TEACHING COLONIAL HISTORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AMONG PALESTINIAN STUDENTS IN ISRAEL

Resisting Colonisation Through Student Activism

Ibrahim Makkawi

CODESRIA

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS ASSOCIATES
IDEAs
www.networkideas.org

CLACSO

TEACHING COLONIAL HISTORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AMONG PALESTINIAN STUDENTS IN ISRAEL

South-South Program

TEACHING COLONIAL HISTORY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AMONG PALESTINIAN STUDENTS IN ISRAEL

RESISTING COLONISATION THROUGH STUDENT ACTIVISM

IBRAHIM MAKKAWI

CLACSO 🎴 50 YEARS

Latin American Council of Social Sciences

The works published in this book are subject to a system of evaluation by pairs, which ensures the commitment of qualification and integrity on the part of the researchers who accepted to carry out the evaluation. This procedure guarantees that the articles have scientific quality and rigor, adequate to the academic standards in force in internationally recognized educational and research institutions.

INDEX

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ibrahim Makkawi*

INTRODUCTION

This research project explores the colonial hegemony and pedagogical contradictions imbedded within the process of collective-national identity development among Palestinian students in the Israeli formal educational system through inductive examination of the dialectical interplay between the three agents of the formal educational process; namely, the formal curriculum, the students and the teachers. The study utilised Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) as a qualitative research method and used three sets of data: (a) the formal curriculum of history used in grades 7-12 in Palestinian schools in Israel, (b) in-depth qualitative interviews with 7 History Palestinian teachers who are officially employed by the Israeli government and teach Palestinian students in the segregated Palestinian schools in Israel, (c) in-depth interviews with 14 Palestinian college students who are graduates of this formal educational system. The three sets of data were analysed separately, then compared and contrasted to depict an overall picture of the findings of the study.

Consequential to Zionist-settler colonialism in historic Palestine, a process which has culminated in the conquest of the country and

*   Birzeit University, Palestine.

the Palestinian *Nakbah* in 1948, the Palestinian people today do not live together as a vibrant and cohesive community in a clearly defined geopolitical space, but rather they are dispossessed and scattered in various sociopolitical contexts: one group lives in its original home-land, which was occupied by the Zionist settlers in 1948, and holds an official Israeli citizenship; another group lives in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and has been under Israeli colonial occupation since 1967; the rest of the Palestinian people are dispossessed refugees liv-ing in refugee camps in various locations in Diaspora, mainly in Jor-dan, Syria and Lebanon.

Despite their citizenship status, which was imposed on them, it must be recognised that the Palestinian community in Israel, which is the focus of the current study, is an indigenous-colonised, non-volun-tary, non-immigrant, non-assimilating national minority group; they are the native colonised Arab people of Palestine. They did not immi-grate to the new system; rather, the system was imposed on them. They understand that the State of Israel was established to serve the goals and objectives of the Zionist movement, at the expense of Palestin-ian national goals and aspirations for self-determination. In addition to their economic and material exploitation, they live in a colonial-apartheid political arrangement that uses all means to marginalise, exploit, and manipulate their collective culture and national identity to facilitate the continuity of the Zionist-settler colonial project on their soil. This repressive colonial reality is most clearly manifested in the field of education.

Historically, Arab education in Palestine has never been under the control of the Palestinian community itself. During the British Man-date and Ottoman rule over the Arab region, Arab education in Pales-tine was controlled by colonial authorities that represented their own dominating cultures and interests. The fragmentation of Palestinian education today is an outcome of and directly influenced by their so-ciopolitical fragmentation. Palestinian education in the West Bank and Gaza went through a number of changing authorities since 1948. Since its establishment in 1949, as a subsidiary organ of the United Nations, the United Nations Refugee and Works Association (UNRWA) has been providing formal schooling through its Department of Education for Palestinian refugee children in its four main fields of operation: Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, West Bank, and Gaza. Palestinian colonial education in Israel since 1948 represents a continuation of the colonial educational hegemony. As the education of the colonised, it has been systematically controlled and manipulated by the Israeli authorities in order to inflict further political hegemony and colonial control over the native Palestin-ian population. This control is inflicted thorough the implementation of

three intertwined objectives that constitute the guiding principles of the Israeli colonial educational policies regarding its Palestinian citizens.

First, the Israeli government makes systematic use of the school as a social institution for reproducing the socioeconomic class structure through deep-rooted discrimination with regard to budget, school buildings, support services, teacher qualifications, and other related areas of investment in education. Second, there is an obvious attempt to co-opt the Palestinian educated and intellectual elite through employment as teachers and simultaneously restricting their access to other forms of employment. Third, the Israeli government strives to shape the Palestinian students' sense of collective-national identity consistently with Israel's definition as a "Jewish State in Palestine".

With regards to the educational goals for the Palestinian education in Israel, the overriding and consistent theme that runs across these goals indicates that Israel, as a Jewish State, is concerned first and foremost with the collective-national identity of its Jewish student population. On the other hand, Palestinian students are not only deprived of this essential national education, but they are taught to respect and glorify the national experience of the Jewish students as the legitimate owners of the State in which they both live. The same formal educational goals for teaching History in Arab and Jewish schools in Israel were cited again and again by Palestinian scholars, all indicating the consistency in Israel's approach of cultural colonisation to Palestinian education. Palestinian teachers operating under the stringent job expectations, which are derived from these educational goals, find themselves in a strange role conflict when facing the expectations of their students and their own community.

While Palestinian teachers in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as in Diaspora, still sustain their roles as community leaders, their counterparts in Israel became politically alienated and silenced "educators". The formal role of the Palestinian teacher in Israel is ambiguous and embodies conflicting role expectations. The major role-conflict for them is political in nature and determined by the colonial condition within which they operate. They are employed by the colonial system to "educate" children within their own colonised community. They constantly struggle with conflicting expectations from their own community, on the one hand, and their employer, the Israeli government, on the other. In general, the formal curriculum, the teachers, and the students, and the interaction between them constitute the thrust of any educational process. When these three educational agents are in conflict and bring conflicting expectations to the teaching and learning environment, education itself becomes the most oppressive colonial tool. The current study intends to investigate these

three educational agents within the Palestinian colonial educational context in Israel.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

A total of *seven* History teachers were recruited from Palestinian schools in Israel through "snowballing" sampling techniques and participated in the in-depth qualitative interviews. The sample included two teachers from Jerusalem, one from the Negev and four form the Galilee. There were one female and six male teachers in the sample. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim for data analysis. Two raters (the principle researcher and the research assistant) read and coded the interviews independently and categories were compared and contrasted in order to construct the final themes.

Finally, I conducted a total of *fourteen* in-depth interviews with university students who graduated from the Israeli formal educational system where the above mentioned History textbooks constitute the only authorised curriculum. Students were asked to reflect back on their educational experience and respond to questions pertaining to the relevance of their History education to their national identity as Palestinians. There were six students attending Haifa University, five attending Tel-Aviv University and three attending the Hebrew University. There were six female and eight male students in the sample.

FINDINGS

1. FORMAL CURRICULUM OF HISTORY

For the most part, themes of cultural colonisation and Zionist hegemony over history curriculum which is implemented in Palestinian schools are similar to what has been reported in previous curriculum analysis studies. It is striking, despite several waves of curriculum development since 1948, that the main educational goals and, concurrently, the content of the History textbooks imposed on Palestinian schools in Israel remained intact over more than six decades of their captive status as an indigenous national minority group. All the changes and adjustments discussed in the literature fall short at posing serious challenge to the prevailing colonial status quo. Palestinian students, as members of an indigenous colonised group, are being educated and taught the historical narrative (their own, their colonisers' and the world's at large) in the exact shape and form it has been constructed by their colonisers and, oddly enough, conveyed to them by their fellow Palestinian teachers.

Authorship of the Textbooks: Who Writes History? As part of the colonial policy, blatant and direct control of the formal educational

experience of the colonised has been the prevailing practice, where-upon the formal and only permitted curriculum to be used in Palestinian schools in Israel is written, composed, monitored and stringently controlled by the Israeli Ministry of Education. All the formal curriculum textbooks used in Palestinian schools, including History textbooks examined in this study, have been authored under tight control of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Only curriculum approved by the Israeli Ministry of Education is allowed to be used in teaching History. The authors of these textbooks are mostly Jewish Zionist writers who construct History from a vantage point which is completely devoted to the Zionist narrative. In some cases when some of the team-authors are Arabs who work under the direct control of the Israeli Ministry of Education, the overall scientific supervision and inspection of the textbooks development is assigned to Jewish authors who are committed to the Zionist historical narrative.

