, but it's all useless. It's all based on memorisation and the resistance to change is very strong in everyone, consciously or unconsciously. We shouldn't give up, of course, as we need to keep working at it. It's not easy to present a good curriculum in light of the small budgets, the difficult situation and the heritage of bad teaching methods and habits, based on memorisation. We are talking about thousands of teachers and thousands of workers in the Ministry of Education, who prefer to maintain the status quo, because it's easier and they don't know how to change it. It's difficult to change easily. Many people don't even want things to change, as they might lose their jobs. It's a very big problem and everyone should work at it” (Principal at F Private School)

Several studies show that teachers' qualifications do affect their student's achievement (see Ferguson, 1991, Goldhaber and Brewer, 2000, Goe, 2002). Studies clearly show that teachers who lack preparation in either subject matter or teaching methods are significantly less effective in producing student learning gains as compared with those who have completed a full programme of teacher education and who are fully certified (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Ferguson (1991), in an analysis of 900 Texas school districts, found that the single most important cause of increased student learning, was teacher expertise, as measured by teacher performance in the State Certification Exam, along with teaching experience and a master's degree. Taken together, these variables accounted for about 40% of the measured variance in student test scores (cited in Darling-Hammond, 2004).

Darling-Hammond (2004) explains that recruits who are not prepared for teaching are much more likely to leave teaching quickly, many of whom staying only one year or less. This adds to staff instability and the children end up being taught by short term, inexperienced and under-qualified teachers, who lack knowledge of their subject matter and have acquired ineffective teaching methods.

Awqaf and UNRWA schools in Jerusalem are the most affected by teacher's high turn-over rates, because teachers in those two systems work in unhealthy environments in overcrowded buildings, with large numbers of students and minimal monetary incentives. Therefore, teachers leave those schools to find more lucrative jobs at municipal schools or leave education altogether to find a higher paid job in industry in West Jerusalem or Ramallah.

There is a big shortage of teachers in the UNRWA and Awqaf systems, especially in science and maths subjects, so the teachers in these two systems are overloaded with work. To overcome this problem, Awqaf and UNRWA schools assign teachers from outside their fields of qualification to teach science lessons. This means that the quality of instruction suffers. There was a teacher interviewed who taught science, English and sports, though she held only a BA in English Literature. Another teacher interviewed held a degree in Information Technology and taught maths. Not only did she not hold a degree in maths, but also never took any training, nor had a degree in education.

Hawk, Coble, and Swanson, (1985) explain that teachers' qualifications, especially in maths, has a substantial effect on students' learning and achievement. In their study of middle school mathematics teachers in Texas, they found that students of fully certified mathematics' teachers, experienced, significantly, higher gains in achievement, than those taught by teachers not certified in mathematics. The differences in student achievements were even greater for the algebra classes than for general mathematics, with students experiencing gains almost five times more, when they were taught by a fully certified teacher (cited in Darling- Hammond, 2004).

In this study, the principals interviewed said that there is a shortage in teachers with degrees in maths and science. Principals complained that it is very difficult to find qualified specialised teachers in those two subjects. Therefore, most maths teachers lack the knowledge in maths teaching methods and some principals complained that some of their maths teachers do not understand basic mathematical concepts.

"I have six maths teachers at this school and only one of them is specialised in maths, the rest studied chemistry or computer or other things" (Principal at NS Awqaf School)

"I feel that scientific specialisations are lacking in Jerusalem, especially maths and science. Maybe because it's a tough specialisation and I feel that the Palestinian curriculum is already very tough, so there are not enough classes for maths. I feel that there is a weakness in maths in most of the schools" (Principal at J Private School)

"Last year we couldn't find any maths or history teachers. We had to share a history teacher with another school. This year we have the history teacher for ourselves and we found a maths teacher, but it was very very hard to find a maths teacher. We had to do lots of changes and they (The Jerusalem Directorate of Education) took a teacher who is specialised in education and they sent us an IT specialised teacher to teach fifth and fourth grades maths. We have had this problem for years" (Principal at FC Private School)

"We have a lack in maths specialists. Maybe because we are in Jerusalem, I don't know. Probably because of permits and IDs and things like that (West Bank teachers are not granted

permits to enter Jerusalem). The maths teacher at this school has a degree in physics and to tell you the truth his academic performance needs improving and developing. This problem is worse in UNRWA primary schools and I don't know why. Maybe there is a lack there, maybe there aren't any graduates or maybe it's the IDs problem, God knows. Of course I am in dire need of a maths and a science teacher” (Principal at TQ UNRWA School)

Another problem is teachers' expectations. From the interviews with teachers, many did not have any expectations from the students, especially teachers working in the poorest schools. Teachers' expectation does indeed affect students' achievement and their motivation to learn. This was discussed in the Rosenthal and Jacobson study (1968), which they named the “Pygmalion effect”. In their study, they showed that if teachers were led to expect an enhanced performance from some of the children, then those children did indeed show that enhancement. On the other hand, when teachers have low expectations of students, they do not try to make learning exciting, they just dictate information and make the students feel inferior. When the teachers lack the necessary qualifications, the motivation and the knowledge of how to educate the students' learning experience is distorted.

Municipal Schools, serving Israeli students do not suffer like the Palestinian schools from a lack of staff. In fact, they have the opposite problem, too many staff for the small number of students. This is due to the large number of secular Israelis having left or are in the process of leaving Jerusalem. From the seven Israeli schools interviewed, the teacher to student ratio is 1:6, as compared to 1:18 in the municipal schools serving Palestinian students. Hava Bar Tour, the head of Israeli Municipal Secondary Education says that even if they have too many teachers, they will not let them go and they will not close schools down, as they want to continue supporting those schools for as long as they can.

“We support schools intensively, to avoid closing them. Of course we have to pay the teachers who teach very few students. The atmosphere is not too good in the schools, because everyone is always worried about what is going to happen next year, although we say out loud that we are not closing the schools down and nothing is going to happen, at least not in the near future, but still people don't like living in a situation where they don't know what is going to happen

tomorrow. We are keeping all the staff, but basically we spend a lot of money on financing teachers” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Secondary Education at Manchi)

“We have a lot of teachers, actually 60 teachers, which is a lot. If you divide the number of students by the number of teachers, you will see that each teacher teaches only about 5 students at this school. It’s because this school used to be big and we had more students, so we had and still have lots of teachers. This is a problem here in Jerusalem, as the number of people (Secular Israelis) is going down, the demographics are changing and there are more religious (Jewish) people in Jerusalem and as there are few jobs in Jerusalem people have to move to places like Modi’in and Tel Aviv” (Principal at G, Secular Municipal School)

“This year we have 247 students. We have too many teachers here for them. We have over sixty teachers, some of whom are from ten years ago” (Principal at ER, Religious Municipal School)

“We have two principals, as well as me at this school (one for Junior High, and one for Senior High) and supervisors for every level. They are all inside this school, plus a psychologist and a counselor” (Principal at MG, Secular Municipal School)

Darling-Hammond (1990) explains that educational reform should start by boosting the teachers’ qualifications and training, before they enter the schools. She explains that this can be achieved by professionalising teaching and by raising the overall knowledge base for the occupation, thus improving the quality of educational services. Initiatives to improve the quality of education in East Jerusalem by the municipality, UNRWA, Awqaf, and even Palestinian and international non-governmental organisations are very limited in their scope. They consist of training programmes or support programmes. Such programmes are unlikely to have a big impact on the education sector in East Jerusalem. The problem in this sector lies in its chaotic and highly politicised structure that places students in poor school buildings and offers them poorly qualified staff and weak programmes. Darling-Hammond (2004:38), in her study of educational inequality and its effect on students’ achievements, explains that such programmes will never be effective at remedying underachievement, so long as these services are layered on a system that so poorly educates children to begin with. She explains that the problem originates with district

and state policies and practices that inadequately fund schools, send them incompetent staff, and weak administrations.

7.2 Programs and Extracurricular Activities

The limited funding of Palestinian schools means also that students miss out on crucial school programmes and activities, such as counselling, programmes for students with learning disabilities, programmes for excellent students and extracurricular activities.

7.2.1 School Counselling

There is a need for the four school systems to have comprehensive school counselling. The American Counseling Association (2008) has presented several studies showing the effects of counselling on students behavior and school achievement. They have shown that counselling can improve students' achievement (Baker and Gerler, 2001, Mullis and Otwell 1997), maintain that it reduces students' drop-out rates (Wirth-Bond et al. 1988, Parport 1993), reduces behavioural problems (Lapan et al. 1997), generates amongst the students positive feelings about their school and their education (Mau et al. 1998, Omizo and Omizo 1998) and increases students' productivity. However, it was found when interviews were carried out, that in the four systems, the teachers, Principals and the parents complained that the school counsellors do not have any impact on the school. Schools that have 1000 or 1500 students are served by only one part time counsellor or shared a counsellor with another school. According to Alyan et al. (2012b:14) during the academic school year 2011/2012 there were only 21 counsellors within the official educational system in East Jerusalem (municipal schools). These 21 counselors were responsible for caring for about 42, 300 children, which means that roughly one counsellor works with 2,000 students. Simultaneously, the educational system in West Jerusalem employed over 250 educational counsellors for a similar number of students, more than 12 times the number of counsellors in East Jerusalem. In the interview with Limbariki, she said that the municipality does not have sufficient money to pay for school counsellors; therefore, nothing can be done in that department.

Teachers have complained, that not only is the school counselling program very weak, but also that Social Services do not work to help the children, especially in the case of the constant battle between the students and the Israeli soldiers. Either the students provoke the soldiers by throwing stones at them, or the soldiers provoke the students by shooting rubber bullets, or firing tear gas at them. In the Palestinian neighbourhoods there is a constant battle between the children and the soldiers. It always ends with injured children, they sometimes get imprisoned or deported from their neighbourhoods and all these problems intervene with their attendance at school. Settlers in Palestinian neighbourhoods also create constant tension and terror to the residents. The teachers complained that the Social Services have a very strict policy, but only against teachers, in terms of verbal or physical abuse and they never interfere in other forms of abuse.

“Here Social Services are supposed to attend to many problems. For instance, the Israeli soldiers often fire tear gas at the school for no reason at all. They come from the street up the road and throw tear gas which is soundless, but all of a sudden, we start smelling something strange. The children rush down the road, with their eyes closed to avoid the fumes. Many times we cannot open the windows, because of what is going on outside. They choose either early morning or when the children are leaving to provoke the children into throwing stones. So why don't the Social Services do anything about it. The children will suffer from serious problems with their respiratory systems” (Arabic teacher at BA Municipal School)

“We have lots of problems with tear gas and stone throwing. There is a settlement, on the way to school and the children throw stones at it and then the soldiers catch them. There are around 100 students in jail, just from this school. They put them in jail for a while, or sometimes they fine the students, or just deport them from the neighbourhood for a few weeks” (Principal at SE Municipal School)

The teachers also complained that the Social Services do not attend to the biggest problem that the students suffer from, which is house demolition orders. According to the Israeli committee against House Demolition Orders, Israel has destroyed 2000 Palestinian houses in East Jerusalem since 1967. The number of outstanding demolition orders is estimated at up to 20,000 (Schaffer, 2011).

“I'm one of the people who are having so much trouble with the municipality. I built a house and they fined me twice. I'm paying them 60,000 NIS (£10,780) and I have a house demolition order. So I'm expecting them any minute to come and destroy the house. So how can I come to school and teach, as if everything is normal. I applied for a licence and they refused it. How can I live, I have five children so where shall I live? A boy here at this school is suffering from the same problem, his family is waiting every day for them (the municipality) to come and destroy their house. How can he concentrate, knowing that he might go home from school and find it destroyed?”(Maths Teacher at BA Municipal School)

“One of the students came home from school to find his house is rubble. They told his mother that she had half an hour to empty the house, even though they paid the council tax and everything. This is a big problem in Jerusalem; even if you just build a wall they will destroy it. So you see the students' minds are always preoccupied on other things, other than school work, so it's great if they just pass their exams” (Member of Al Burtoqal Parents Committee)

“Sometimes the children have problems in the neighbourhood and have house demolition orders. The children don't feel safe or secure and no one cares about them. There is a saying “give me safety and security and I will show you creativity”. If the students do not have safety and security, how can they be good at school or at anything else?” (Arabic teacher at BA Municipal School)

“We are being attacked. There are settlements in the area, so now there are 150 children threatened in the Bustan area with losing their homes and becoming homeless. So imagine what this does to their psychology and their mentalities. The boy goes to school wondering; will my home still be there when I go back, or will it be demolished?” (Member of Al Burtoqal Parents Committee)

At Awqaf schools the same problem is present. The counselling profession at Awqaf schools is a relatively new profession; it only started in 1998. The head of the Counselling department, at the Jerusalem Directorate of Education said that in the beginning the job description of school counsellors was not clear:

“The Ministry just wanted to hire school counsellors, without setting a job description or deciding what their mission was and so until now we have been having to deal with the outcome” (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counselling Department)

The recruitment process has changed. It has become centralised and the Palestinian Ministry of Education has created an exam and a recruitment committee. Nevertheless, according to Turman, people with the minimum qualifications can be accepted for this job: “all you need to do is be able to speak well”. There are currently twenty-four counsellors serving thirty-eight Awqaf schools. The teachers interviewed unanimously complained that counselling at Awqaf schools is insufficient and ineffective. The teachers complained that the counselors’ presence in school is limited, so they do not have time to work with all the students and even the students that do meet up with the counsellors do not show any improvement.