Fragmented Arab History & Arab Heritage. As can be clearly inferred from the list of historical topics and the order in which they are presented, History in general, and Arab History in particular, is presented in the form of isolated and disconnected events taking place in various locations in the remote past without any interconnection between them. The dialectical development of the big picture of historical events is absent from the textbooks of History. The language of the texts is written heavily in the form of past tense with detached tone and "faceless" authorship. The presentation of these sporadic events misrepresents and disfigures the formation of a coherent picture for the Palestinian student about the historical past, present and future of his or her Arab nation, its place in world history and contribution to the human civilisation. It is unlikely for the student to answer the question "Where are we as Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular in this type of History?" Of course, excluded from this sheer presentation of History is the chapter which is devoted to teaching the Jewish holocaust in Europe. This chapter, along with the entire 9th grade textbook, was originally written in *Hebrew* for Jewish schools and later translated directly into *Arabic* and imposed on Palestinian schools!

Jewish History & the Jewish Holocaust. There is a consistent presence of the collective History of the Jews as a unique group throughout the various important historical developments. The historical thread regarding the Jewish narrative that is carefully interwoven throughout the material in all grade levels constantly reminds the colonised Palestinian student of the "Jewish claim" to his own homeland. This moving and overstated narrative is intended to create a mentality of submission, acceptance and glorification of the end

result which is the Zionist quest for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. Contrary to the rest of the curriculum, there is remarkable focus through the chapter about the Jewish holocaust on *active learning* of the students. The students are instructed to read through *original texts* and documents about the Nazis' policies towards the Jews and think critically about the unique experience of the Jewish holocaust.

The Palestinian Token & Fabrication of the Conflict. Recently added at the end of the 12th grade textbook is one single chapter labelled *The Question of Palestine.* The chapter is typically not included in the *Bagrut* exam, and by the time students are making their way out of high school it is more likely to be neglected altogether. The chapter is a mere detached presentation of sporadic events, all written from the Zionist colonial perspective, justifying the historical right and the international support for the establishment of Israel as a *"Jewish State in Palestine".*

2. THE TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

Job Dependency and Cooptation. Within the enigma of restricted employment opportunity among educated Palestinians, those of them who are hired as teachers are already entangled in a high degree of *job dependency* and insecurity regarding the possibility of losing one's job at the slightest violation of the employer regulations. We cannot overlook the possible impact this *state of mind* might have on their overall job satisfaction, professional identity, teaching effectiveness, and interactive relationship with their students and community. These issues, among others, are typical characterising factors of the experience of History Palestinian teachers under colonial condition.

Teachers' Sense of Alienation. In conjunction with their unambiguous degree of job dependency and work under repressively controlling bureaucratic work conditions, as indicated in the first theme, Palestinian teachers in Israel find themselves in a strange level of psychological *alienation* as they go through the motion of conducting their educational role. Within the oppressor-oppressed relationship when the oppressed have no control over the process and outcome of their work, they consequently experience deep feelings of alienation, frustration and demoralisation as they gradually begin to develop consciousness about their repressive work condition. The teachers in this study expressed a deep level of alienation which is intertwined with a poor level of job satisfaction, mainly due to lack of control over the content they teach, the prevalence of traditional teaching approaches, and lack of involvement in decision-making over what and how to teach their students. These teachers perceive themselves and are

perceived by their students as no longer the national role models from whom the students seek affirmation of the national and anti-colonial narrative of their History.

Teachers are Challenged by Students' Nationalist Consciousness. The students are exposed to a myriad of types of information regarding the current colonial condition and this helps shape their perception of the national conflict. When they bring this to school, they ultimately clash with the restrictions imposed on their teachers and they gradually develop awareness of that limitation regarding their teachers. The rift between the *school culture* and the *home culture* becomes even wider as they put their teachers' nationalist awareness and commitment to test. Palestinian teachers with nationalist consciousness are perplexed by their students' pressing questions about the on-going violent confrontations between the Israeli occupying forces and the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. By and large, there is confusion between teachers' and students' roles in the context of discussing their mutual nationalist belonging as Palestinians beyond the "cold academic" aspect of the interaction. Both parties are aware of the limitations imposed on the teachers, which are inherent in their strict-role expectations, and the students' awareness of this strange educational role renders the mutual respect and the perception of the teacher as a questionable role model.

3. THE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

Colonising Curriculum and Pragmatic Interest in Education. Palestinian students who constitute the *human agent* in this colonising educational process are not passive recipients of the formal curriculum and the colonial historical narrative it imposes on them. They are exposed to a range of alternative sources and agents of nationalistic socialisation outside the school including non-formal educational activities in the community, their families, the Palestinian National Movement and unlimited exposure to a variety of media outlets. The students in this study expressed understanding about the fact that they study Colonial History for the sake of passing the *Bagrut* exam (graduation from high school benchmark and requirement for university admission) and they differentiate between learning that is educational and socially meaningful, and learning only to meet the graduation condition. They believe that their formal education is socially and culturally meaningless to their collective development as members of the Palestinian people. The search for collective-national identity enhancing education continues outside of the school's limited and limiting borders.

Alternative Sources of National Identity Development. While at university, and after leaving a repressive formal educational system,

the students in our study were able to reflect back and reconstruct what they had been taught during their formal educational experience. Unquestionably, national identity among Palestinian students is constructed and nurtured outside the school context. Students were aware that their formal education was not designed and conducted in order to foster their national identity and consciousness, but they managed to develop and maintain a unique set of survival strategies (on the collective level of abstraction) as they *made their way* (in contrast to being educated) through the formal educational system. Community centre and grassroots activities throughout the Palestinian community constitute yet another source of collective-national awareness for Palestinian students. Despite their silencing formal education, they naturally seek exposure to their real historical narrative through whatever community activities were available in their neighborhoods. Such community centres are deliberately engaged in a countereducational process.

Students are Challenging their Teachers. Knowing the limitations which are imposed on their teachers as government employees, very often Palestinian students come to the aid of their teachers by proposing and promoting alternative and indirect ways by which their teachers can maintain a balance between their formal obligations and the attention to their students' collective-national identity. This delicate balance between the formal and the real with regards to the Palestinian national historical narrative is unique to the situation involving Palestinian students and teachers in Israel. The students, however, are more articulate about the possibility of this form of national education. The tension between Palestinian students and their teachers, both as colonial subjects within the Palestinian colonial education in Israel, is inherited in the strange educational context that brings them together. The attempt to resolve this tension in a more educational and meaningful way is a daunting experience for the teachers and the students alike.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, STUDENT ACTIVISM AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION

The inauguration of the most prominent of today's Israeli universities, more than two decades prior to the materialisation of the Zionist colonial project in Palestine in 1948, attests to their core mission, as higher education institutions, which are organically harnessed to this form of colonialism. Commitment of the universities in their early history to the two main expectations, namely cultural-"reviving" and State-building, has been evident in their history. Founding Israeli academics in the social sciences were actively involved in the cultural

colonisation process as well, without which the entire Zionist colonial project would have been meaningless and less enduring. The task of "nation building"—or more specifically creating a new collective identity and culture from spaciously diverse groups of Jewish settlers arriving from over 80 countries—demanded at the same time the delegitimisation, marginalisation, "othering", and deeming primitive and backwards a competing indigenous identity and culture claiming national rights to the same land, that is the Palestinian people. Nonetheless, universities are the only educational institutions in Israel where Palestinian and Jewish students are fully integrated.

Palestinian students are socially and politically alienated due to the educational context of the Israeli universities being in contradiction with their national and cultural aspirations. The Israeli universities are dominated by Jewish-Zionist ideology, and this ideological basis frequently gets reinforced by rituals and the hegemonic context which places heavy sanctions on a Palestinian-Arab nationalist expression. For the majority of Palestinian students in the Israeli universities, this peculiar educational context is both challenging and inspiring for resistance and engagement in the student movement which illuminates their sense of national identity and critical political consciousness. This form of community engagement from the margin is not only neglected by the university authorities, but is systematically sanctioned and repressed. Despite the low proportion of Palestinian students in the Israeli universities, their existence as a minority community within campus is intensely noticeable due to their high level of grassroots political engagement as student activists. Palestinian students maintain their right to organise themselves in independent frameworks separate from the General Student Union (GSU). Despite their legitimate argument that as a national minority group they have different national and cultural needs, which are not on the agenda of the GSU, the university authorities intensely refuse to recognise their student organisation. The recognising of Palestinian students' organisations by the university, implies de-facto recognition of their collective identity as a Palestinian national group; a reality which is systematically denied and suppressed by the authorities of the Israeli universities and the government at large.

Palestinian student groups linked themselves with political organisations and parties throughout the Palestinian community who share their political references and ideological affiliations. More accurately, they are the student branches of the various Palestinian political organisations on the community level. Hence, their link to community level political engagement. The central goals and stated objectives of the student organisations have been to maintain and affirm their

national and cultural identity as part of the Palestinian people within the parameters of their social and political reality. As such, student activism as a form of community engagement from the margin is conceived as one of the most comprehensive political educational processes Palestinian youths' experience. These students are active and organised in small groups who share similar ideological perceptions and belief systems. Psychologically, student activists construct their collective-national identity and express it through their membership as active group members, not as isolated individuals. Palestinian student organisations are still not recognised by the Israeli universities and their activities, especially those addressing their Palestinian national identity, are still to a large extent censured and repressed by the university authorities. It is because of this repression of their national identity by the university authorities that Palestinian students persist in their activism.

CONCLUSION

The formal History curriculum used in Palestinian schools in Israel is colonising the students' minds, culturally hegemonic, and represents a historical narrative which is repressing and alienating to the students. The teachers were found to be co-opted intellectuals who have a great level of job dependency leading to an immense level of role conflict that involves the interaction with their students; they are torn between their community's expectations and their employer's formal policies and expectations. The students, on the other hand, revealed an apparent level of cultural and nationalistic consciousness which they have developed outside of school and its confining borders and did not hesitate to challenge their teachers with such nationalistic awareness as representatives of the formal educational system and its values.

As Palestinian students graduate from this colonial educational system and they enrol at the university, the psychological process of collective identity development takes a new momentum within the new colonial educational context. Being relentlessly "integrated" with the majority Jewish students in the same educational institution puts their collective-national identity against a new challenge. Universities are the only educational context in Israel where the coloniser and colonised are fully integrated under a clear and established asymmetrical power relationship between the two groups. To a large extent, Palestinian students attending the Israeli university are educated and socialised within this formal educational context. Their entrance to university represents a transition stage giving a fresh momentum to the process of identity search and development within the university. The Palestinian Students Movement in the Israeli universities represents a resistance educational context and community engagement from the margin for them.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PALESTINIAN COLONIAL CONDITION

Beyond political controversies and oppositional arguments over the "competing narratives" of the coloniser and the colonised in Palestine (Fox, 2011), describing the social, cultural, and political fragmentation of the Palestinian people today as an outcome of their subjugation to a prolonged settler-colonial condition, which is imposed by the Zionist movement (Fanon, 1963) is both theoretically and practically imperative to our understanding of the psychological and cultural ramifications of their anti-colonial struggle for self-determination. Colonialism is characterised by invasion and violent contact between the coloniser and the colonised (Memmi, 1957), and as a historical process of materialistic conquest and exploitation it is entangled with cultural and psychological subjugation of the colonised native people by their colonisers, (see Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1970; Bulhan, 1985). Jinadu (1976) reiterates Frantz Fanon's classic description of the colonial condition and the coloniser-colonised violent contact and subsequent domination in a compelling manner. He writes that: "the contact occurs in such a way that the numerically inferior alien race is actually the sociologically (*i.e.* politically and economically) superior race. This is so because of its access to, and monopolistic control of, socioeconomic and political sources of power. This control is made

possible and facilitated by the sheer weight of military superiority and material wealth of the alien race" (p. 604).

Consequential to Zionist-settler colonialism in historic Palestine, a process which has culminated in the conquest of the country and the Palestinian *Nakbah* in 1948, the Palestinian people today do not live together as a vibrant and cohesive community in a clearly defined geopolitical space, but rather they are dispossessed and scattered in various sociopolitical contexts: one group lives in its original homeland, which was occupied by the Zionist settlers in 1948, and holds an official Israeli citizenship; another group lives in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and has been under Israeli colonial occupation since 1967; the rest of the Palestinian people are dispossessed refugees living in refugee camps in various locations in Diaspora, mainly in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon.

To clarify the historical continuity of the colonial condition in Palestine, it is important to emphasise that, as a colonial structure, the State of Israel does not have a Constitution, which is a defining character of all modern States under normal circumstances (Davis, 1987). Instead, it has what are termed "basic laws" (Davis, 1987; Rodinson, 1973), two of which illustrate the essence of its apartheid and colonial structure as far as its Palestinian citizens are concerned (Will & Ryan, 1990). First, the Israeli "law of return" applies only to Jews; in terms of this law, any person in any country who by religious-ethnic definition is Jewish, is entitled to immigrate to the State of Israel and immediately acquire its citizenship. By contrast, Palestinian refugees who were expelled from their land during the *Nakbah*, that is the territory on which the State of Israel was established in 1948, are collectively and individually denied the "right of return" to their homes and land. Second, the Jewish National Fund (JNF), which was established by the Zionist Movement long before the creation of the State of Israel itself, and is not managed by the Israeli government, albeit its full support and protection of the Israeli government, is the only authority under the current political arrangements which is in charge of land. According to the JNF exclusionary logic, as sanctioned by the Israeli State, only Jews can buy, own or lease land from the JNF, and consequently Palestinians who are officially citizens of the same State of Israel are excluded and denied access to the land which was confiscated form them in the first place (Davis, 1987). These two basic laws are naturalised and justified through two interrelated myths on which the Zionist-settler colonial project in Palestine was and continues to be based (Schoenman, 1988).

The first myth is the denial of the existence of the Palestinian people. Some attempt was made to dispel this myth by a group of

liberal-minded Israeli new-historians who documented the systematic ethnic cleansing campaign conducted by Zionist organisations against the Palestinian people. This ethnic cleansing campaign was the direct cause of the refugee crisis where about 750,000 native Palestinians were expelled from their homeland in 1948 (Beit-Hallahmi, 1998; Morris, 1989; Pappe, 1994). Put simply, Palestine was never an empty land to be taken by Zionist settlers, but in the process of this colonial settlement, a forced explosion of the native Palestinian people was imperative to complete the conquest of the land. The second myth in this regard is Israel's claim to be a "western democracy" (Davis, 1987), even though it defines itself as an exclusionary Jewish State and it denies the existence of the Palestinians as a people aspiring to national self-determination. According to Rouhana (1989: 40), "a State that is defined as belonging to only one people, when its population is composed of two, cannot offer equal opportunities to all its citizens". This strange form of democracy is exclusively applied to the settlers and their political system.

Despite their citizenship status, which was imposed on them, it must be recognised that the Palestinian community in Israel is an indigenous-colonised, non-voluntary, non-immigrant, non-assimilating national minority group; they are the native colonised Arab people of Palestine. They did not immigrate to the new system; rather, the system was imposed on them. They understand that the State of Israel was established to serve the goals and objectives of the Zionist movement, at the expense of Palestinian national goals and aspirations for self-determination (Rouhana & Ghanem, 1993). In addition to their economic and material exploitation, they live in a colonial-apartheid political arrangement that uses all means to marginalise, exploit, and manipulate their collective culture and national identity to facilitate the continuity of the Zionist-settler colonial project on their soil (Makkawi, 2000; 2004). The policy of exclusion rather than inclusion, domination rather than egalitarianism, cooptation rather than cooperation, collective identity manipulation rather than identity enhancement, and colonising education rather than liberating education have all been central to the ethnic minority status of the Palestinian community in Israel and the problematic majority-minority relations within this prolonged colonial condition (Ghanem, 2001; Masalha, 1993; Rouhana, 1997). This repressive colonial reality is most clearly manifested in the field of education.