“She (the School Counsellor) comes to the school twice a week. She tries to do the job, but she has no resources. She does not even have a room to sit in with the students. There are also many students she does not have time to attend to” (Teacher at NS Awqaf School)

Turman said that the counsellors in Awqaf schools deal with many complex social and psychological issues. He added that there are cases that need support, rehabilitation and a chance, or an opportunity to live in a safe and encouraging environment, yet this opportunity is lacking. The counsellors have to work in more than one school. He said that the Palestinian Ministry of Education is not hiring new counsellors, because of lack of funds, yet the scope of work is huge and there is a need to hire a counsellor for each school, or at least create a department for counsellors in the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem and hire people with different qualifications, so that students can be referred to the appropriate person/s and receive the required support. The counselling department lacks resources. They do not have offices and tools and computers. The head of the counseling department shares a small room with another employee from another department, in the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem. Another problem that Turman mentioned is that the community does not value them and rejects their work.

“They consider us a fashion. Even though we try to market ourselves in the community, but some people and some principals reject us and consider us a fashion and a sign of globalisation and in some cases collaborators. In some areas in the West Bank they have defamed us in the mosques” (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counselling Department)

Turman complained that since counselling is a new profession in the community, counsellors do not have legitimacy and are forced to work in the shadow of the principal. They are limited to what topics they can deal with, because it is frowned upon in society to talk about certain issues. Turman said that Arabic and Quran are legitimate subjects that parents never complain about, but counselling and giving lectures about sexually transmitted diseases is frowned upon and even unacceptable to some parents.

“If the mother does not talk to her children about certain issues and the science teacher is too shy and skips certain topics, it is a disaster if even the counsellor ignores these issues. So we are put in this sensitive situation, in a difficult environment, with limited resources. All these are difficulties the counsellors have to deal with” (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counselling Department)

Another problem the school counsellors face is lack of coordination with Israeli institutions. Awqaf do not cooperate with Israeli institutions, so if a child is at risk and the counsellor knows that the child is being subject to abuse at home, they cannot refer him/her to Israeli Social Services. There are no Palestinian Social Services in Jerusalem and therefore these children miss out on having the support and the protection they need. There is no set mechanism to save children at risk in Awqaf schools. Many cases are ignored. Some cases are dealt with discreetly. It all depends on the conscience and the personal judgment of the counsellors and the school principals.

“When the counselor deals with a child at risk he informs him of all the solutions that he can resort to and one of them is to call the Israeli Social Services, but we don’t contact the Israeli institution. In some cases the Israeli Social Services are informed, whether by the child himself or a family member or a neighbour and then the Social Services come to us and we provide them with the needed information” (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counseling Department)

Counselling at UNRWA is very limited as well. Principals and teachers interviewed felt that given that the group of students that come to the schools are mostly from low income families and are living in harsh situations, there is an urgent need for counsellor support.

“Shufat is a big challenge, especially in the boys’ school. They are attracted to work in the black-market. There is a lot of drug abuse in the camp, although now to a lesser extent, because many Palestinian institutions are working on this problem now, but Shufat is a big challenge and they need a lot of support” (Durgham AbdelAziz, Area Education Officer, Jerusalem UNRWA)

“Truancy and being late for school in the morning is a major problem. Some boys come to school thirty minutes late and so miss most of the first lesson, and some do not come at all. The education department keeps sending us new counsellors, but they are never permanent and the counsellors usually need your help, instead of them helping us. They do not train them well, so they train on us for a year or two, and then they leave” (Arabic Teacher at SP UNRWA School)

“The counsellor may be a supporter of the school, especially regarding counselling and helping, be it academic or psychological, for the children that have social problems. Their role needs to be activated more and it may be possible to get better ones, than what is currently available. We have a counsellor now who spends two days here and two days at the girls’ school, but we need more, but it’s the budget that decides what happens in the end” (Principal at T UNRWA School)

There is also no cooperation between UNRWA and the Israeli Social Services in East Jerusalem, so if a child is at risk at home, or is being subject to abuse, UNRWA tries to solve the problem through communicating with the family and if this fails then UNRWA tries to talk to the victim’s distant relatives. In Israeli Law, if one knows that a child is being subject to abuse and fails to inform the Israeli Social Services, then they risk being penalised.

“Here in the West Bank we work with the police and with the Ministry of Education, but in Jerusalem we don’t work with the Israeli police. We try to work through other Palestinian institutions and through people well known in the community or known relatives of the victims. The big problem occurs when they (Israeli Social Services) learn about these cases and come to us and start questioning us” (Durgham AbdelAziz, Area Education Officer, Jerusalem UNRWA)

In private schools the role of the school counsellor is also lacking. Some schools do not even have a school counselor and the ones that do have complained that the counsellors work part time and their influence on the school is very limited.

“We also don’t have a counsellor and it is not enough that teachers try to solve problems. There are a lot of social problems, parents get divorced and this affects the children. This year we faced more than one case. We only have a psychologist that comes once a week to work with the children, and that is not enough.” (Principal at RZ private school)

In the four systems there is no set referral system. If a child has a certain problem, he is not referred to any institutions that might give him/her the needed support. It all depends on the counsellor and what he/she sees fit. In the parents’ focus groups, the parents complained that if their child has a problem, they are not given any support or referred to any institution and they have to deal with the problem on their own.

7.2.2 Learning Disabilities Programmes

Another group of students who miss out on help and support in the schools in East Jerusalem are students with learning disabilities. This is because most teachers and school staff have no knowledge of how to address these students’ needs. Students who suffer from learning disabilities are not necessarily mentally or academically impaired; in fact some are potentially higher achievers than their classmates. It is just the method by which information is communicated to and by these students that makes the difference. Most teachers do not understand this and hence those students are labelled as weak students and are marginalised in class. These students are subsequently treated harshly by their teachers and rejected by their fellow classmates. This leaves them with a sense of failure and inability to learn. Hijazi (2012) found that one of the main reasons why students drop out of school is because of their feeling incapable of learning.

Many students have undiagnosed learning disabilities and some of these students suffer from social problems and neglect. However, since teachers are not trained to detect learning

disabilities (some teachers interviewed did not even understand the concept of learning disability), they stigmatise these students. Students at Awqaf, UNWA and Private Schools suffer the most in this area. Municipal schools have a programme for students with learning disabilities, where students get diagnosed and are offered treatment. In the cases where students need special education, they can be referred to municipal schools that offer this type of education. However, due to limited funding, this programme is not very strong and so this group of students remains marginalised and neglected in some schools. Alayan and Yair (2009) in their study of education in Jerusalem have also noted this problem. They found that there were significant gaps between Israeli Jews and Palestinians, in terms of the school hours per student, allocated for special education.

Over the past few years, the Palestinian Ministry of Education has expressed interest in this matter. It has provided training courses for teachers on how to diagnose students with learning disabilities. However, the suggested intervention by the Palestinian Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem is not enough. Most teachers do not know how to deal with students with learning disabilities and most diagnoses do not provide the adequate information about the learning disability and how to overcome it. In fact, most diagnoses describe it as only an academic problem. They do not have a comprehensive programme for diagnosing and treating students, and therefore there are cases of students in 7th and 8th grades who suffer from illiteracy. Those students are usually stigmatised and called “lazy” or “stupid” by their teachers and classmates.

“Some students in my class are at a lower mental level, so they don’t understand anything, but yet they keep them in class. They disturb the whole lesson and affect the whole class, by disturbing the students around them and so cause chaos in class” (Biology Teacher, AC Awqaf School)

Three of the parents interviewed had children with learning disabilities and they felt that their children suffered the most in school. They complained that the teachers were not trained to teach their children.

“Now my son has a learning disability. The problem is not with the teacher; the problem is that there was never someone at school to detect his problem. In Awqaf schools we do not have these people. Academia is not the only important thing. I mean if the boy has a problem, so how can he do well in school? The teachers do not know about these conditions, so you need a specialist to detect them. The teachers should be taught how to deal with students who have problems; they need to detect if a student has an issue about a certain thing. They then need to call the parents and tell them how to help their child” (Mother, High School Graduate, Unemployed)

“My son is a slow learner and definitely has a problem, but he does not get any support from school. I keep telling the school counsellor about it and he says I will talk to the teachers, but he never does. The other day the English teacher said to my son go and find yourself another teacher I do not want you in my class” (Mother, 8th grade, Unemployed,)

“There needs to be a programme for weak students, programmes to help those students. We feel that there is a weakness in English, maths and Arabic. You see the student reaches the secondary level but he does not know the basics. In other schools, there are counsellors that work with students at the psychological level and they help them, but here (Awqaf schools) they never do” (Mother, High School Graduate, Unemployed)

In UNRWA schools they face the same problem. The teachers complained that they have many cases of students with learning disabilities in their classes and they are not getting the needed support. Students do not get diagnosed and the teachers do not get the needed training to work with them. According to Mohan Menon, Deputy Director, UNESCO-UNRWA Education Programme, the low achievement levels of UNRWA students in the TIMSS²¹ exam could be related to students having special needs, but not being diagnosed and not getting the needed support (Menon, 2010:4). Menon (2010:4) states that “it is quite possible that students who performed very poorly on the tests may if they underwent appropriate diagnostic testing be classified as students with Special Educational Needs (SEN). If this is indeed the case, then it would suggest that these students are not being adequately supported and that more appropriate

²¹ An international assessment of the mathematics and science knowledge of fourth grade and eighth grade students around the world.

strategies need to be found, so as to ensure that students with SEN are better supported, so that they can acquire literacy and numeracy skills”.

“Many students at this school suffer from disabilities and some are very weak and need special help from different institutions. I cannot give those students the care they need. I have forty students in my class and I do not have time for individual students. I never received any training from people who know about this topic and I did not study education, so how can I know?”
(English Teacher SB UNRWA School)

“I have around five weak students in my class. I don’t know what their problem is; if it’s a mental one or if they are just neglected children. They have given us a course about dyslexia, but still those students need someone specialised to work with them and help them. I have lots of students in my class and I teach them all the subjects. This means that I have a lot of work and so I cannot focus on the students with learning disabilities. I am also required to finish the curriculum on time and that puts me under pressure” (First Grade Teacher at B UNRWA School)

“The teachers at this school cannot differentiate between learning disabilities and just weak achievers. This is the problem” (Arabic Teacher, Shufat Boys Primary school, UNRWA)

“Some girls, in the class I teach, have learning problems and they don’t seem to understand anything. Even if we work with them and the parents work with them, it is hopeless. We don’t have people specialised in such problems to help those students and tell us what their problems are and how to deal with them” (First Grade Teacher at B UNRWA).

Only one of the private schools interviewed offers programmes for students with learning disabilities. The rest had similar problems to Awqaf and UNRWA, as they did not have any special programmes for these students or a resource room, and the teaching staff lacked the knowledge to work with such students. Therefore, they are neglected in the school and are allowed to pass from one grade to the other, without acquiring basic numerical and literacy skills.

“We have a programme for students with learning disabilities. It’s developing quickly, as we have at least 5 people working on it. We start diagnosing students from KG2 and we have

specialists who have degrees in the topic. We have lots of cases of students with learning disabilities; we are diagnosing them at an early age. Our work is making a difference and so it's crucial that these programmes get the needed support and funding in the schools. This programme and also the counselling programme can solve many problems and create a healthier and pleasanter school environment. Some students who have a learning disability problem feel lost in class and so they start disturbing the lesson and then it escalates and they start having behavioural problems. So when we help the child, this changes the whole environment in class, because students with problems can affect the whole class” (Principal at F Private School)

As in all the other areas, schools in West Jerusalem are much more advanced and well resourced. The principals interviewed in Israeli Municipal schools said that they have special programmes for students with learning disabilities. There are at least two counsellors in every school, resource rooms and in some schools two teachers for one class.

“The Israeli Ministry of Education has several programmes for children with learning disabilities and difficulties. In all the schools we have a resource room, where children get special tutors to support them and those teachers are specialised in Special Education. The children are given extra time and are diagnosed and treated, based on their diagnosis. Afterwards, in the final exams at the school, when they do the Bagrut, there is a committee in the (Israeli) Ministry of Education that arranges for them to get different terms; there is somebody to read the text for them, or somebody to rewrite what they have written, because some of them can't write, so there are different methods used for testing them and special learning techniques to teach them how to overcome their difficulties” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Secondary Education at Manchi)

“We have all kinds of help for the students with learning disabilities and we train our teachers to help them. We have a Learning Centre for after school, where the pupils can drop in and get help with their homework, and in seventh grade we have three different help programmes for the students. We also have two school counsellors to support the students” (Principal at E Religious Municipal School)

“We asked the municipality to help us in this; students do theater, art or work with the computers. Twice a week they can come and learn whatever they want but they have to commit to their choice. They have cooking also. They choose two programs and stick to them. Also, we have Seminar Hakabutzim, it is like a university where they take student who finish and train them for five years, to come back and help us change the school. We also have two teachers in the class and the class is divided into two, where the teachers give the students all the support they need” (Principal at G Secular Municipal School)

“For every level there is a counsellor and the teachers send the students to the counsellor and they diagnose the problem and then we help them. They get different treatment and a different exam. In every grade, I think about 25% of the students have learning disabilities. This is not a big problem, as we are here to help them and support them” (Principal at H Secular Municipal School)

“We have, in this school, three counsellors, two psychologists and one social worker to help the students. We have special teachers that take the students out of the classroom, twice a week, and they give them special training. We have people also who give them therapy, by means of classes in art, dance or drama. All these programmes are funded by the municipality” (Principal at Z Secular Municipal School)

“We have students who have dyscalculia, dysgraphia, and two or three students who have difficulties hearing or reading, so they have special learning facilities and they get the needed support when taking tests. In every level, we have one class for Special Education and there the teachers are trained in Special Education, but we also have training for all our teachers to deal with learning disabilities” (Principal at MG Secular Municipal School).

“We have 5 classes for students with Autism and we have special programmes for the students with Special Needs, we also have three counsellors who are doing a good job” (Principal at M Secular Municipal School)

There is a huge gap between the services provided for Palestinian students with special needs, and Israeli students with special needs. At Palestinian schools there are hardly any resource rooms to serve those students, because of the lack of space. Not all the schools have the skilled human resource experts, or the programmes to diagnose or treat those students. Therefore, those students and their families are left alone to deal with this issue. In many cases this causes students to drop out of school and give up on education.

7.2.3 Extracurricular Activities

Schools that offer free education in East Jerusalem, hardly offer extracurricular activities. art, music and sports are subjects that often are removed from the school programme. This is for two reasons: 1) most of these schools lack adequate space for sports and rooms for music and art, in addition to the lack of musical instruments and art equipment. Any additional space in the school is from necessity transformed into a classroom. Many of the school buildings are in rented houses and lack playgrounds and gardens, so the students cannot practice sports; 2) there are very few teachers qualified in arts, music, drama and sports in Jerusalem.

“You can hardly find arts, music and sports teachers and these are fun subjects that the children need to learn” (Principal at RZ Private School).

“We use our hall for music, for sports, for meetings, for Dabkeh (Palestinian Folklore dance) for art and for graduation events. Our science lab was divided into two labs, one science lab and one for computer lab. Our playground is so small and I feel so sorry for the children who wish to play football, but they cannot. We try to provide indoor board games, but it’s not the same” (Principal at RZ Private School)

Therefore, instead of hiring teachers for those subjects, the school principal gets the maths, English and/or science teachers to teach these extracurricular subjects. Consequently, those teachers usually use the additional lessons to catch up on their unfinished work on the curricular subjects that they teach. For example, in Awqaf schools, an Arabic teacher should teach 25 hours a week. If he/she covers 22 hours of teaching and has three left over, the principle allocates those three hours of this teacher’s time for him/her to teach sports or take art lessons. However, the teacher utilises this time to teach more Arabic or mark classwork, rather than instructing the

students in the arts or sport. As a consequence, the children miss out on having extracurricular activities.

In the focus groups held with the parents, the parents complained that their children are deprived of extracurricular activities. They complained that this is not just a problem at school, but also in their neighbourhoods, where there are no Youth Centres for the children to play in, learn music, or do art or sports. Their children spend their time at home either on the computer, or in front of the TV. The few centres that offer some activities are usually too expensive for the parents.

“I wish there were institutions where our children can go to and develop their talents. The problem is that we have nothing, nothing. The children are under pressure, as they have to study, and do nothing else, no places to play, nowhere to let their energies out and ventilate, poor children, they are going to explode” (Mother, Diploma in Education, Unemployed)

“There is no space here in Jerusalem, we don’t have play areas. Our houses are crowded, our schools are crowded and the children are pressured. The parents are always moving from one apartment to the other. There is nothing for our children to do here, no music, no sports, nothing and this affects them academically. They are so deprived in this area and they have nothing” (Mother, BA in English literature, Teacher at NP Awqaf school)

“We didn’t have the internet when we were young. We used to spend all our time in the garden and the yard and we used to run and jump and let our energy out. Our children now spend their time on the computer. They eat and gain weight. In West Jerusalem, they have so many play areas and gardens, but we have nothing, as all the houses are stuck together and they (the Israeli Municipality) never invest in our areas. We have to send our children so far away from home to play, that we worry about them” (Mother, 8th Grade Drop-Out, Unemployed)

The private schools that charge the highest tuition fees offer extracurricular activities, so parents with higher incomes can afford to give their children better opportunities, which adds to the inequality of opportunity in East Jerusalem.

“We are interested in extracurricular activities and we took the initiative to create school activities for after school. We have lots of activities such as photography, aerobics, Dabkeh (Folklore Dance) and painting on ceramics. Most of our children, about 600 or more, participate in these activities on a regular basis. This is very important because here in Jerusalem we don’t have many youth centres and we can’t just let the children out on the streets, because the streets in these times are dangerous. Back in our time they were safer. All the schools should be like this. This is not very expensive and if you work with parents’ committees and other civil institutions you can make this happen and so make the school accessible after school hours for everyone in the community” (Principal at F Private School)

Municipal schools for Israeli students also offer Israeli students an array of extracurricular activities. The official school day at Israeli Municipal schools ends at 2:30 pm, but most of the schools interviewed offer afternoon classes and activities that continue till 7:00 pm. In some schools there are afternoon classes, where students can come and get support with their homework.

“We have theatre, music, biology, maths, media, movies, arts, photography, painting, literature, physics, geography, computers, history, social studies, Arabic, Israeli philosophy, French and English. Here you can choose between Arabic and French” (Principal at ZM, Secular Municipal School)

“We have theatre studies, art, and pre-medical education for very good students. They learn medical science fifteen hours per week, which prepares them for med school after they graduate from here” (Principal at MG, Secular Municipal school).

7.3 Parental Involvement

Another form of support to the schools is termed Parental Support and Involvement. Desforges (2003) argued that parents’ involvement in their children’s learning does have an influence on their children’s achievement. However, in East Jerusalem’s public systems, parental involvement is very low. It varies between private schools and public schools. In the three public school systems (municipal, Awqaf and UNRWA) the school staff complained about the parents’ lack of

involvement. On the other hand, in private schools the involvement is high. All private schools visited, with one exception, had a Parents' Committee and the teachers and principals said that many parents are involved with their children's education and helped them with their homework and attended school functions.

"We have a very strong parents' committee, who support us and help us in the school to solve problems. I think that any successful school should have a Parents' Committee, which is free to support the school" (Principal at RZ Private School)

This phenomenon seems to be related to the parents' socio-economic backgrounds. Parents who send their children to private schools have higher incomes and can afford the private schools higher fees. Lareau and Lamont's (1988) study indicated that low-income parents are less involved in their children's education. They say that working-class parents have neither the educational skills, nor the resources to intervene in their children's schooling, whereas middle-class parents had educational skills and occupational prestige that matched or surpassed that of the teachers. They also had the necessary means and the time to meet with the teachers, to hire tutors and to become intensely involved in their children's schooling. Ball et al. (1995) explored social class variations in the choice of school for their children and found that middle-class parents are more involved and engaged in the process, whereas working-class parents seemed to be more passive about their choice of school.

Family involvement in the three public systems (municipal, UNRWA and Awqaf) is generally poor. A question in the interview guide for principals included the percentage of parents attending school functions and the answers varied between 30% at some schools and reached up to 50% at others. Teachers and principals in the three public systems were unanimously dissatisfied with parents' involvement. Teachers complained that parents never attend meetings held to discuss their children's progress and they never support their children at home or help them with their studying. Teachers also complained that many children in class suffer from behavioural problems, children are not taught healthy eating habits or proper hygiene. Teachers said that there are many social problems amongst the students, with broken families, unemployed parents and some cases of drug abuse.

“You rarely find educated parents at this school. We write in the students’ files their parents’ education and the highest one for this year had a diploma. Most of them just attended school up to seventh, eighth or ninth grades. This was so for the majority of the mothers’ and the fathers’ education. Few have passed the secondary exam, Tawjihi. You rarely get an educated mother, and this really makes a difference. You can tell the difference between children with educated parents and children of uneducated parents” (First Grade Teacher at TS school UNRWA School)

“When I called for a meeting, out of the 60 children, the parents of only 15 came, so it is obvious that they are not interested. Teachers at this school always complain from parents’ negligence. They say that they never check if their children did their homework at home or not. We cannot generalise, of course, some parents do care. Parental interest is reflected in their children’s achievement in school” (Principal at NB Awqaf School)

“We call for parents to come to meetings, but their attendance is low. Anyway, we don’t have a hall to accommodate everyone. We take the meetings over three days. The counsellor calls for meetings as well but people don’t come” (Principal at NS Awqaf School)

“No one follows up with the children at home. I send the parents hundreds of letters, from the forty students, only the parents of four show up, maximum four. They only come when there is trouble. That is what they are interested in, because it is a municipal school, all they want is to sue the school and get money from the insurance. But when you say to them come so we can discuss why your child failed, they never come. And so now I keep all the students’ papers in a file. You know, some students want to be better and they work hard on their own, but no one cares and no one takes care of these children or shows any interest in them” (English teacher, BA Municipal School)

Hoover-Dempsey and Howard (1997:8) explained that three factors are central to parents’ basic involvement decisions. First: their belief about their role in their children’s education and what is important for them to do. Second: their sense of efficacy, meaning their belief that they can actually help, and make a difference. Third: what invitations and opportunities are offered to them to participate. Most of the parents interviewed, in the three public school systems, were

either high school graduates, or high school drop outs, who lacked the confidence to help their children with their homework, and were intimidated from “interfering” with the teachers’ work. Parents interviewed also felt that the school does not involve them in the school’s decisions, and activities. The reason behind this low level of attendance can be blamed on both the unwelcoming school environment, and the parents’ lack of awareness of the importance of their involvement.

“Many children did not finish their education during the first intifada (1987), and those children are now parents who cannot help their children or support them. There should be awareness sessions and courses to help the parents help their children.” (Khalil Member of Al Karaz Parents Committee)

“Some want to help, but don’t know how. I tell the parents not to teach them, but just feed them and dress them well. Sometimes, the students come to school poorly dressed in winter, and it’s so cold so they can’t concentrate in class. Sometimes, they come in the summer, dressed in winter clothes; sometimes they come to school without having breakfast. They feed them chips (crisps) for breakfast and this is unhealthy... The children here are raised very poorly, you get shocked by the things they know and the way they behave at such a young age, and you know they learn all this at home.” (First Grade Teacher at TS UNRWA School)

Dr. Hijazi, a consultant working on the issues of children’s rights, violence in the schools and parents’ involvement and participation in East Jerusalem, was interviewed in this study. He says that, in general, there is a tendency to dichotomise responsibility over their children; the parents at home and the school management at the school. There is no real cooperation or participation between school staff and parents. He says that even though there are Parents’ Committees at most of the schools, those Committees’ roles are superficial, and they never influence school decisions. He explains, that the school principals’ concepts of parents’ participation are limited to parents’ financial contributions to their schools. They do not initiate, or encourage, real parental participation and involvement in school decisions and activities. He believes that teachers and principals never received any training in working with parents, and some are not even aware of the importance of parental support and involvement, and what effect this can have on student achievement and behaviour in school. On the other hand, most parents do not

complain about this arrangement, because they are busy with their own lives. Almost all the parents, who send their children to public schools, come from lower economic backgrounds.

Members of the Parents' Committees interviewed, complained that the school principals are very resistant to parents' involvement, or, what some principals referred to as, "interference", in the school's work. When questioned about the topic, several principals said that the parents do not have the academic ability to support their children, or understand the requirements of the curriculum, and, therefore, they were opposed to the forming of Parents' Committees at their schools. Some principals have suggested that parents have used these committees for individual gains. This negative attitude towards the parents has been studied in previous research. Connell et al. (1982) talks about working-class parents feeling alienated, or 'frozen out' of school (cited in Cregan, 2008). Parents of working class students also feel less comfortable in the school settings, as compared to middle-class parents (Lightfoot, 1978 and Ogbu 1974 cited in Cregan, 2008).

In Israeli Municipal schools serving Jewish students, this is not the case. Parents' Committees are more active than in municipal schools serving Palestinian students. In the schools visited, the Principals said that parents' attendance at school activities ranges from 60% to 100% at some schools.

"The parents' involvement at this school is too much, we have three committees at the school, one speaks about the budget, one about problems in the school and one works with our way of life, ideas etc., lots of nights are spent over here" (Principal at H Secular Municipal School)

"The parents are very, very, involved. They always come and we have different parents who come and help us in different things, but we don't have a committee yet. Last week we had a meeting and 85% of the parents came and that's huge and the 15% who didn't come we scheduled another meeting for them, as everyone wants to come, everyone wants to be involved. When they arrived, they were standing in the hall and asking how they can help, not just about their own daughters" (Principal at ER School, Religious Municipal school)

This chapter has set out to explore the various aspects of human resources, educational programmes and parental support in the three public school systems and the private system in East Jerusalem, while comparing them to the services provided to Jewish students in the same city. What was found in all the aspects explored was a large imbalance between what the state provides for public schools to its Jewish students and what it provides to its Palestinian students.

It was also found that the unattractive work schemes offered to Palestinian teachers at the four systems act as a disincentive for qualified locals to work in the public and private school systems in East Jerusalem. This has resulted in an unmotivated and dissatisfied work force in the education sector that is becoming predominantly occupied by mothers, solely out of convenience. In addition, the lack of funds that Palestinian schools in the public systems suffer from denies them the facilities and resources that would cater to the different needs of students, such as school counselling, special programmes for students with learning disabilities and extracurricular activities. For example, in terms of counselling, Palestinian students from poor socio-economic backgrounds who are victims of state discriminatory policies, settler attacks, or domestic abuse find themselves without the needed counselling at school and resorting to the Israeli Social Services is regarded by society as collaboration with the enemy. In addition, even though the Palestinian Ministry of Education is now taking an interest in educating its work force on how to deal with children with learning disabilities, there is still a large gap in their needs, which is not being met in the public school systems neither by Israel nor the Directorate of Education in Jerusalem. Furthermore, while there is a clear understanding by schools in the public and private systems of the need for extracurricular activities, these needs are mostly hampered by the limited space in school, the non-availability of specialised teachers and the lack of funds in general. In comparison, municipal schools serving Jewish students have several counsellors per school, specialised staff and programs for children with learning disabilities, resource rooms, lots of extra space and after school hours for extracurricular activities, help with homework and plenty of funds. Finally, this chapter showed how parent's involvement in school activities was least present in public school systems, more present in private school systems and the schools which had the highest participation was found to be in the Israeli Municipal schools.