Unlike many Third World minorities living in Western societies, the Palestinians in Israel did not immigrate to the new system; rather, the system was imposed on them resulting in the destruction of their society and the disposition of the rest of their people. From the

perspective of the Palestinians, it is clear that the State of Israel was established to serve the goals and objectives of another group, which could be achieved only at the expense of their own national goals and aspirations (Rouhana & Ghanem, 1993). Before the conquest of 1948, Palestine was far from the image of an empty or underdeveloped land waiting to be "civilised" by Zionist Jewish settlers. In fact, Palestine was one of the highly developed Arab regions during the British Mandate. Urban cities such as Haifa, Yafa, Akka, Nazereth, and Jerusalem were the centres of widespread economical and intellectual activities.

Before we turn the discussion to the enigma of the Palestinian education in Israel, which is the main focus of the current study, it is imperative to briefly discuss the fragmentation of the Palestinian's educational systems as a logical consequence to their social and political fragmentation into several locations under the colonial condition they have been enduring since the *Nakbah* of 1948. What are the common experiences and what are the context's specific characteristics of each Palestinian community under the current state of their national fragmentation? Consistently with the focus of the current project on the role played by formal education in identity development among Palestinian students in Israel, the following comparative discussion of the various Palestinian communities will be limited to the educational systems and their operation across the various groups. Other important elements of comparison, such as economics, and political participation, are beyond the scope of the current project.

PALESTINIAN COLONIAL EDUCATION IN ISRAEL
Historically, Arab education in Palestine has never been under the control of the Palestinian community itself. During the British Mandate and Ottoman rule over the Arab region, Arab education in Palestine was controlled by colonial authorities that represented their own dominating cultures and interests (Tibawi, 1956). The fragmentation of Palestinian education today is an outcome of and directly influenced by their sociopolitical fragmentation. While the focus of the current project is on the Palestinian education in Israel, it is imperative to briefly describe the educational systems operating within the various Palestinian communities.

I will first consider Palestinian education in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian education in the West Bank and Gaza went through a number of changing authorities since 1948, starting with the Jordanian regime aiming for the annexation of the West Bank to the Hashemite Kingdom and manipulating educational goals for the Palestinians accordingly. With the second wave of Israeli colonial expansion in 1967, the Israeli military administration has targeted Palestinian

education since 1967 as a central component in its colonising policy in the West Bank and Gaza. Currently, the Palestinian Authority that was born out of the "Oslo" political agreement in 1993, which is restricted by a range of commitments imbedded in the "Oslo" political process, is aspiring to develop and reconstruct the educational system under its jurisdiction as part of the nation building process (Brown, 2001; Santisteban, 2002).

Since the eruption of the first Palestinian *Intifada* in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1987, education in these territories has become one of the major areas for direct confrontation between the Israeli military authorities and the local Palestinian community. With prolonged periods of closure of schools and universities by the colonial military authorities, Palestinian community education during the first *Intifada* went underground. Since the ultimate collapse of the "Oslo" political agreement between the PLO and the Israeli government, the eruption of the second *Intifada* in 2000 and the subsequent intensification of military violence, Palestinian children in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been pursuing their education under extreme measures of collective repression, violence and fear (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2010).

Education of the Palestinian refugees uncovers, yet another level of their national fragmentation under the prolonged colonial condition. Since its establishment in 1949 as a subsidiary organ of the United Nations, the United Nations Refugee and Works Association (UNRWA) has been providing formal schooling through its Department of Education for Palestinian refugee children in its four main fields of operation: Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, West Bank and Gaza (Shabaneh, 2012). The curriculum used in the UNRWA schools is typically consistent with the policies and educational philosophies of the host country, resulting in further fragmentation of educational goals for Palestinian refugee children, especially with reference to the sociopolitical impact of their education on issues of collective identity and nation building. Nonetheless, there has been cumulating body of ethnographic research exploring the "unintentional" role of the UNRWA schools in fostering collective-national identity among Palestinian students (Achilli, 2014; Chatty, 2010; Hart, 2002; Fincham, 2012; Shabaneh, 2012).

With all this fragmentation of Palestinian education, it is becoming obvious that the gap between the "home culture" and the "school culture" with reference to the Palestinian students' collective-national identity is increasing rather than decreasing across all the sociopolitical contexts described above. This gap does not only affect negatively the students' identification with the school and level of achievement, but also increases the lack of trust and cooperation between the

school and the community it intends to serve. Being caught between these two conflicting social systems (the school and the community), the students lose trust in their schools and teachers, their motivation for achievement declines, and their formal education becomes further implicated in the process of national fragmentation rather than nation building and self-determination. While this rift between the school and the community with reference to the students' collective national identity is perseverant with various degrees throughout the Palestinian fragmented locations, due to limitations of the current study the remaining part of the discussion will focus on the enigma of Palestinian education in Israel.

Scholars who study the Palestinians in Israel have been limited in the research questions they ask and subsequently in the conclusions they reach, not only by the scope of their academic disciplines, but also and more importantly by their ideological and political views regarding the colonial condition in Palestine. The most important and obviously the most controversial issue in discussing the Palestinians in Israel has been the definition of their collective-national identity. It is sufficient to briefly examine the different names or labels given to this group of Palestinians by different scholars in order to understand the inherent relationship between the researchers' political ideology and their scholarship. Israeli Arabs, Arabs in Israel, Israeli Palestinians, Arabs of the inside and Arabs of 1948, are all labels given to the same group—Arab-Palestinians who survived the ethnic cleansing campaign in 1948, remained in their homeland and subsequently became official citizens of the State of Israel. In official Israeli statements the term "non-Jews" is used very often in reference to these Palestinians as if they were culturally and nationally colourless. Apparently, they can exist only in relation to the colonial Jewish majority!

Palestinian colonial education in Israel since 1948 represents a continuation of the colonial educational hegemony (Abu-Saad, 2006). As the education of the colonised, it has been systematically controlled and manipulated by the Israeli authorities in order to inflict further political hegemony and colonial control over the native Palestinian population (Makkawi, 2002; Mari, 1987). This control is inflicted through the implementation of three intertwined objectives that constitute the guiding principles of the Israeli colonial educational policies regarding its Palestinian citizens.

First, the Israeli government makes systematic use of the school as a social institution for reproducing the socioeconomic class structure (Jabareen, 2006) through deep-rooted discrimination with regard to budget, school buildings, support services, teacher qualifications, and other related areas of investment in education (Human Rights

Watch, 2001). The result is an ethicised class structure in which Palestinians are confined to working class living conditions (Al-Haj, 2002; Makkawi, 2004; Mazawi, 2011). Second, there is an obvious attempt to coopt the Palestinian educated and intellectual elite through employment as teachers and simultaneously restricting their access to other forms of employment (Lustick, 1980; Mazawi, 1994). Palestinian teachers and school administrators are hired based on their security screening and political records, and their loyalty to the colonial system rather than their professional qualifications. As a result, we have an "army" of teachers who are system servants rather than radical educators who are expected to educate for liberation and transformation of the repressive colonial condition (Freire, 1970). Third, the Israeli government strives to shape the Palestinian students' sense of collective-national identity, consistently with Israel's definition as a "Jewish State" (Mari, 1987; Mazawi, 2011). The formal educational system for the Palestinians in Israel is used as a sophisticated political tool in order to manipulate Palestinian students' sense of collective-national identity (Abu-Saad, 2006; Makkawi, 2004).

The de-facto objectives of such education are: "to instil feelings of self-disparagement and inferiority in Arab [Palestinian] youths; to denationalise them, and particularly to de-Palestinise them; and to teach them to glorify the history, culture, and achievements of the Jewish majority" (Mari, 1987: 37). Given the choice, the Palestinians would expect the education of their youths to "preserve and reinforce Arab national identity—particularly their Palestinian identity—and to instil pride in their own culture, heritage, and nationality; and if it were up to them, the education of their youths would engage in condemning Zionism, rather than praising and glorifying it" (Mari, 1987: 37). This is not a typical situation of majority-minority relations, albeit with hierarchical power relations and oppression, but a prolonged settler colonial condition in which the mere existence of native people is beyond the intended objectives of the colonial system.

Since the very beginning, the Israeli curriculum planners were being faced with a critical question regarding the goals they set for Palestinian education in the State. One of these planners posed the following question: "How can we encourage loyalty to Israel among Israeli Arabs without demanding a negation of Arab yearning on the one hand, and without permitting the development of hostile Arab nationalism on the other?" (Peres, Erlich & Yuval-Davis, 1970: 148). However ambiguous, these criteria for educating the native are explicitly very political in nature. Ironically, Arab nationalism and national identity of the Palestinian students were to be defined for them by their colonisers, Jewish Israeli educational planners!