Again, as mentioned earlier in the study quality education manifested in the services provided to the children in terms of counselling services, support to students with learning disabilities and awareness programs for the parents are all missing from Palestinian schools. As mentioned in chapter one, deprivation of quality education is an exclusionary measure that students of weaker ethnicities suffer from (Sayed, 2009). Exclusion from quality education denies Palestinian children the opportunity of succeeding later in life and competing with Israeli's in the labour market. This deprivation is engineered to direct Palestinian and Israeli students into different socio-economic statuses (Mazawi, 1995).

The Geopolitics of East Jerusalem

Limited resourcing of the education system is not the only factor affecting the education sector, movement restrictions and the manipulation of geography, have also struck the education sector in East Jerusalem. This chapter will take an overview of the geopolitical reality of Jerusalem. It will discuss how the isolation of Jerusalem from its Palestinian periphery has affected the education sector in terms of teachers' and students' commute and the prevention of human resources from the West Bank to work in Jerusalem, thus limiting the workforce at the schools in East Jerusalem.

The chapter will also demonstrate how the manipulation of geography, through the arbitrary municipal expansions in Jerusalem, the erection of the Separation Barrier and the construction of a ring of Israeli Jewish settlements around and within the city, reflect Israel's ethnocentric policies that are designed solely to promote the welfare of the Jewish population. Several studies show how the State of Israel manipulates geography to further the interests of the Jewish dominant ethnic group (see Yiftachel 1996, Falah, 1996, Yiftachel and Yacoubi 2003, Usher, 2006, Roy 2012). Yiftachel and Fenster (1997) explain that planning policies can be used to control ethnic minorities directly and indirectly, through territorial containment, socioeconomic deprivation and social exclusion. Therefore, urban and regional planning in cities of conflict should be studied in their political context, because they can be and have been used as instruments of social and political control over the weaker ethnic populations.

8.1 Severing East Jerusalem from its Palestinian Periphery

Since its establishment, Israel has always considered Palestinians to be a "demographic threat" (Masalha, 2000). This is evident in its policies towards the Palestinian citizens and residents and in its persistence of increasing the influx of Jewish immigrants (3,620,586 from 1949-2011)²², on

²² Immigrants, by Period of Immigration, Country of Birth and Last Country of Residence. The Statistical Abstract of Israel. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. 26 September 2011

one hand, and adopting policies that encourage the immigration of Palestinians, on the other. This ethnic fight is very evident in mixed cities in Israel. Yiftachel (1996) explains that mixed cities in Israel are known to be the sites of constant ethnic battles. He says that urban planning in Israel is used as a tool, by which the state ensures the subordination of the weak ethnic populations. He describes mixed cities in Israel as “ethnocratic cities” where Israeli policy is directed to deliberate “Judaization” of the city and to control Palestinian resistance. Yiftachel and Yacoubi (2003:689), explain that the state deliberately ignores the planning and servicing of Palestinian areas, turning them into deprived and stigmatised “urban fringes”.

The demographic fight over Jerusalem in particular is very fierce²³. Yiftachel and Yacoubi (2003), say that the urban governance of Jerusalem is totally dominated by Israeli Jews and is directed to ensure the control of the Jewish ethnic nation over the city. B’Tselem (2012) noted that since the annexation of East Jerusalem in 1967, the Government of Israel’s primary goal in the city Jerusalem has been to create a demographic and geographic situation that will prevent any future attempt to challenge Israeli sovereignty over the city. To achieve this goal, the government has been taking action to increase the number of Jews and reduce the number of Palestinians, living in the city. Yiftachel and Yacoubi (2002: 137) say that Israel has used its military might and economic power to relocate boundaries and borders, grant and deny rights and resources and move populations and reshape the cities’ geography, for the purpose of increasing the Jewish domination over the city. They explain that the manipulation of ethnic political geographies is one of the most central pillars of all ethnocratic regimes; that is, the ethnicisation of political space.

Jerusalem’s Master plan for 2020, stresses the importance of ensuring a Jewish majority and maintaining a demographic balance of 40% Palestinians and 60% Jews. The aim previously was 30% Palestinian and 70% Jews in the 1970’s and 1980’s, but due to the continuous growth in the Palestinian population, those numbers had to be amended (Shragai, 2010). To be able to control the demographics in the state, Israel had to exclude the Palestinian populations. Usher (2006),

²³ “Prime Minister Netanyahu, The mayor of the city of Jerusalem Ehud Olmert and the Minister of Finance Ne’eman, will meet Friday in order to discuss the revolutionary proposal of Olmert. According to the Mayors proposal, The city of Jerusalem will get a special national priority, in order to struggle against the demographic decline in the Jewish population in the city” (Maarev News Paper, May 1997 cited in Yiftachel 2006:262)

explains that Israel, like other settler communities, have always had a native problem. He says that Israel is faced with a dilemma: how can it create a Jewish democracy in a state where Jews are not the majority. He believes that the creation of the Separation Barrier and its exclusion of areas where Palestinians are concentrated is the latest stage in Israel's attempts to resolve its "native problem" under the veil of security. The more Palestinians it can exclude from the State of Israel, the more it becomes able to achieve a Jewish majority.

Therefore, the "withdrawal" from some of the West Bank area and the Gaza strip and the creation of the Separation Barrier was advantageous for Israel's demographic war. As Zuriek (2003) explains, Israel granted the Palestinians a Bantustan-like state in non-contiguous areas of the West Bank and Gaza, like the Whites did in South Africa where they created internal fictitious states, whose residents were able to vote, as if they were citizens of an independent "foreign" country. He explains that this symbolic independence lacks any substance, in terms of state viability and sovereignty, since the newly created fictitious states remain wholly dependent on their creator. When seeking to explain the status of the Palestinian State, Usher (2006:16) quotes Bishara as saying that:

"The PA (Palestinian Authority) is a unique polity in the annals of political science: "it is an autonomy for non-citizens", in which the PA has many of the civilian functions of government, but none of a state's attributes of legal, territorial, political or military sovereignty. Those prerogatives remained Israel's, the sole sovereign power in the Occupied Territories, by virtue of its ability to dictate and control all aspects of Palestinian life and development"

The idea of the Separation Barrier started to formulate in 1995, when Rabin, Prime Minister of Israel back then, commissioned the then Energy Minister Moshe Shahal to design a "security fence" which would more or less parallel the West Bank Green Line (Usher, 2006). In 1996, Peres approved the construction of a 2-kilometrewide "buffer zone", which would have a permanent presence of soldiers and police to prevent Palestinian entry into Israel (Usher, 2006). In 2000, at the beginning of the second Intifada (Palestinian uprising) Barak Israel's Prime Minister at that time authorised the building of a barrier to prevent the passage of motor vehicles, at the northern end of the West Bank (Usher, 2006). A year later, in response to the domestic

clamour to end Palestinian suicide bombings which took the lives of 330 Israelis and injured thousands, Israel decided to build a permanent fence along the Peres buffer zone (Ir Amim, 2007c).

In 2002, Israel commenced the construction of the Separation Barrier. Its length was to be 709 kilometers, a distance over twice as long as the 320 kilometer long 1949 Armistice Line (Green Line) between the West Bank and Israel. 85% of the route runs through the West Bank, enabling Israel to annex a further 9.5% of the West Bank land (OCHA, 2009:4). Israeli officials stated that the reason behind the building of this Separation Barrier is to protect their citizens from “Palestinian terror”, but in Jerusalem most parts of the fence do not only separate the Israeli from the Palestinian population, but rather Palestinians from other Palestinians.

Ir Amim (2007a), in their report on “Considerations in Drawing the Route”, stated that there are several reasons behind the delineation of the route. The route of the Separation Barrier is set on the boundaries of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality, which are illegal under international law. Through the creation of this Barrier Israel is trying to legitimise the municipal boundaries of “Greater Jerusalem”. The route of the Barrier also reflects Israel’s territorial expansions, because it includes in Israeli territory the three large settlement blocs to the south (the Gush Etzion area), the east (the Maale Adumim settlement) and northwest (the Giv'at Ze'ev – Giv'on bloc). These three areas cover a total of 164 km² of West Bank land (Ir Amim, 2007a). On the other hand, it excludes neighbourhoods where Palestinians are concentrated. These are Kufor Aqab, Semiramis, Ras Khamis, the Shuafat refugee camp and the Dahiat al-Salam neighbourhood. As a result of this ethnic inclusion and exclusion, tens of thousands of Palestinians living on the eastern side of the Barrier have been disconnected from the city (Ir Amim, 2007a). The residents of those Jerusalem neighbourhoods have to go through checkpoints every time they want to enter the city and return to their homes. This indicates that the route of the Barrier has played a significant role in changing the demography of Jerusalem in favour of the Jewish population.

Another argument put forward for the creation of the wall is Israel’s attempt to ensure its dominance over the natural resources of both water and land (Tamimi, 2011). Tamimi, explains that the location of the Barrier’s first phase and its path above the best Palestinian potential

abstraction areas of the Western Aquifer, reflects Israel's goal to complete its control over the richest groundwater sources in Palestine (Tamimi, 2011:409). B'Tselem (2011) also state that the areas west of the Barrier (Israeli side) are some of the most fertile areas in the West Bank and the agriculture there generates 8% of Palestinian agricultural production, according to the World Bank. Tamimi (2011:409) further explains that, since water is crucial to a sustainable future Palestinian State, Israel's overall control on water resources will lead to further impoverishment, landlessness and existential and national threat to Palestine.

Lagerquist (2004) gives additional proof that the motive behind the wall is not the security of the Israeli citizens, but rather a political decision to ensure Israel's dominance of the land. The Israeli State Comptroller's report, released in July 2002, a month after the approval of the building of the wall, established that most of the bombers, which the wall was intended to protect against had in-fact passed through the checkpoints, "where they underwent faulty and even shoddy checks" and that the Israeli Defense Force knew it (B'Tselem, 2003:26 cited in Lagerquist, 2004:19). The Comptroller's report went on to note that more than six months after it had been issued, the defense establishment still had done nothing to rectify these security problems (Ibid). B'Tselem quotes Sharon: "The idea [to build the Barrier] is populist and intended to serve political objectives" (B'Tselem, 2003:27 cited in Lagerquist, 2004:19)

Roy (2012:75) confirms this by quoting from the Israeli economist Shir Hever who revealed that on 20 April 2007, Brigadier General Yair Golan, then commander of Israeli forces in the West Bank, stated in a lecture delivered at the Van Leer Institute that "separation and not security is the main reason for building the Wall and that security could have been achieved more effectively and more cheaply through other means".

In setting the Barrier's route, Israel disregards the severe infringement of Palestinian human rights, which comprise the freedom of movement, right to property, right to receive medical treatment and educational services, right to family unification, right to an adequate standard of living and the right to work (B'Tselem, 2003). The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), released a study on the demographic and social consequences of the Barrier on Palestinian life (2004), and estimates that the Barrier causes direct harm to at least 288, 758 Palestinians who reside in seventy six localities.

The International Court of Justice advisory unit has urged Israel to dismantle the Barrier:

“On 9 July 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, issued an advisory opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. The ICJ stated that the sections of the Barrier route which ran inside the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, together with the associated gate and permit regime violated Israel’s obligations under international law. The ICJ called on Israel to cease construction of the Barrier “including in and around East Jerusalem”; dismantle the sections already completed; and ‘repeal or render ineffective forthwith all legislative and regulatory acts relating thereto. The Court’s Advisory Opinion stated that UN member states should not recognise the illegal situation created by the Barrier and should ensure Israel’s compliance with international law. UN General Assembly Resolution ES-10/15 of 20 July 2004, demanded that Israel comply with its legal obligations as stated in the ICJ opinion” (cited in OCHA (2008:4)

Several Palestinian communities are completely enclaved by the Separation Barrier and their movement in and out of their villages is controlled by soldiers and checkpoints (B’Tselem, 2011). Thousands of Palestinians have lost access to their land on the other side of the Barrier, in addition to the land they lost on which the Barrier itself was erected. B’Tselem (2011) also noted that the requests of many Palestinians for permits to enter their land are rejected, either on grounds of security, or on the contention that the applicant has not provided sufficient proof of ownership of the land, or family relation to the landowner. They further state that according to figures the state provided for the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, the number of permanent permits given to farmers living east of the Barrier to enable them to work their land west of the Barrier dropped by 83% from 2006 to 2009 (from 10,037 to only 1,640). Even if a Palestinian holds an entry permit, those permits do not apply during times of “closure” which are common on Jewish holidays.

The PCBS (2004) study shows that many Palestinians were forced to migrate to another locality, inside or outside the West Bank, after the creation of the Barrier, because they have lost their land or work. The report shows that many Palestinians were cut off from their schools and health facilities, resulting in several births and some deaths happening at the checkpoints.

Palestinians, who hold the Jerusalem residency and reside in Jerusalem Palestinian suburbs that were cut off by the Barrier, like Kufr Aqab, have trouble entering Jerusalem and suffer from long waits at the checkpoints, even though they hold the full right to enter the city. Those people are being pushed away from the city center and encouraged to start a new life in the West Bank. However, if they did that, they would risk losing their Jerusalem residency permits.

Palestinian Jerusalemites living in Jerusalem and working or studying in the West Bank find it very difficult to commute. To avoid the humiliation, loss of time and unpredictability of their reception at the checkpoints, many people are forced to live close to their work, or study institution, which means they have to leave their families and see them only at weekends, or during vacations. According to the PCBS (2004:42), one government institution in Ramallah has more than one hundred employees living apart from their families during the week. The report also shows that there are also many students who used to live in their parental home, but who have been more or less forced to live at their place of study, because of movement restrictions. Such temporary living arrangements increase household expenditure on housing and food for the person(s) staying elsewhere, leaving less for maintenance for the women and children back home.

Other factors stated by Jweiles and Abul-Su'ood in their study on the effects of Israeli policies on the economy in East Jerusalem (2008:8), include: A) the increased cost in the transport of goods, due to delays at checkpoints and their increased closure. B) An increased cost in goods clearance at ports, due to delays to enable security searches. C) Imposing numerous taxes on Palestinians, without consideration being given to their income levels or living standards. D) Tax authorities who mistrust income statements of Palestinian dealers and producers make exaggerated estimations of their income. E) Increased numbers of street vendors, due to increasing unemployment rates, which adversely affects the income of official taxpaying

businesses. F) Decreased average income per-capita in the city, consequently limiting shopping as a large proportion of the population have to limit their purchases to food and only essential items.

Both local and Arab businessmen are reluctant to invest in the city due to the political uncertainty, so most of them prefer to invest in Ramallah in the West Bank. This has led to the exacerbation of the unemployment problem and the deterioration of the economic situation of Palestinian Jerusalemites. East Jerusalemites certainly feel that Ramallah is becoming the new capital of Palestine, with the economic weight being pushed away from Jerusalem to Ramallah. Many Palestinian Jerusalemites have to travel daily through checkpoints to go to Ramallah to work. There is also an increasing number of university graduates who would rather stay in Jerusalem and work in low status, insecure, jobs, than go through the trouble and humiliation of passing a check point daily.

The United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Valerie Amos, on her visit to An Nabi Samwil, May 2011, reported:

“I am horrified by the way the Barrier affects Palestinians. It divides communities and inhibits the provision of services. I visited a one-room school with no windows and very few facilities, which can’t be improved because the planning rules don’t allow it. This is unacceptable” (OCHA, 2011:14)

As for the Israeli right, their approach is to plant as many Israeli settlements as possible to prevent the creation of a Palestinian State and ensure the hegemony of Israelis over the land. There are currently 137 Jewish colonial settlements harbouring over 467,000 illegal settlers, deeply ingrained between the six main Palestinian cities of Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron, thus destroying any future hope of a viable Palestinian State (Usher, 2006:29). These settlements have control of over 44% of all West Bank territory, with a further 30% earmarked as “security zones” (Usher, 2006:29). Inhabitants of those settlements are considered full citizens of the State of Israel and can vote and be elected, even though they live outside the borders of the State of Israel. All Jews who are living within the areas that are under

Israeli control, whether within the legal borders of the state or in the Palestinian Occupied Territories, enjoy the same juridical status with an undifferentiated right to vote (Yiftachel, 2009).

The Jewish settlers in the West Bank are becoming more and more powerful, not only by controlling the geography of the West Bank, but also politically. They are substantially overrepresented in the Knesset (Parliament); the former Foreign Minister of Israel, Avigdor Lieberman is a settler. The purpose of such settlements is obviously colonial; to control as much land as possible and prevent the withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank area and thus halt the creation of a Palestinian state. Some organisations, such as Gush Emunim, claim that the purpose of the settlements is solely biblical and that they are intended to ensure the control of the Jewish nation over the land, where the Messiah will descend to earth.

8.2 The Effects of the Separation Barrier on the Education Sector

The biggest direct effect of the Separation Barrier on the education sector in East Jerusalem is the restriction of movement of teachers, students and resources. The inability of Jerusalem schools to benefit from the expertise of teachers from the West Bank has had a great effect on its schools. Getting permits for West Bank teachers is very difficult and the ones who do manage to get them are frequently absent or tardy, due to the logistical restrictions imposed by Israel on Palestinians commuting between Jerusalem and the West Bank. Of the many negative impacts this may have on students, the main one is a lack of instructional consistency from teachers. The number of teachers from the West Bank has decreased drastically. Jerusalem schools have lost many qualified and experienced staff due to this fact. The Barrier has also increased the transportation and traveling costs on teachers and students. According to the PCBS (2004), more than 8,500 students over the age of ten are reported as crossing the Wall on a daily basis, for educational purposes. Those are the ones that are able to make this journey to Jerusalem, many teachers and students stopped being able to do so.

“I had 300 girls in the orphanage, but when they closed off the Gaza Strip, girls couldn’t get here after the summer vacation, so we started asking foreign NGOs to help us bring in those girls, but it did not work. We only managed to bring two or three, so we lost 150 of our girls.”

When they closed off the West Bank, we lost more and now we only have 21 girls. So the orphanage, which is why this institution was opened, hardly functions now” (Principal at D Private School)

“Lack of qualified teachers is a problem in Jerusalem, in general, because we are deprived of qualified teachers from the West Bank and also people in Jerusalem who are qualified to work in NGOs do so because they pay better” (Principal at F Privates School)

“We suffer from the blockade of Jerusalem. We can’t hire anyone from the West Bank, because we can’t be sure if they (Israel) will give them a permit or not and this will disrupt the educational process. The biggest problem is to find a maths or science teacher” (Principal at I Private School)

There are still teachers who live in the West Bank and come to work in Jerusalem. Some of them are Jerusalem identity holders and some are not, but the number of the latter is reducing, due to the problems they face on a daily basis at the check points. This furthers Israel’s policy of cutting Jerusalem from its Palestinian periphery.

“The wall that they built around Jerusalem, dear God it is awful. The children and the teachers cannot get to school on time, they are always late. They come to school exhausted from waiting at the checkpoints. They get home late after school” (Science Teacher at RZ Private School)

“I moved here, because I used to take a taxi and get to the checkpoint at seven, but guess what time I would reach school? Nine! Can you imagine, two hours at the checkpoint every morning, and many times I would get to school at ten or even ten thirty sometimes. I reached school so tired and exhausted. OK. The principal understands, but still it’s exhausting for me and then after school I have another journey back home and when I get home all I think about is getting to school the next morning. I do not want to quit work, I love my job, I love teaching. So I simply moved, I left my house in the West Bank and rented another apartment in Jerusalem, and now I have to pay extra, so my salary goes to cover the rent and the expenses in Jerusalem” (English Teacher at RZ Private School)

“Well, getting permits for teachers is the biggest problem. Teachers come from Bethlehem, Beit Jala and Beit Sahour. They leave their homes at six in the morning and reach here very

exhausted and sometimes the checkpoint is too full at certain hours, so they close it and create a further problem for all the students, workers and teachers waiting to cross at the checkpoint”
(Principal at J Private School)

“We have this Wall and so many people cannot come to Jerusalem anymore. We have a problem getting permits, we have to beg and work hard to get those permits. We have 30 employees who need permits. I need also to get permits for some students, because they have to pass through checkpoints. Many girls quit because they suffer a lot at checkpoints. We have two buses coming from behind the Wall and most of the students on these buses have residency permits, but live outside Jerusalem. I do not accept new students from the West Bank anymore, I say to them it’s too much suffering, but I keep the ones we already have” (Principal at R private school)

“Another thing that exhausted us financially and academically in 1996 was when the occupying power stopped West Bankers from entering Jerusalem, back then we had over 28 teachers with West Bank IDs and they were very good and qualified teachers. They couldn’t come to Jerusalem, but we couldn’t close up the school, so we hired more teachers and we paid for both the teachers at home, in addition to the new teachers. When it got worse we told the West Bank teachers, that they should find other jobs. What else can we do? We can’t afford it. Teachers used to jump over the walls, or go through sewage canals. They used to get exhausted by having to leave their homes at five in the morning, to get here on time. They used to go through long detours to get to school. We couldn’t just say to them “Goodbye, we don’t need you anymore”, as they have spent years working at this school” (Principal at D private School)

The restriction on people’s movement has mainly affected women. The PCBS (2004), in its study on the effects of the Wall on Palestinian life, interviewed 695 households living east of the Barrier and 195 households living west of the Barrier. They discovered that the movement of 87% of the women in the sample were restricted by the Barrier. The reduced ability for women to move is particularly harmful for female students, who need to commute to their school or university. The study shows that the setback in women’s commute and educational attainment adds to the limitations women suffer from in the conservative Palestinian society.

The interviews with the principals at Jerusalem schools have also revealed an emerging phenomenon. This is that students are suffering from their parents forced separation, as Israel denies West Bank Identity holders to acquire the Jerusalem residency, another policy discussed in previous chapters, which is designed to control the demographics of the city, under the veil of security. Therefore, children are usually forced to spend a few days a week in Jerusalem and a few days a week with their other parent in the West Bank. Some parents risk breaking Israeli law and stay together in Jerusalem. Examples include women from the West Bank who are married to Jerusalem residents. These groups are “invisible” under the new spatial order created by the construction of the Barrier, and have found themselves imprisoned in their homes, without the ability to commute inside and outside Jerusalem in fear of being caught (Fenster and Schlomo 2011). The teachers and principals interviewed talked about those groups of parents who do not hold the Jerusalem residency permit and live invisible in Jerusalem deprived of all the social services provided by the city and denied the opportunity to work and move around the city freely, so mostly they remain confined to their homes, if they wish to remain living with their families. Otherwise, they are all forced to leave Jerusalem and live together in the West Bank. Many men in East Jerusalem refer to the “imprisonment” of their wives for fear that they may be arrested and forced to return to the West Bank (Fenster and Schlomo 2011).

The separation of families means increased household expenditure. In the PCB study (2004) they found that such living arrangements have had implications on family cohesion and gender roles. Many children will have little contact with their fathers and may be left on their own for long periods if the mother is working. There may also be an increase in divorce, because of the separation.

This Wall is suffocating us. Look at how many people changed their jobs and moved apartments. People in the West Bank think we are privileged, because we have the Jerusalem residency permits, but we are not, we are prisoners in Jerusalem, we can't live anywhere else, because we have to protect those permits. We can't work anywhere else, because we have to protect those permits” (English Teacher at F Private School)

Restrictions are not only limited to human resources, schools find it difficult to get books and school supplies from the nearby Palestinian towns and cities. Through the checkpoints at the

gates in the Wall, Israel controls everything that enters Jerusalem. This academic year 2011/2012, schools have had great difficulties transporting books from the West Bank, because there were strict orders by the Israeli Defense Forces to prevent the delivery of books from the West Bank to Jerusalem. Soldiers at the checkpoints prevented all the deliveries to schools, so school principals resorted to transporting books in small batches; hiding them under blankets and in suitcases. Some school principals in Jerusalem had to pay thousands of Shekels to smuggle books from Ramallah to Jerusalem. The purpose of those restrictions was to stop the Palestinian curriculum from getting to Jerusalem.

“It was as if we were smuggling drugs this year. The poor chauffeur had to keep the books with him all day and try different routes and different detours, but he didn’t manage to deliver them on time and so he took them home with him for several nights. Of course, this means additional costs” (Principal, NS Awqaf School)

“I am sending buses to get the Palestinian curriculum from the West Bank. I don’t know if they will let them pass. If the municipality tells us that you have to take the amended version of the curriculum, I will have to obey and take them, even if we keep them in storage. What can we do? We are stuck and we don’t know what to do” (Principal at R Private School)

This chapter has set out to explore the geopolitics of Jerusalem, it aimed to explore the effects of the political conflict on the educational sector in East Jerusalem. It has shown the reader how Israel has implemented an urban planning policy directed to ensure the political, geographical and economic hegemony of the Jewish ethnic nation in Jerusalem. The first part of the chapter focused on the separation by Israel of East Jerusalem from its Palestinian periphery. It showed that the reason behind this action by Israel is two-fold. It helps control the demographics in the city in favor of the Jewish nation and also ensures their political and economic hegemony in the city. This reflects the ethnocratic nature of the Israeli State and supports Yiftachel and Fenster (1997) study that argues that an ethnocratic state uses its policies to control ethnic minorities directly and indirectly, through territorial containment, socioeconomic deprivation and social exclusion. This chapter has shown how the policies of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality are designed solely to promote the welfare of the Jewish population, which supports arguments made earlier in this study that argue that Israeli policy is directed to deliberate “Judaization” of the city and to control the Palestinian community (Yiftachel, 1996). The state deliberately ignores the

planning and servicing of Palestinian areas, turning them into deprived and stigmatised areas (Yiftachel and Yacoubi, 2003).

The second part of this chapter focused specifically on the effects of the Separation Barrier on the education sector in East Jerusalem. It showed how the education sector in East Jerusalem suffered from the restriction of movement of teachers, students and resources. What was evidenced by interviews with teachers and principals from both private and public system schools was that the reality on the ground created by the Barrier placed a strain on travel between the West Bank and Jerusalem, forcing Palestinians who do not have the right documents to live invisible in the city or leave the city and live apart from their families in the West Bank. The theme of movement restriction constantly appeared in the interviews with the research participants. The restriction of movement of teachers, students and resources from the West Bank has affected the quality of the education the students receive. The deprivation of the expertise of the teachers of the West Bank has affected the quality of the staff available in Jerusalem. This chapter has shown the disregard of the Israeli State to the damage it has caused to Palestinian community in East Jerusalem. Since the annexation of East Jerusalem Israel has treated the Palestinian community as a “demographic threat”. This chapter has argued that the Israeli Government has been trying to create a demographic and geographic situation that may prevent any future attempt to challenge Israeli sovereignty over the city (B’Tselem, 2012). It has used its military might and economic power for the purpose of increasing the Jewish domination over the city (Yiftachel and Yacoubi, 2002).