Failing to define accepted formal goals for the Palestinian education within Israel that will fit the colonial condition without challenging it did not prevent the Israeli Ministry of Education from striving to empty the education for the Palestinians from its cultural and national representational subject matter. A classic study comparing Palestinian and Jewish educational goals for secondary schools in Israel was conducted long time ago (Peres et al, 1970). The authors of the study concluded that "whereas the Arabs are required to take an example from the great men of Israel, the great figures of the Arab world are not deemed worthy of special attention in the Jewish curriculum, but lumped together with the world's great men" (pp. 150-153). Since then, research about the curriculum used in Palestinian schools has been limited to an artificial level of analyses of what is included in the curriculum. However, the question of what is not included in the curriculum of an indigenous people is much more important for our case. Furthermore, following the "additive model" of multicultural curriculum development (Banks, 1994), one would fall under the impression that by adding another chapter or two about the history of the Palestinians, this would facilitate the development of the Palestinian students' national and cultural identity. In addition to analysing the content of the formal curriculum, it is critical that we also explore the following equations: Who wrote these History textbooks and from what kind of paradigm and world view did they write them? What is *not* included in the textbooks rather than what is included? What is the teaching approach which is used in presenting the material to students? How do Palestinian students perceive this curriculum? How do Palestinian teachers perceive their role as they teach such a curriculum?

In order to better understand the sheer list of topics and subjects which are included in the History textbooks used in Palestinian schools, it is critical that we first situate this content of the textbooks within the broader perspective of the formal goals set for the teaching of History in Palestinian schools in Israel. These goals were first extracted from Israeli official documents and depicted in Sami Mari's (1978) seminal book about Palestinian education in Israel. The same formal goals for teaching History in Arab and Jewish schools in Israel were cited again by Al-Haj (1995: 129-130), more than twenty-five years later, in order to point out the consistency and persistence of Israel's hegemony over Palestinian education and its formal goals. These educational goals are consistently held intact as long as the political arrangements within the colonial condition in which they are implemented are maintained. They remain unchanged as long as the colonial condition is unchanged. The odd differences between the goals of teaching History for the two groups, which are presented in Table 1, speak for themselves.

Table 1: Educational Goals for Teaching History in Jewish and Arab Schools in Israel

History in Jewish Schools	History in Arab Schools
1. 1. To regard the culture of mankind as the result of the combined efforts of the Jewish people and the nations of the world; (a) to evaluate our share in creating it (b) to strengthen the recognition of human cooperation (c) to develop aspiration for peace and good will	1. 1. To regard the culture of mankind as the result of the combined effort of the nations of the world; (a) to evaluate the part played by the Jewish and Arab nations and by other nations in creating it (b) same (c) same
2. 2. To implant a Jewish national consciousness, and strengthen the feeling of a common Jewish destiny; (a) to sow in their (the students') hearts a love of the Jewish people throughout the world (b) to strengthen their spiritual lives with the nation as a whole	2. 2. No parallel paragraph
3. 3. To instil the importance of the State of Israel as the means of ensuring the biological and historical existence of the Jewish people ; (a) to develop personal responsibility for the development of the State (b) to import the readiness to serve the State in all ways	3. 3. To instil the importance of the State of Israel for the Jewish people throughout the ages, and to implant a feeling of the common fate of the two peoples (a) same (b) same
4. 4. To mould the character of the pupils after the deeds of the great men of our people and of the peoples of the world	4. 4. To mould the character of pupils after the deeds of the great men of the world, and in particular the Jews and Arabs
5. 5. To train and accustom him to deliberate and come to conclusions when dealing with problems of society, and to try to solve them through independent critical thought	5. 5. Same

The overriding and consistent theme that runs across these different types of educational goals indicates that Israel, as a Jewish State, is concerned first and foremost with the collective-national identity of its Jewish student population. On the other hand, Palestinian students are not only deprived of this essential national education, but they are taught to respect and glorify the national experience of the Jewish students as the legitimate owners of the State in which they both live. Despite all this, Jewish students in Israel are not required to study Palestinian history and culture. What such a curriculum does to Palestinian teachers is nothing less than frustration and bitterness. The students, however, having to learn and relate to such content become antagonistic to the school, the teachers and the subject matter. The

same formal educational goals for teaching History in Arab and Jewish schools in Israel were cited again by Mari (1987), Al-Haj (1995), and Makkawi (2000; 2002), all indicating the consistency in Israel's approach of cultural colonisation to Palestinian education. The infusion of such content into the students' minds is not a simple process. Resistance by the students' as human agents in such an educational process is a highly expected outcome (Giroux, 1983). Palestinian teachers operating under the stringent job expectations which are derived from these educational goals, find themselves in a strange role conflict when facing the expectations of their students and their own community. The following section discusses the role of Palestinian teachers in a historical context.

PALESTINIAN TEACHERS IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXTS

When social scientists discuss the concept of teachers' role they often limit their scope of analysis to the roles performed by teachers in the classroom or within the school as an organisation. This tendency in social research overlooks the relationship between the teachers' role and the broader social context, especially its relation to issues of sociopolitical conflict and change (Mazawi, 1994). The school as a social organisation plays an instrumental role in the larger sociopolitical dynamics of society. Viewing education within its sociopolitical context provides a broader understanding of the teachers' role expectations and the role conflict beyond their classroom behaviours and interactions with the students. The discussion on role conflict among Palestinian teachers is inherently rooted in the sociopolitical context within which they operate not only as educators but also, and most importantly, as community members and educated elite (Mari, 1978; Al-Haj, 1995).

Since the turning point of the Palestinian *Nakbah* of 1948 and the subsequent disposition of the Palestinian society, changes in their various educational systems have ultimately lead to changes in the expectations associated with the teachers' role in the newly created colonial contexts. Generally speaking, we can identify four different patterns among Palestinian teachers since 1948. The first category includes Palestinian teachers working in the Arab World. Lacking an independent system of their own, exiled educated Palestinians in the Arab world were in high demand for employment, especially in the Arab Gulf States. These teachers could be described as professionals who used their educational achievements and credentials as channels for occupational mobility and personal progress (Mazawi, 1994).

Second, Palestinian teachers in the West Bank and Gaza first under the Jordanian and Egyptian control (1948-1967) and then under

the Israeli colonial occupation since 1967 are perceived as agents of cultural revival, nationalism and intellectual leadership of the resistance. Rather than fighting for their own professional benefits, these Palestinian teachers have been active through their writings, organisations, strikes, and demonstrations to contribute to the Palestinian national resistance in a wide range of activities (Mari, 1978). Since the outbreak of the Palestinian *Intifada* in the West Bank and Gaza in 1987, education has become one of the major areas for direct confrontation between the Israeli military authorities and the Palestinian community in these territories. With prolonged periods of closure of schools and universities by the military authorities, Palestinian education during the *Intifada* went underground. Palestinian teachers in the West Bank and Gaza have played a key role in the popular resistance, as they "constituted an assisting force in the organisation of uninstitutionalised (and militarily declared illegal) educational activities, in conditions of widespread popular resistance" (Mazawi, 1994: 507).

Since its establishment in 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) assumed responsibility for the Palestinian population in the refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon and provided the camp communities with a variety of services such as education, health and welfare. A third category of Palestinian teachers working in the PLO run schools are perceived as militant agents for national liberation. They perceive education as a "politically empowering factor, axiomatically linked to the pupils' Palestinian Arab identity, the anti-Zionist struggle and the political-territorial dimension of the Israeli-Arab conflict" (Mazawi, 1994: 507). Probably this is the only Palestinian teachers group that operates under consistent role expectations in which their community, their employer, their students, and their own collective consciousness are one and the same.

Across all of the situations mentioned above, we can find some degree of consistency between the teacher's collective-national identity as a Palestinian, and his or her role as an educator. Educating Palestinian students with emphasis on their collective-national identity has been perceived as a central role expectation among Palestinian teachers in these various situations. Contrary to this, Palestinian teachers in Israel who teach Palestinian students, and who are employed by the Israeli government, face an alienating and conflicting set of role expectations. This pattern of role conflict among Palestinian teachers in Israel will be explored in more detail.