The Consequences of Educational Inequality

This chapter will demonstrate how the structure of the education sector, the limited resourcing of the different educational systems and Israel's policies in East Jerusalem affect and influence the lives of the Palestinian residents of Jerusalem. It will discuss the outcomes of the education system in East Jerusalem; first in terms of access of Palestinian students' to higher education, and second in terms of employment opportunities in Jerusalem.

9.1 Unequal Access to Higher Education

The free education offered to Palestinian students is inadequate and so fails to equip them with the minimum of educational skills. As mentioned in the chapters above, the schools are overcrowded, ill resourced and ill staffed. The combination of these factors suffocates any hope of enabling the children to do well in school. They are not offered the kind of education that would enable them to think critically and take control of the course of their own learning.

Freire's (1970:58) describes this type of education as the "banking education", where the teacher is the narrator and the students memorise the content of the narration mechanically. The students are turned into "containers", into "receptacles" to be "filled" by the teacher, "the more completely she fills the receptacles, the better a teacher she is. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are". Freire (1970) explains that this is not a simple pedagogical failure; those children are being molded into becoming passive receptors of information. Their thought and critical thinking abilities are being nulled. The more those students are trained to mechanically memorise what the teachers narrates, the less they develop the critical consciousness, and the more they accept the passive role imposed on them and adapt to the world as it is. By this, education becomes a tool of domination, to make the students adapt to the occupation and be subordinate.

Gillborn (2008), in his explanation of educational inequality and racism, explains that achievement gaps between different ethnic groups reflect the inequalities in the educational

policies. He states that “Black kids don’t just *happen* to be expelled more than every other ethnic group. They don’t just *happen* to be overrepresented in the lowest ranked teaching groups and they don’t just *happen* to be the kids most likely to be entered for examinations where the highest pass grades are simply not available to them” Gilborn (2008:10).

Darling-Hammond (2004) also argues that achievement gaps between different ethnicities and races are a consequence of educational inequality. She gives a similar example; a group of African American high school students who were randomly placed in White and better funded schools. Compared to their comparable African American peers who remained in their original schools and were of equivalent income and initial academic attainment, the students who were able to attend the largely White and better-funded suburban schools, with access to more challenging curriculums and more qualified teachers, had better educational outcomes across many dimensions: they were substantially more likely to have the opportunity to take challenging courses, receive additional academic help, graduate on time, attend college and secure good jobs (Kaufman and Rosenbaum, 1992 cited in Darling-Hammond, 2004).

Palestinian students’ academic achievement levels are low by international standards. The scores of Palestinian students in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) are low. Palestine is in the lowest six scoring countries. In 2007, Palestinian schools scored 367 in mathematics (The highest score was 643 in Singapore) and 405 in science (The highest score was 607 in Germany). Israeli schools achieved considerably higher in both fields with 463 in mathematics and 468 in science (Alltinok, 2011). The low Palestinian results reflect the weakness in the education system in equipping students with the needed mathematical and scientific skills.

The school drop-out rate amongst Palestinian students in Jerusalem is very high, reaching 32% in 2011 (Hijazi, 2012). Hijazi found that the main reason behind school dropouts is the lack of a stimulating educational environment that encourages students to learn. Students stated that they lacked a sense of belonging to their schools and that they did not feel appreciated or respected by their peers and their teachers. The second recurrent reason in the study was the students’ feelings of failure in the educational system and their inability to achieve. The students’ comments shed light on the weaknesses and gaps in the education system in East Jerusalem and its inability to meet the needs of the students. All the combined problems in the education sector; the poor

quality of the school environment, poor qualifications of the teachers, rigid school programmes, lack of extracurricular activities and lack of support for disabled students, have all contributed to students' attrition, which is happening at very high rates in East Jerusalem.

Therefore, many students just quit school. For the academic year 2009/2010, statistics issued by Directorate of Education in Jerusalem, shows that the number of boys that quit Awqaf schools was 54 students between 8th and 12th grades, for the reason that they were "not interested in education".

Different figures were offered on the drop-out rate in East Jerusalem. However, due to the lack of coordination between the different systems, there are no accurate statistics on the drop-out rate in East Jerusalem.

"The statistics show that 50% of the students quit before they take the final exams, so only the good ones stay. That's why in Jerusalem we have a higher pass average in the Tawjihi, where our average is 67%, in comparison with 57.6% at the national level. But this is a deceptive number" (Sameer Jibreel, Head of the Jerusalem Directorate of Education)

The head of the counselling department at Awqaf schools Turman thinks that this is a big challenge. He says that for the primary level it is less of a problem. It starts in the eighth grade and by the time the students reach 12th grade half the students quit education. He believes that the statistics produced by the Palestinian Ministry of Education are not accurate.

"They say that the drop-out rate is 1% or 2%. In one of the years they gave us a prize, because the rate is so low. I laughed. The true statistics are huge and scary. I am not convinced that the drop out is 2% its not even 20%. It is even more than 35%. Lots of students enter first grade and twelve years later, they disappear from the system, so they never graduate. How do they disappear? Yes, the drop out is high" (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counselling Department)

Turman explains that the reasons behind drop-out rate for boys is that with the rigid system of education many do not do well and lose the desire to continue, so they leave and join the cheap labour force. As for the girls, the ones that do not do well in school quit and get engaged or married. For the academic year 2009/2010 the statistics issued by the Jerusalem Directorate of

Education, show that the number of girls at Awqaf schools that quit school, for the reason “early marriage and engagement” was 61 students, starting from 8th grade and going up to 12th grade.

Turman suggests that in some cases the problem is the school itself, as sometimes the principals force the students to quit. This was also mentioned in the study by Yair and Alyan on Education in East Jerusalem (2009:246), “some principals even admitted that few measures are taken to discourage dropouts after the tenth grade (the end of compulsory education), because dropouts allow more space for learning in cramped schools”.

“When the problem is the school principal, we try to move the child to another school. Sometimes it is difficult to solve the problem easily because the principal is old and has rigid thoughts and some principals are violent. I am telling you, the percentages that are presented in the papers about the drop-out rate are not true. In reality, the percentages are much higher” (Sameer Turman, Head of the Counselling Department)

Students also feel intimidated by the final exam, because they have to get very high marks in order to be able to enroll in Palestinian universities. The only two universities that accept students with averages less than 70% are Al Quds University, which is not recognised by the Israeli Ministry of Education and the Al Quds Open University.

“Our children find it very difficult to know what to do after they finish school. There are many Israeli colleges that accept students with low averages, but those colleges are not that good. The Hebrew University takes only high achievers and requires them to pass many difficult exams and even when the student does, he has to do two preparatory years. As it costs so much, we cannot possibly afford it. Al Quds University, which is affordable is not recognised by Israel, so what can we do?” (Mother and Teacher, BA in Arabic literature, Teacher at NP Awqaf School)

Other statistics on drop-outs in East Jerusalem were offered by Lara Limbariki, the head of Palestinian education in the municipality, who said in the interview that 40% of Palestinian students do not finish their secondary education and there are no remedial programmes to prevent those students from dropping out.

One of the reasons for such a high drop-out rate was the actual lack of schools. The municipality does not build enough secondary schools to accommodate the increasing number of students and

the other systems do not have the authority in Jerusalem to build schools and so many students cannot find a place in the education sector.

“We do not have a single female secondary school in our neighbourhood. We have demanded several times that the municipality should build us one, because as you know this is a difficult time and we do not want our daughters to go through a long journey to get to school. That’s why many parents keep their daughters at home once they finish their elementary education” (Ahmad, Member at Al Burtoqal Parents’ Committee)

“We do not have a single secondary school in our area, neither for boys nor for girls. They have to go elsewhere to find a school, but unfortunately the schools in all the other areas prefer to admit students who live in that same area, so this means that our children get left out. Another reason is that our children have a bad reputation, so no one wants to take them” (Omar, Member of Al Laymoun Parents’ Committee)

The lack of secondary schools in several Palestinian neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem is a major problem, especially in conservative neighbourhoods, where they do not want to send their girls outside the village on a daily basis in order to get to school. Two Parents’ Committees have complained that they have been asking the municipality for several years to build them secondary schools, at least for the girls in their neighbourhood, but all their attempts ended in failure.

Members of Issawieh Parents’ Committee said that in their neighbourhood, according to Israeli statistics, there are 12,400 people, but in reality there are many more than this, as many houses are built without licenses and not a single secondary school is built for boys or girls. They have been in contact with the municipality about this issue for years. They have sent several letters and had several meetings with people from Manchi, but up to this date nothing has been done. The committee was convinced that if there was a secondary school in their area more girls would continue their education. Members of Thory Committee said that around 300 students graduate from the elementary level in their neighbourhood, but only 20 manage to pass at the final matriculation level. They believe that if they had secondary schools in their neighbourhood they could monitor them and so have more students passing the final exams.

Some parents have reached the conclusion that the denial of such a basic right is an intended policy to keep their children uneducated. Some have said that this is a collective punishment to Palestinians for living in this area. The Parents' Committees interviewed also complained that simple "approved" projects get postponed indefinitely until the funding is transferred to other projects, in other areas. For instance, in one of the neighbourhoods, a sports hall was supposed to be renovated and after much delay the committee complained to Manchi. They were told that the Israeli contractor was afraid to enter a Palestinian neighbourhood. The parents were very frustrated, because they thought that Manchi should not hire a contractor who is afraid of Palestinian neighbourhoods to work on a project in a Palestinian neighbourhood.

Limbariki commented that the reason behind not building secondary schools in certain neighbourhoods is the lack of space and they also give priority to building primary schools, because a small child cannot travel to go to school in another neighbourhood, whereas a student in a high school can easily travel. She also said that they try to build secondary schools between neighbourhoods so that all the students from the different neighbourhoods can go to those schools, such as the Mamounieh school for girls, which is in the centre of Jerusalem and serves all the neighbourhoods surrounding the city centre, as does the Rashidieh Secondary School for Boys.

Another cause for dropouts is the dire economic situation in East Jerusalem, which has over 78% of East Jerusalemites living under the poverty line (Alyan, et al. 2012). Students are forced to leave school and work to support their families, especially when their fathers are in Israeli jails, due to political involvements. Hijazi's (2012) study revealed that dropout occurs mostly at the tenth grade. Male students may have to give way to financial and social pressures, and so are forced to leave school, in order to find jobs as unskilled labourers in West Jerusalem to support their families. Females tend to dropout for engagement and marriage purposes, as this lifts their financial burden off their families. At the three systems providing free education (UNRWA, Awqaf and municipality), the principals and the teachers complained that some parents encourage their children to drop out at an early age to join the labour market.

There are many indicators that the number of students categorised as NEET (Not in Education, Employment or Training) are increasing. None of the four systems that offer education for Palestinian students in Jerusalem, offer any meaningful programmes to combat drop-out. They

do not even have the proper statistics to indicate the magnitude of the problem. According to the interviews with the heads of the Awqaf, municipal and UNRWA systems, there are very limited programmes for students who are interested in vocational training and so most of those students end up working in hazardous and unstable low-income jobs. The Palestinians, who had their education sabotaged by the first and second Intifadas (Palestinian uprisings 1987-1993, and 2000- 2005) are now the parents of the students living under occupation in East Jerusalem and are subject to ethnic policies that further sabotage their children's education and so the cycle of depravation continues.

“There are many temptations for the boys to leave school and work, once they turn 16. Boys in 10th and 11th grades go to work in the holidays and when they come back to school they seem uninterested. They get the same salaries as their parents, working as waiters and cleaners. So they think, why bother with education, what am I going to be in the future, a teacher? So you can see this mentality leads to the students dropping out. That's why East Jerusalem is academically the worst governorate in the country” (Fawaz, Deputy Principal, R Secondary Municipal School)

“Today the student can start working in 10th grade, as they can leave school then. Students have become rebellious. They think that they can easily disobey the authority at home and at school, because they know they can any minute start working and provide for themselves. They don't take studying seriously. They face a dilemma at a very early age, thinking, what do I do? Finish my education or just quit and start working and providing for myself?” (Munir, Arabic Teacher, R Secondary Municipal School)

Students who leave school at an early age have plenty of opportunities to earn money in the “black market”, as one of the teachers called it. This market is very attractive to young boys, who want to be independent and provide for their families, while running away from the dull school experience, which they believe that the schools provide. Children can also see that their elder siblings, who quit school, have managed to find jobs in West Jerusalem, get a good salary, gain independence from the family and in some cases even control the family; whereas those who chose to stay in school, are a burden on their family. Parents, also find it difficult to provide their children with a positive stimulating learning environment at home.

“We understand that Palestinians go through a lot of hardship, but still this does not justify parents’ neglect of their children. We cannot blame everything on the occupation; some parents just neglect their children. When one parent supports 10 children, he stays at work all day and simply doesn’t have the time to pay attention to the children. When the children reach the age of 16, they leave school and start helping their fathers to support the family. Some students were good at school, but they had to quit and help their fathers” (Fawaz, Deputy Principal, RS Municipal School)

“A child came to see me, because he’s facing trouble with his family. He worked in the holiday and his parents depended on him. He was at work till three in the morning. He came to me and he said that he wanted to study. He wore his uniform and got out his schoolbag and said that he wanted to finish his education, but his parents are pressuring him to quit. The economic situation in the old city is very difficult and so people send their children to work at an early age” (Principal AT Awqaf Secondary School)

The teachers interviewed said that the students suffer a lot from economic problems. Many of the students are noted on files held by the Social Services, because a very high percentage of them live in poverty. Principals interviewed also said that many of the students cannot attend school trips, because they cannot afford it.

“I swear to God, that one year, I won’t say the boy’s name, but he used to wait for the students to leave their sandwiches and look around to see if someone could see him and then he used to eat those leftover sandwiches. There is so much suffering here” (Maths Teacher at BA Municipal School)

“You see children searching in rubbish bins for things to sell and get money. The occupation pushes the children to become ignorant. The children throw stones at soldiers recklessly and then they are sent to jail for weeks or months and their education gets interrupted and so they drop out. If you come here in the middle of the day you will see the children in the streets doing nothing, without even a job, because they all have filed charges. This is a disaster for society, a disaster” (Firas, Member of Al Burtoqal Parents’ Committee)

Many students from the Silwan area are in jail, due to problems with the settlers in the area. One of the schools had a hundred students involved in problems with the Israeli soldiers or the

settlers, some were constantly in and out of jail and some were deported from the neighbourhood, due to problems with the settlers. Principals complained that when a child's schooling is disrupted a lot during the school year, students find it difficult to catch up with their schoolmates and so many of them drop out. This is never the case in West Jerusalem.

According to the head of secondary Israeli education in the municipality, they do not have to face the problem of drop-outs.

“The problem of drop out amongst Israeli students is not bad, because we have programmes to combat it. We have special schools for those who want to drop out, to keep them out of the streets. The schools have a smaller number of students. They get special programmes and sometimes they have vocational training. Some children get the chance to study three days a week and work the rest and train. Those are of course governmentally funded schools. We have eight schools like this in Jerusalem. The Counsellors in the schools support the students and direct them to the school that suits them” (Hava Bar Tour, Director of Israeli Secondary Education at Manchi)

Even when Palestinian Jerusalemite students manage to graduate from school with high averages, they face massive challenges in enrolling in higher education. They either enroll in Palestinian Universities, which means going through checkpoints at the Separation Barrier gates, on a daily basis and changing transportations several times to get to their universities in the West Bank. Otherwise, they have to find accommodation in the West Bank, which not everyone can afford. After graduating from the Palestinian Universities, they find it almost impossible to penetrate the Israeli labour market so that again they find themselves working in the West Bank and risk losing their Jerusalem residency permits.

Their other option is to enroll in Israeli Universities, where they have to do an array of exams which include the psychometric exams, a combined aptitude and personality test that has been criticised as culturally biased (Cook, 2010). They have to do an additional preparatory year to master the Hebrew language and they have to pay the steep prices of Israeli Universities, because they are excluded from all the scholarships and support granted to Israeli students, based on their participation in the Israeli army (Cook, 2010).

According to Adalah's Inequality Report (2011:27), Palestinian students are dramatically underrepresented in Israel's institutes of higher education. In 2006/2007, 9.1% of Jewish citizens in Israel aged 20-29 were students at those universities, compared to 3.8% of Palestinian citizens in the State of Israel. The report links Palestinians' poor admission to Israeli universities to their inability to meet the requirements for entering university, due to their poor schooling and their lack of preparation for higher education.

Some students who come from wealthier backgrounds can afford to study abroad, but when they come back to the city they must receive official Israeli certification or licensing, which are given after taking additional courses and passing supplementary examinations. Therefore, many choose to either take low income professions, that do not require Israeli certification, or they look for employment in the West Bank and face the troubles of crossing through the Separation Barrier on a daily basis, or they might leave Jerusalem all together and live in the West Bank and so lose their Jerusalem Residency Permit. The loss of this permit also occurs if they work abroad.

Palestinian children can see that perusing their education is a hard and expensive journey, which may not lead them, in the end, to finding good jobs and a better life.

"Once we did in class, an activity called "Future Careers". No one said that they wanted to be a doctor or an engineer or a teacher. Why? Because there is a new trend in the society here, that it is better to leave school and work. One of the boys said to me, why should I bother with education and go to college and waste years on education, when my brother left school and now he is making 5,000 NIS (£898) a month. It is as simple as that, you leave school and you work. For Arab, especially those sorts of jobs are open and available. When I was a student I used to work and study and I never saw an Israeli of my age working in those jobs (Low income jobs as cleaners and workers on construction sites)" (Music Teacher at BA Municipal School)

"There are many pressures on the students, political and social and so there are many broken families. Most of the girls come from the old city, where housing is overcrowded, and there is no privacy. You feel that the girls are always tense and I see year after year, that the girls are not motivated and not interested in education. I compare this with our schools in Bethlehem and Ramallah. I see that more girls there graduate, get high grades and are motivated, whereas in

Jerusalem, especially in the old city, the girls are not interested and are not motivated. They are pressured and tensed and trapped” (Principal at J Private School)

Palestinian youths in Jerusalem are also well aware that a degree will not provide them with a high paying job in the Israeli society. They can see that many graduates of Palestinian and Arab Universities are unemployed and struggling to make a living.

“There are obvious policies in East Jerusalem that aim at keeping our children uneducated. A Palestinian student spends four years studying at Al Quds University and then stays at home unemployed, because Israel does not recognise the university. He sees that an Israeli student can spend one year in one of those Israeli institutions, get a diploma and then find a Job immediately. So Palestinian students think why bother with education, why bother with a bachelor degree?” (Lamia, member of Al Tufah Parents’ Committee)

“The students know that education will not provide them with what they need later in life. They know, for instance that if one studies engineering he will end up in a low paid job somewhere in an Israeli company. They know that their chances in life are limited, so they are discouraged. They know that their education will not pay off in the end, and so why waste time on education?” (History Teacher, RS Municipal School)

9.2 Unequal Job Opportunities

According to Hirsman and Lee (2004), the single most important predictor of good jobs and high income is higher education. They say that college graduates have average earnings 70% higher than those of high school graduates. They explain also that with such wide income gaps between those who hold degrees and those who do not, research on social stratification and economic gaps in society should start with the determinants of schooling and in particular on the transition from high school to college.

The sabotage of the schooling of Palestinian children hinders their ability to finish their secondary education and enroll in colleges. Even when they do manage to overcome all the obstacles and obtain a college degree they find it difficult to secure steady employment in underdeveloped East Jerusalem. They also find it very difficult to penetrate the ethnically stratified Israeli Labour Market (Mazawi, 1995, Kraus & Hodge 1990). The employment

mobility of the Palestinian graduates has a very low ceiling in Israel (Sinai, 2004). Palestinian graduates in East Jerusalem, can only exploit their potential in the Palestinian society, which is underdeveloped. Most of them work in the West Bank and they are forced to cross checkpoints and roadblocks on a daily basis. When they work in the West Bank, they are forced also to pay taxes to both the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli Municipality. Even when Palestinians find a Job in the Israeli labour market, there are income gaps between the Palestinian worker and the Israeli worker.

Israeli employers prefer to employ graduates of Israeli institutions who speak fluent Hebrew. According to Mazawi (1995), several surveys undertaken since the early 1960s reveal that Palestinian graduates face consistent occupational distress in the State of Israel. Even Palestinians who graduate from Israeli institutions and speak fluent Hebrew are compelled to enter positions below the level of their educational achievement, with a lower status and a lower income. Mazawi (1995) explains that Palestinians who manage to enter the Israeli labour market earn wages relatively less than those earned by their Israeli counterparts, in each of the economic sectors. In Jerusalem, the average salary of an Israeli worker is NIS 42.4 (£7.6) per hour, while Palestinian workers earn an average of just NIS 30 (£5.4) (Sinai, 2004). Okun and Friedlander (2005:165) say that Israeli Jews are over-represented in higher-status occupations and are more likely to be employed in professional, scientific and managerial positions, while Palestinians especially men are over-represented in skilled and unskilled manual occupations. This was confirmed in Adalah's inequality report (2011), which shows that Palestinians are underrepresented in all the fields of work, except construction work and unskilled labour, where they are overrepresented, while Israeli Jews are clustered in managerial positions and business activities.

According to Alyan et al. (2012), 40% of the male Palestinian population and 85% of the female Palestinian population in Jerusalem do not participate in the labour market. The report says that Palestinians in East Jerusalem suffer from chronic unemployment and those who work full-time jobs do not always receive appropriate rewards and many must settle for minimum wage or sub-minimum wage salaries. Unemployment in East Jerusalem is a very big problem; however, the figures might be exaggerated. Alyan et al. (2012) acquired those numbers from the Jerusalem Municipality statistics. None of the Palestinian East Jerusalemites, who live in Jerusalem and

work in the West Bank, admit this to the authorities, because they might risk losing their residency permits, therefore they are registered as unemployed. Given the political problems in East Jerusalem, statistics should be studied with caution.

Alyan et. al. (2012), in their study stated that the gravity of the situation in East Jerusalem is the product of Israeli policies. The isolation of Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank, has affected the Job Market in the city. They stated that more than 5,000 Palestinian businesses in Jerusalem have closed their doors since 1999. All were due to Israeli restrictions imposed on Palestinians under the claim of “security” and “protecting the Israeli citizens”. Disruption of free passage created by the Separation Barrier and the ongoing global economic crisis all contributed to a severe recession in East Jerusalem's tourism industry, both foreign and domestic (Alyan et. al., 2012). Jerusalem's unstable political situation and the massive bureaucratic demands made by the Jerusalem Municipality have deterred many investors from setting up new business ventures in East Jerusalem and so East Jerusalem remains economically underdeveloped, with very few job opportunities for its residents (Alyan et. al., 2012).

Palestinian citizens in the State of Israel face the same problem with employment opportunities. Adalah (2011) found that out of the forty Israeli towns with the highest unemployment rates, thirty six are Palestinian and that while the unemployment rate in Israel for 2008 was 7.3%, it was 10.9% amongst the Palestinians living in Israel. From those figures, one can see that the problem with Palestinian Jerusalemites is not their status as residents and not citizens, but it is an ethnic problem.

Mazawi (1995) believes that even an increase in Palestinian university graduates would not necessarily lead to increased social mobility, nor would it lessen socioeconomic disparities between Palestinians and Jews in Israel. He points out that Israeli universities continuously produce Palestinian graduates, whose integration in the ethnically stratified Israeli labour market is very difficult. This mismatch between education-occupation frustrates educated Palestinians and even decreases the motivation of the next generation to enroll in higher education. He maintains that within an ethnically stratified labour market, university education loses its appeal as a privileged channel for social mobility. The Israeli labour-market does not only contribute to the reproduction of economic inequalities between various social groups, but it also exerts a differential impact on the readiness of subordinate groups to undertake university studies, by

lowering their perceived anticipated economic returns from university education and university credentials (Mazawi, 1995).

Going back to the literature on educational exclusion mentioned in chapter one, it can be said that Palestinian Jerusalemites do, in fact, face the three major areas of educational exclusion mentioned by Sayed (2009:25) which are: 1) restricted physical access to schools, a result of lack of enough classrooms and schools, 2) low quality education, leading to poor achievement levels and high drop-out rates and 3) segregated labour market that does not absorb graduates, which frustrates educational motivation. This exclusion has devastating consequences on the Palestinian society. It has led to Palestinian children dropping out of school at three times the rate of Jewish children (Coursen-Neff, 2009:791). They are less likely to pass the national matriculation exams for a high school diploma, meaning that few will end up with a university degree. This explains why they remain clustered in low-income jobs.

This chapter has set out to show the effects of Israel's exclusionary policies on the Palestinian community of East Jerusalem. What was found was that the free education offered to Palestinian students is inadequate and so fails to equip them with the minimum of educational skills that will enable them to compete for places in higher education and in the labour market.

On the first level and as a result of the difficult circumstances they face at schools, Palestinian school students either drop-out in favour of finding a job or they finish school and find themselves faced with difficulties enrolling in higher education; the reasons being that it is hard to get accepted by an Israeli university and unaffordable as they are not privy to financial aid granted on the participation in the Israeli military services, that is granted to their Israeli counterparts. In addition, if they are accepted by universities in the West Bank, they are faced with checkpoints and extra commuting expenses. On the second level, even if they manage to graduate from university, Palestinians are faced with an underdeveloped East Jerusalem economic market that has little work opportunities, or an ethnically stratified Israeli labour market that is difficult to penetrate for Palestinians. As the previous chapters of this study show, educational exclusion manifested in lack of accessibility to quality educational services hinders the Palestinian abilities to compete with their Israeli counterparts in higher education and in the labour market, similar to the case of the Bantu education of Blacks in Apartheid South Africa,

where the state used the educational system to hinder the Blacks social mobility to ensure White dominance and hegemony (Seidman, 1999).

Even when Palestinians do find a job in the Israeli labour market, it was found that they earn wages relatively less than those earned by their Israeli counterparts in each of the economic sectors (Sinai, 2004). This is similar to the Case of African Americans before the 1960's. Ogbu (1997) explains that an exclusionary practice that severely damaged the motivation of young African Americans to pursue education was the denial of equal rewards with Whites for their educational accomplishments through a job ceiling and related barriers, which may have forced some to seek self-advancement through non-academic routes.