Palestinian teachers in Israel are caught between these two inherently conflicting expectations from the educational system. While Palestinian teachers in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as in Diaspora, still sustain their roles as community leaders, their counterparts in

Israel became politically alienated and silenced "educators". Because of their high level of "job dependency", especially as government employees, Palestinian teachers in Israel refrain from political activism. In describing this quiescent Palestinian intellectual group, Mari (1978) writes: "Although they are politically aware and sensitive, especially to matters related to education and politics, teachers have lost much of their traditional role as community leaders and are not involved in political activism, at least not as a group" (p. 27). This is indeed one of the major compromises made by the Palestinian teachers in exchange for accepting teaching as a career. In this sense, the formal educational system for the Palestinians in Israel is used as a means for political manipulation by the Israeli authorities, control and cooptation of the Palestinian educated elite (Nakhleh, 1979; Lustick, 1980).

Leaders of the Israeli educational system as a government institution are well aware of the political impact that Palestinian teachers may have on their students. Given the choice, they will educate for Palestinian nationalism and nurture the Palestinian national identity of their students rather than blur it. Therefore, as far as Palestinian teachers are concerned, "in most cases, political rather than pedagogic criteria are considered paramount in hiring and firing" (Nakhleh, 1977: 33). This entire process becomes evident in the sense that "Arab collaborators and 'yes men' are shown preference by the educational authorities" (Mari, 1987: 37). Consequently, the students, their parents and the community at large became distrustful towards the teachers and perceive them as government agents, at least as far as the nationalistic component of their role is considered. According to Mari (1978), this attitude is influenced by a number of factors: "the teachers are employees of an official State institution [they] are among the principal agents of modernisation [and] many teachers are politically active in the various parties, particularly the majority Israeli parties" (p. 33). Ironically, while the involvement of Palestinian teachers in the Israeli Zionist parties is acceptable and even encouraged by the government, their mere association with the Palestinian nationalist parties may damage their career. These early signs of political impotence among Palestinian teachers in Israel have not diminished with time, but to the contrary, with the rising unemployment enigma among Palestinian academics in Israel, (Al-Haj, 2003; Arar & Mustafa, 2011) further political control and suppression of their national role is the only expected outcome.

The formal role of the Palestinian teacher in Israel is ambiguous and embodies conflicting role expectations. The major role-conflict for them is political in nature and determined by the colonial condition within which they operate. They are employed by the colonial

system to "educate" children within their own colonised community. They constantly struggle with conflicting expectations from their own community on the one hand, and their employer, the Israeli government, on the other. On the micro level, there are only two roles in the classroom; one is the teacher's role and the other is the students'. The interaction between the students and the teacher is essential for the educational process to be productive. Johnson (1970) states that "in order for the students to function effectively in their roles, the teacher's expectations must be clearly communicated, the students must be motivated to accept the expectations as legitimate and as something they wish to conform to" (p. 49). The teachers need to be clear about their role expectations before they can communicate these expectations to their students. Inconsistency in the teachers' role expectations has a negative impact on the students' motivation and behaviour. But how can Palestinian teachers be clear in their communication with their students when they themselves are not convinced about what cultural and social identifications are allowed to be emphasised in the educational context of the colonised?

This plight is specific to the role of the Palestinian teacher employed by the Israeli government. In fact, all teachers in Israel, both Jewish and Palestinians, are government employees and, therefore, are expected to legitimise and maintain the status quo as ascribed by the Israeli Ministry of Education. In the case of the Jewish teachers, the expectations of their employer and their community are consistent and compatible with one another. They are expected to educate their students for loyalty to the State of Israel and foster Jewish identity and Zionism. In contrast, Palestinian teachers, who are employed by the same government, and who teach Palestinian students, are exposed to conflicting expectations. Long ago, Mari (1978) stated that the Palestinian teachers continuously deal with role-conflict in their job, especially with the political-national aspects of the teachers' role, as a "nationalist force attracts them and assumes that they will emphasise the nationalist aspects in teaching the young generation, and a second force emphasises good and loyal citizenship towards the State in which they live as citizens" (p. 37). At first glance, it seems as if these two tendencies are mutually attractive, hence the teacher is in conflict of choosing between them. However, we must keep in mind that Palestinians in Israel belong to the State only in an instrumental sense, whereas sentimentally and emotionally they are attached to the Palestinian people (Rouhana, 1997). A young Palestinian teacher was quoted by Grossman (1992), illustrating the fundamental nature of the conflicting role expectations, particularly in relation to the Palestinian flag as a national symbol.

> I belong to the State of Israel only in the geographical sense. According to an agreement they imposed on me. I am an employee of the Ministry of Education. Receive a salary. Live here. But in the spirit, in the soul, I belong to the Palestinian people. So you tell me how I can educate children in these circumstances. A simple example - I've run into a lot of students here who draw, let's say, a Palestinian flag. Now I've got to tell the student that this is forbidden. But the student will consider me a traitor. And maybe I'll also feel that I'm a traitor. But if I show any approval of his drawing maybe they'll fire me, or summon me for an investigation. So what do I do? I don't tell him anything. I pretend that I don't notice (Grossman, 1992 p. 50).

To pretend that they did not notice their students' work does not release Palestinian teachers from their role responsibilities and role conflict. Their frustration continues to determine the ambiguous messages they convey to their students. Consequently, the students lose trust in their teachers as social models with whom they can identify. The Palestinian flag by itself in this scenario means nothing, unless we consider its sociopolitical context. National identity, political experience, and context then come into play, which give the flag meaning beyond itself—it becomes a symbolic sign. The flag is considered an icon of something more than itself—it stands to represent a nation and a homeland (Palestine), or a sense of national identity and pride. According to the principle of relativity, the Israeli authorities view the Palestinian flag as something to be feared, as a threatening icon, while the Palestinians see the opposite side. The teachers, having to display an outward act of "disapproval" toward their students, who are aligning themselves with the flag, are caught in an act of cognitive dissonance. The research about the curriculum in Palestinian schools in Israel has been consistent in revealing that the overall colonial objective is the eradication, deformation, and culturally invasion of the collective sense of national identity among Palestinian students in Israel (Mari, 1987; Al-Haj, 1995; Makkawi, 2002, 2009). The Palestinian teachers are expected to be engaged in the implementation of such objectives and the installation of their "educational" outcomes in their Palestinian students.

The formal curriculum, the teachers, and the students, and the interaction between them constitute the thrust of any educational process. When these three educational agents are in conflict and bring conflicting expectations to the teaching and learning environment, education itself becomes the most oppressive colonial tool. Furthermore, when this colonial educational process is consistently implemented over a prolonged history, the outcomes are devastating to the individual student and to society as well. The current study intends to investigate these three educational agents within the Palestinian

colonial educational context in Israel. Before the presentation of the detailed study reported herein, it is important to outline the theoretical framework in which the current study is situated.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Colonial education, as well as State-controlled educational systems in heterogeneous societies with power structures of group inequality and multiple forms of oppression are hindering rather than promoting the opportunities for ethnic minority, working class, female, and indigenous students for academic achievement (McLaren, 1994). There is a plethora of educational literature documenting the ways in which formal educational systems in hierarchical societies are structured and conducted by the dominant groups in manners which hinder the opportunities for academic achievement among student who belong to the subjugated groups in society (Apple, 2012; Banks, 1994; Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1994).

Generally, scholarship in the field of "multicultural education" focuses primarily on educational theory and practice within the context of heterogeneous western societies (i.e., USA, Canada, UK, Ireland, and Australia). Earlier paradigm explaining the low achievement records among minority students was labelled as the "cultural deficit paradigm" which had emphasised a wide range of factors within the cultural background of the students that place them in a category labelled as "at risk students" (Pollard, 1989). Locating the cause roots of minority students' educational failure within their cultural background, rather than unpacking the discriminatory and oppressive

practices of the mainstream educational system, has come under heavy criticism from earlier scholars in the field of multicultural education as "blaming the victim" rather than changing the system practice (Banks, 1994; Giroux, 1997; McLaren, 1994; Ogbu, 2008).

Paramount to our understanding of the working dynamics of the education of the oppressed (Freire, 1970) is the call to explore the degree by which formal education is fostering the process of personal as well as collective/social identity development among students. Minority students' collective/social identity (i.e., ethnic, racial, cultural, national) constitutes an integral part of their self-concept (Tajfel, 1981) and therefore its nurturing and development must be considered one of the key responsibilities of their formal educational experience. There is a strong indication that ethnic/racial identity is vital to minority students' academic success (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). Ethnic identity development among minority youths is conceived as a psychological process which is taking place during adolescence (Phinney, 1993) and correlates highly with their global self-esteem (Phinney, 1995). Social identity operates as a protective factor that shield the psychological well-being of the individual against racism, prejudice, and discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003), oppression and stress (Haslam & Reicher, 2006), and psychological trauma in war condition (Muldoon & Lowe, 2012). Furthermore, healthy and secure sense of group identity reduces prejudice against members of out-groups in society (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Put simply, the students' sense of collective-national identity is a key element that must be accounted for in their educational process if education is intended to be relevant and contribute to the students' intellectually and culturally expected developmental process.

Tajfel (1981) defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). The self-concept has two components: personal identity, which contains specific individual attributes such as feelings of competence, and psychological traits; and social identity, which derives from one's knowledge and feeling about his or her membership in a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Brewer & Gardner (1996) argue that we have two levels of collective self: "those that derive from interpersonal relationships and interdependence with specific others and those that derive from membership in larger, more impersonal collectives or social categories" (p. 83). Our interest in this research project is the collective self, which derives from membership in a larger national group, namely the Palestinian people as a whole, and what it means to the Palestinian student in this particular colonial context.

Scholars interested in multicultural education in western societies advanced at least three reasons which explain the growing interest in researching ethnic identity development in heterogeneous societies in recent years. First, the failure of the "melting pot" model to accommodate a large number of visible ethnic minorities who would rather maintain their unique ethnic identity and culture. Second, from an educational perspective, we must recognise and nurture the students' cultural and ethnic background in order to create equal opportunities for success. Finally, the more people are confident and secure about their own ethnic identity, the less they become prejudiced against members of other ethnic groups in society (Aboud & Doyle, 1993; Carter & Goodwin, 1994). The situation regarding education and identity becomes more demanding as we consider the experience of indigenous groups whose national goals are in sharp contradiction with the dominant group. In our case, Israel as a "Jewish State on Palestinian soil" is based on the denial of the collective-national identity of the indigenous Palestinian people (Will & Ryan, 1990). Since assimilation is not feasible for either group, the question becomes to what extent and by what means does the dominant colonial group manipulate the identity of the dominated colonised group? Education plays a key role in such process.

Tajfel's definition of social identity constitutes the foundation for many ethnic and racial identity models developed in recent years (Phinney, 1990). In her research program on ethnic identity development among minority adolescents, Phinney (1989) constructed a three stage developmental model, that is "consonant with Marcia's (1980) ego identity statuses, that reflects the stages and issues described in the ethnic identity literature, and that can be applied across several ethnic groups" (p. 36). Ethnic minority adolescents move from *unexamined* ethnic identity, through *exploration* and into ethnic identity *achievement* in which they demonstrate a clear sense of their own ethnicity.

There is empirical evidence of positive correlation between the individual's attainment of higher stages of ethnic identity development and his or her global self-esteem (Phinney, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1992). Individuals in higher stages of ethnic identity are actively involved in cultural and political activities, pertaining to their ethnic group (Phinney, 1989; Cross, 1991). There is the premise that the more people are secured and confident about their own ethnic identity the less they become prejudiced toward other groups (Tajfel, 1981; Phinney, 1989; Cross, 1991). Furthermore, identity as a psychological construct with *both* its individual component (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) and collective or ethnic component (Phinney, 1989) is a developmental process, which is dominant during adolescence. Consequently,

this research project examines the role of formal education during the junior and secondary school years, when Palestinian adolescents begin to grapple with the issue of collective-national identity.

Why do schools teach History? The relationship between teaching history and the students' collective-national identity development is a critical component of the educational process. As Dragonas & Frangoudaki (2000) state "… historical consciousness as a complex combination of historical and political socialisation undergone by students, their interpretations of the past, their perceptions of the present, their expectations for the future, and the linkage they make among different periods of time … [is] a form of self-positioning and a central part of individual and collective identity" (p. 229).

Of all the subject matters that are taught to students during their formal schooling, the teaching of *their* national history is by and large the most important and critical subject for the development of the students sense of collective-national identity (Korostelina, 2008; Pratt, 1974). Through teaching the historical narrative of their own nation within the context of the evolving world history, students are educated and socialised to recognise the place of their national group in historical context. Without this educational knowledge, psychological identification with the group and the development of the students' social identity which is derived from belonging to this particular group (Tajfel. 1981) is questionable and incomplete. The interconnectedness and dialectical continuity between the past, present, and future of the students' national group is a key developmental component of the students' collective identity and belonging to the national group at question (Korostelina, 2008). School textbooks in general have remarkable authority and power since they carry and convey to students the official epistemological position of the ruling authority (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). However, in prolonged settler colonial conditions such as the Palestinian case, the historical narrative of the coloniser and the colonised (Fox, 2011) is controlled and systematically implemented by the ruling authorities throughout the formal educational process of the colonised students (Abu-Saad, 2008; Al-Haj, 2002, 2007; Hourani, 2011; Nasser & Nasser, 2008).

The contest over what is formally conveyed to students through the History textbooks and the alternative narrative which they seek and construct outside the boundaries of the formal schooling is a never-ending process and has been globally characteristic of diverse colonial conditions throughout the world (Ahonen, 2001; Calleja, 2008; Smith, 2012; Solonari, 2002; Tulviste, 1994; Tormey, 2006; Vickers, 2002). It is because of this fundamental role of teaching History to the students' sense of collective-national identity, and the subsequent edu-

cational resistance by the students and their community to this particular colonising education, that the study of the formal curriculum of History and the way teachers and students perceive it is important. The current study is designed to shed light on this particular problem by interrogating the curriculum, the teachers, and the students within the Palestinian prolonged colonial context.

CHAPTER III

THE CURRENT STUDY: HISTORY CURRICULUM IN PALESTINIAN SCHOOLS IN ISRAEL

1. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The current study is an exploratory qualitative research project using *Grounded Theory* approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and was designed in order to explore inductively the importance of the formal curriculum of History which is implemented in Palestinian schools in Israel and its relevance to the students' sense of Arab-Palestinian collective-national identity. Grounded theory approach is a qualitative research strategy used often with unexplored research areas where little research has been conducted on the subject, or when a specific research area has been saturated due to an extensive theory-driven deductive research activity. Rather than using preexisting research hypothesis and predefined theoretical categories, the current study attempts to construct theoretical themes and categories through inductive analysis of the formal curriculum of History in combination with both the students' and teachers' understanding and perceptions of its relevance to the construction of Arab-Palestinian collective-national identity of the students. The curriculum of History is selected for analysis in this project for its central importance and presumable contribution in the construction of the students' national identity in general.

Whose history are Palestinian students in Israel being taught, and from whose perspective is the formal curriculum of History being constructed, written and transmitted to the students? How do Palestinian teachers perceive their official role as educators in this context while they teach this history to their Palestinian students? And how do the students perceive this formal curriculum as well as the role of their teachers in this colonial educational process? These are some of the questions I intend to explore through the current investigation.

Boyatzis (1998) suggests a three-level continuum for the development of coding systems used for thematic analysis in qualitative research. At one extreme of the continuum is a *data* driven coding system in which codes are developed directly from a small sample of data and then applied to the rest of the data to identify common themes. On the other end of Boyatizs' continuum is theory driven coding system, which is developed based on preexisting theory. Data driven coding system was used in the initial phase of the study, examining the History textbooks used in grades 7-12 in Palestinian schools in Israel and constructing common themes and issues regarding historical narrative and national identity. A total of *six* textbooks were read and scanned for initial themes and categories by the principle investigator and a research assistant separately. Emerging themes were constructed in several meetings and discussions before they were presented to a third (outsider) rater who was asked to read the books and evaluate the relevance of the emerging themes to the textbooks.

Following the examination of the initial themes which emerged from analysis and coding of the formal History textbooks, further review of the relevant literature, and consultation with school teachers and academic experts on the topic of History education, two sets of in-depth open-ended qualitative interview schedules, one for the students and one for the teachers, were developed.