Educational exclusion discussed in chapter one which is manifested in lack of enough school buildings and school facilities and low quality education (Sayed, 2009), results in the inability of the excluded students to compete in higher education and in the labour market. As mentioned earlier in this study, social exclusion becomes self-perpetuating; lack of occupational opportunities depress the educational motivation of the next generation which lead to poor educational outcomes and thus limit job opportunities for the next generation and the cycle continues (Barry, 1998). This chapter has shown the result of Israel's exclusion of Palestinians in East Jerusalem. The deprivation of proper social services to the community has resulted in a huge socio-economic gap between Israel's and Palestinians. This reflects the argument made throughout this thesis, that Israel is an ethnocratic state that excludes the Palestinian community in the aim of disempowering them and to ensure a Jewish hegemony over the city of Jerusalem.

Conclusion

This thesis has set out to study the provision of the right to education in the context of ethnic conflict. It started by discussing education as a social right and as a prerequisite for people's participation in society. The right to education is essential for the realisation of civil and political rights, which are designed to be used by educated intelligent people. Education is also considered an economic right as it facilitates self-sufficiency through employment. It is a vehicle for social mobility and advancement in society. In fact in this high-tech world, literacy and education is very crucial to ensure people's well-being and participation. It is also an investment by the government that yields economic returns for the nation; by educating the citizens the government ensures that people support themselves instead of becoming a burden on public resources. Given the importance of education for both the individual and the state, educational policies can be used as a tool of both social inclusion and exclusion.

In the context of ethnic conflict, manipulating education services has been used as a tool to exclude and disempower populations; examples include Bantu education in Apartheid South Africa. Education was used by the state to channel Black South Africans to labouring jobs under the hegemony of the Whites. The exclusivist White government limited the resource distribution to Black schools, resulting in Black students receiving one-tenth of the funding. Students were forced to study in unhealthy poor school environments, with much higher student-teacher ratio, poor teacher training and unsuitable programs and curriculum. This deprivation in the educational services hampered students' chances in enrolling in higher education, disabling them from securing higher paying and more prominent jobs. This structure of unjust social service provision to the people residing under this exclusivist government system, results in the continuous dominance of the favoured ethnic group.

Ideally in a liberal democratic state social service provision is indifferent to peoples' ethnicities and religions and is distributed to people equally without any political agendas. Educational policies in such societies are directed to ensure egalitarianism, equal provision of educational services to all citizens and residents, educating the citizens and residents on the importance of voting and participating in decision making and teaching them to evaluate the laws and the leaders that implement them (Peleg, 2004).

This study discusses the case of the State of Israel. Israel views itself as the only democracy in the Middle East. However, many Palestinian and Israeli scholars have argued that Israel's definition as a Jewish State, contradicts the concept of democracy. Israel's well documented violations of the civil, political and social rights of its non-Jewish citizens and residents also shed doubt on its self-definition as a democracy.

Yiftachel and Ghanem (2004) argued that ethnicity and not citizenship forms the main basis for resource and power allocation in Israel, only partial rights and capabilities are extended to minorities. Yiftachel (2002) maintained that Israel's occupation of Palestinian Territory and controlling Palestinians directly and indirectly without giving the Palestinians the chance to participate in the voting of the government that controls them is a strike contradiction to democratic ideals. This study by reflecting on Israel's policies in East Jerusalem supports Yitachel's definition of Israel as an ethnocratic state. It also adds to the earlier literature that demonstrated Israel's political ideology and its policies that are in favour of the Jewish ethnicity (Yiftachel 1996, 2003, 2006, Al Haj, 2002, Ghanem, 1998, 2002, Yiftachel and Ghanem, 2004, Rouhana, 2006, McGahern, 2010, Roy, 2012).

Under international law East Jerusalem is considered to be Occupied Palestinian Territory. Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem was never recognised by the international community. This study has shown how Israel's policies towards Palestinians in Jerusalem violate their civil, political and social rights. They are directed to disempower them, by restricting their movement, placing restrictions on their building and development, manipulating laws to prevent Palestinian family unification, silencing Palestinian and Arab culture in the city, limiting the investment in Palestinian neighbourhoods and isolating Jerusalem from its Palestinian periphery. These policies are directed so as to ensure a Jewish Israeli majority in the city and so that the Palestinians remain dependent on, and under the control of the Jewish Israelis.

Some Israeli scholars argue that Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are not excluded from the state services. They voluntarily boycott municipal institutions and they self-exclude themselves from the Israeli society. Barry (1998) argues that voluntary social exclusion is equal to imposed social exclusion, in the sense that an individual, or the members of a group, may withdraw from

participation in the wider society, because they have experienced hostility and discrimination. This study, by reflecting on Israel's policies in East Jerusalem has proven Barry's conception of exclusion true. The State of Israel, in its relation to the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, has a deep-rooted policy of discrimination, which is institutionalised by the state, through its bureaucratic institutions.

This study contributes to literature reflecting on Israel as an ethnocratic state by focusing on Israel's ethnocratic educational policies in East Jerusalem. It presents a comprehensive description of the education sector in East Jerusalem, with its four different conflicting systems. It goes a step further, to include Israeli schools, in order to draw comparisons between the municipal schools serving Palestinian and Israeli students. The study's originality also stems from its capturing and presenting how Palestinians (administrators, teachers, parents) interpret and understand the experience of engagement with the educational system in East Jerusalem. Finally, it demonstrates how Israel's unequal distribution of services is a direct policy to control and expel the Palestinians from the city.

The researcher has adopted a qualitative research strategy in this study, because it captures the effects of discriminatory policies aimed at the Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem from their own perspectives. This research strategy gave the participants the chance to give detailed descriptions of their realities, from their own point of view and in their own words. For instance, in the focus groups conducted, parents and teachers discussed a lot of the issues that concerned them, like the quality of education their children are receiving, their limited access to education, the educational programs offered and their children's future prospects and employment opportunities. The groups also reflected on how life is under occupation in East Jerusalem, with a focus on issues such as housing, social services, commute, identity and employment opportunities. They expressed deep frustration from the conflict they live in, because every aspect of their lives is politicised.

Several themes were deduced from the empirical data gathered. These included Israel's failure to fulfill its duty under both international law and Israeli law in providing Palestinians with quality education. The findings evidenced the large deficiencies in Israel's provision of educational services, to the Palestinian residents, both in terms of access and quality. The study showed that

the fragmented structure of the education sector in East Jerusalem is caused and perpetuated by the political conflict in the city.

Israel places many restrictions on Palestinian institutions offering educational services such as the Awqaf, UNRWA and unrecognised private schools. The restrictions include, preventing Palestinian educational institutions from expanding and building more classrooms, preventing West Bank teachers from entering Jerusalem, restricting access of resources to Jerusalem, restricting students and teachers commute in and out of Jerusalem, imposing high taxes and fines on Palestinian educational institutions, not recognising and undermining degrees of Palestinian academic institutions. These restrictions and the lack of cooperation between the Palestinian and Israeli Ministries of Education harm and fragment the education sector in East Jerusalem. The lack of recognition and lack of collaboration between the Palestinian and Israeli ministries means lack of reliable data and statistics; it also means lack of strategic planning and meaningful interventions to develop the education sector in East Jerusalem.

The second theme in the empirical findings included the stark contrast between services provided to the Palestinians and the Israelis in the city. The study has dedicated two chapters to reflect on the resourcing of the education system in terms of school buildings and environments, human resources and school programs. It has clearly demonstrated the different and unequal funds and support systems available to the Palestinians and Israelis in the city. This is the heart of ethnocracy, when the resource distribution is dictated by ethnicity, with the dominant ethnic nation receiving the lion's share of resources.

Palestinian Jerusalemites suffer from the three areas of educational exclusion. The first form of exclusion is their restricted physical access to schools due to lack of classrooms. The second form of exclusion they suffer from is that the quality of education they receive is poor and does not serve their needs. Therefore, their achievement levels are poor and primary and secondary education retention is low. The third problem is that even when those students earn their degrees they find it difficult to penetrate the labour market in the ethnic state that excludes them and so they become clustered in low paid employment. Lowenberg and Kaempfer (1998) state that

historically educational exclusion has often served as an important mechanism for collective discrimination. This is reflected in the Jerusalem context.

The study has also shown that the problem of access to educational institutions is not just limited to the primary and the secondary levels. Palestinian Jerusalemite students also go through massive restrictions in enrolling in higher education. If they want to enroll in Israeli Universities they have to pass an array of exams and do an additional preparatory year to master the Hebrew language. They also have to pay the steep prices of Israeli universities, because they are excluded from all the scholarships and support granted to Israeli students, based on their participation in the Israeli army (Cook, 2010). Their poor schooling also does not prepare them to compete with Israeli students for places in Israeli universities. This explains why they are dramatically underrepresented in Israel's institutes of higher education.

Enrollment in Palestinian Universities is also a problem because it means the students have to go through checkpoints at the Separation Barrier gates, on a daily basis, and change transportations several times to get to their universities in the West Bank. Some students who come from wealthier backgrounds can afford to study abroad, but when they come back to the city they must receive official Israeli certification or licensing, which are given after taking additional courses and passing supplementary examinations. Therefore, many choose to either take low income professions, that do not require Israeli certification, or they look for employment in the West Bank.

Another societal practice used by ethnocentric states to control the weaker ethnicities and curb their educational motivation is placing job ceilings and related employment barriers on them thus forcing them to seek self-advancement through non-academic routes. Palestinians Jerusalemites employment mobility has a very low ceiling in the Israeli Jewish society. Palestinians find it hard to penetrate the Israeli labour market. This forces Palestinian Jerusalemites to find jobs in under-developed East Jerusalem or go to the West Bank. All those problems have resulted in high unemployment rates in East Jerusalem.

Israel's restrictions on Palestinian educational institutions cannot be justified; it will only destroy the Palestinian community and thus fuel more social and political problems in the city, which

will affect the security of both the Palestinian and the Israeli populations in Jerusalem. Therefore, as long as the conflict persists, all the sectors in East Jerusalem will remain in their dire status quo, not just the education sector.

The findings in this study demonstrate how differed negotiations on the status of Jerusalem and the restrictions placed on the Palestinian Authority and its institutions from functioning in East Jerusalem has affected the social fabric of the city. Since the annexation of East Jerusalem, Israel has shifted borders, implanted Jewish settlements, transformed whole Palestinian neighbourhoods into ones with overcrowded homes, reduced land allotments and reduced essential services, with what appears to be the Israeli aim of ensuring Jewish hegemony over the city and preventing any chance of returning East Jerusalem to the Palestinians. Dumper and Pullman (2010:34) stressed in their study that if the negotiations over Jerusalem are differed further, this will not only destroy the fabric of the city as an urban entity, but will also render the prospect of a negotiated sharing of the city unfeasible.

The international community should interfere to pressure the current Israeli and Palestinian governments to reach a political solution regarding East Jerusalem. The Israeli government should also be held accountable for its violations of Palestinian civil, political and social rights. When a political solution is reached, educational reform will make sense in the Jerusalem context. Thinking about educational reform in this political chaos will not have a big impact on the education sector. Examples of educational reform include raising the standards of the teaching professions. Educational reform starts by boosting the teachers' qualifications and training before they enter the schools. As stressed in this study, the teachers are the number one factor in improving the quality of education. According to Darling-Hammond (1990) this can be achieved by professionalising teaching, by raising the overall knowledge base for the occupation, thus improving the quality of educational services. It can be done by strengthening the teaching profession through boosting teachers' salaries and incentives, thus attracting more qualified human resources, also investing in the education faculties at Palestinian Universities and improving the overall school environment will attract more qualified teachers, as well as more qualified school principals.

However, even if Palestinian Universities do invest in education faculties and do assessment tests and training requirements for teachers before they enter the schools and even if they do indeed manage to produce well qualified human resources, access to Jerusalem for these teachers is not guaranteed and even restricted if they hold West Bank identities. Another suggestion for improving the infrastructure of the schools in East Jerusalem is to channel funds to build more schools or renovate and expand the existing ones. However, as long as the municipality restricts building and development in East Jerusalem, little can be done to improve the infrastructure.

This study has reflected the gravity of Israel's educational policies on the Palestinian community in Jerusalem. It has presented people's cries of frustration verbatim. This study stresses the importance of intervention, by the international community, to protect and safeguard the Palestinian residents under occupation. The international community should pressure both the Municipality of Jerusalem and the Israeli government to remove the restrictions placed on the Palestinians, which range from restrictions on building and commute, to their severe attack on Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem. This study also stresses the importance of the role of the Palestinian Ministry of Education in East Jerusalem. The ministry should be allowed to have a bigger role in the education sector in East Jerusalem. However, as long as the current political status quo remains, Palestinian institutions will remain fragmented and the Palestinian community will remain subordinate and disempowered.

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Appendix I

Interview Guide for interviews with Principals

- How long have you been working at this school?
 - How many students do you have? Which grades? How many classrooms do you have?
 - Can you describe the school's physical environment in terms of facilities and classrooms?
 - What about the school budget? What are the sources of income? Is it sufficient?
 - How many teachers do you have? How is the hiring process?
 - Do you have all the specializations you need at the school, in terms of human resources (Arabic, English, Math, etc.)?
 - Do you offer extracurricular activities?
 - Do you have a school counsellor? What is the scope of his/her work?
 - Do you turn away students? what is the reason behind that?
 - Do you have any criteria for accepting students at the school?
 - Is there a difference between schools in East Jerusalem and schools in West Jerusalem?
 - How is your relationship with the office of education at the Municipality (Manchi)? (this question differed according to the system each principal interviewed worked in)
 - What is the dropout rate at your school? Do you have any programs to combat drop out?
 - Do you have a parents' committee at the school?
 - Is there something else you would like to talk about?
-
- What year were you born?
 - Do you have children?
 - To which school do you send them?
 - Which school did you go to? so what do you think of it as a school?
 - What did you specialize in?