A total of *seven* History teachers were recruited from Palestinian schools in Israel through "snowballing" sampling techniques and participated in the in-depth qualitative interviews. The interviews with the teachers were conducted by three graduate students in education from Birzeit University through their personal contacts outside of the school where they teach. Permission was not sought after nor granted by the Israeli Ministry of Education to conduct the interviews with History teachers in the schools and therefore recruitment of participants in this component of the study relied mostly on personal contacts of the graduate students who conducted the interviews. The sample included two teachers from Jerusalem, one from

the Negev and four from the Galilee. There were one female and six male teachers in the sample. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim in preparation for coding and data analysis. Two raters (the principle researcher and the research assistant) read and coded the interviews independently and categories were compared and contrasted in order to construct the final themes regarding the teachers' perceptions of their role and the History curriculum they teach.

Finally, I conducted a total of *fourteen* in-depth open-ended interviews with Palestinian university students who graduated from the Israeli formal educational system where the above mentioned history textbooks constitute the only authorised curriculum. The selection of university students was based on the feasibility of recruiting research participants without the approval of the Ministry of Education to enter the schools. Furthermore, college students are assumed to be exposed to outside experiences beyond the formal schooling which would help them reflect in a mature way on their high school education. Students were asked to reflect back on their educational experience and respond to questions pertaining to the relevance of their History education to their national identity as Palestinians. In the sample, there were six students attending Haifa University, five attending Tel-Aviv University and three attending the Hebrew University. There were six female and eight male students.

2. FINDINGS

The preliminary findings which emerged from thematic analysis of the three sets of data were presented in the *VII Latin American and Caribbean Conference on Social Sciences, Medellin, 9 - 13 November, 2015,* and subsequently submitted for review and evaluation by the *International Economic Development Associates* (IDEAs) team of experts. Feedback and reviewers' comments assisted in revising and refining the final themes and categories of the findings.

2.1. FORMAL CURRICULUM OF HISTORY

Prior to delving into the analysis and discussion of the general themes which were identified through the examination the six History textbooks under discussion, it is quite important to present bibliographic details of the textbooks under consideration. The six school textbooks, including the grade level to which they are authorised for use, the textbook title, the author(s) and the detailed table of contents are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. History Textbooks for Grades 7-12 used in Palestinian Schools in Israel

Grade	Textbook Title	Author(s)	Table of Contents
7	Lessons in History for Seventh Grade in Arab Schools (2004)	Said Barghuthi & Yusif Zubi. Academic Supervisor: Avner Giladi	(1) The era of the *Jahiliah* and the appearance of Islam (2) The era of the Orthodox Caliphates (3) The Umayyad era (4) The Abbasid era (5) Western Europe in the Middle Ages (6) The Arabs and Islam in the late Middle Ages (7) Europe in early Modern Times (8) The Jews in Middle Ages
8	Lessons in History for eighth grade in Arab schools (1988)	*Hebrew* by the committee of history school textbooks. Translated to *Arabic* by George Salameh & Zuhair Fahum	(1) Settlement in the New World (2) The French revolution (3) The industrial revolution (4) Colonialism and WWI (5) The Jews in Europe in Modern Times (6) The Middle East and the Ottoman Emptied in the 19th and the 20th century
9	Lessons in History for Ninth Grade in Arab Schools (1990)	*Hebrew* by Ruth Kleinberg & Laila Yafa. Translated to *Arabic* by Zuhair Fahum	(1) The World after the war (2) The Jews: National minority in Europe (3) Italian fascism (4) Germany: Hitler's road to Power (5) The Third Reich (6) Racism and anti-Semitism (7) The Way to the war (8) This swift war (9) The new order (10) The cleansing and the revolution (11) The Jewish holocausts (12) Victory and settlement (13) Russia towards the end of the Caesarean rule (14) The Bolsheviks: Who are they and how did they build a socialist society? (15) The Jews in the Soviet Union between hope and frustration (16) The USA from independence to the civil war (17) The USA becoming an industrial State (18) From individualism to the state of welfare (19) The Jews in the USA: The process of Americanisation and maintaining distinct character (20) The USA and Soviet Union as two superpowers
10	Political Regime and Society in the Islamic State During the Middle Ages (1978)	Atallah Said Qubti	(1) The era of the *Jahiliah*: Political, social, religious and economic conditions (2) The appearance of Islam (3) Leadership of the Islamic State (4) The administrative system (5) The financial system (6) The judicial system (7) The military system (8) The development of Islamic society (9) Social class in Islamic society (10) The Islamic cities (11) The Palaces and their character (12) Social life in Baghdad (13) The family in Islam

11	The Middle East in Contemporary Times—Part I. (1995)	Said Barghuthi, George Salameh & Atallah Qubti. Academic supervisor: David Kushner	(1) The Middle East under the Ottoman rule during the 18th century (2) The clash between the Ottoman State and the European States (3) Muhammad Ali and his reforms in Egypt (1805-1849) (4) Egypt after Mohammad Ali (5) The *Urabi* revolution and the British occupation of Egypt (1881-1914) (6) The Ottoman State during the era of *Tanzima*t (7) The influence of the European incursion on the socioeconomic structure during the 19th century (8) Cultural renaissance, westernisation and reform movements (9) Sultan Abdulhamid and the (*Al-Fatah*) Turkish Revolution (10) Arab Nationalism (11) The Zionist Movement (12) The Middle East before WWI
12	The Middle East in Contemporary Times — Part II (1998)	Said Barghuthi, Jamal Adawi, George Salamah, Zaher Bishara, Atallah Qubti, Ali Hraish, Mustafa Abbasi and Yusif Zubi. Academic supervisor: Ilan Pappe.	(1) Turkey and Iran between WWI & WWII (2) The fate of the Arab regions following WWI (3) The struggle of the Arab regions for independence (4) The ideological trends in the Arab regions in the 20th century (5) Military coups and the revolutionary regimes in the Arab World (6) The American-Soviet conflict over the Middle East (7) Social changes in the 20th century (8) The establishment of the Lebanese republic and the challenges facing it (9) The emergence of the political map in the Arab peninsula (10) Turkey and Iran after WWII (11) The idea of Arab unity (12) Cultural developments in the 20th century (13)The question of Palestine

For the most part, themes of cultural colonisation and Zionist hegemony over History curriculum which is implemented in Palestinian schools are similar to what has been reported in previous curriculum analysis studies (Abu-Saad, 2008; Al-Haj, 2002, 2007; Hourani, 2011; Nasser & Nasser, 2008). It is striking, despite several waves of curriculum development since 1948, that the main educational goals and concurrently the content of the History textbooks imposed on Palestinian schools in Israel remained intact over more than six decades of their captive status as an indigenous national minority group. All the changes and adjustments discussed in the literature fall short from posing any challenge to the prevailing colonial status quo. Palestinian students as members of an indigenous colonised group are being educated and taught the historical narrative (their own, their colonisers' and the world's at large) in the exact shape and form it has been constructed by their colonisers and, oddly enough, conveyed to them by their fellow Palestinian teachers, who are torn between the official expectations of their colonising employer and their own community (Makkawi, 2002).

Brief examination of the general descriptive information provided about the textbooks in Table 2, uncovers a number of striking themes that reinforce the argument which has been advanced over and over in the literature to the effect that this curriculum is hegemonic, colonising and carefully crafted to manipulate and deconstruct Palestinian students collective-national identity according to the Zionist colonial objectives (Abu-Saad, 2008; Makkawi, 2002). To avoid redundancy, I will focus on the first part of the discussion on the obvious themes that can be extracted form only examining Table 2, and then focus on two contradictory and most problematic themes in this curriculum: (a) the chapter devoted to teaching the Jewish holocaust designed for 9th grade and (b) the last chapter of the last book assigned for 12th grade focusing on the Palestinian problem. What is striking about these contradictory chapters is not only the fabrication of the historical narrative, especially when presenting the Palestinian problem, but also and most importantly the pedagogical manner in which each chapter is designed to be taught to the students. Notwithstanding that the holocaust chapter, in fact the whole book for that matter, was written in Hebrew for Jewish students and subsequently translated into Arabic to be used in Palestinian schools. In the following section I present and discuss the obvious themes in the curriculum.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE TEXTBOOKS: WHO WRITES HISTORY?

As part of the colonialist policy, blatant and direct control of the formal educational experience of the colonised has been the prevailing practice, whereupon the formal and only permitted curriculum to be used in Palestinian schools in Israel is written, composed, monitored and stringently controlled by the Israeli Ministry of Education. This is the only historical narrative allowed to be taught in Palestinian schools under the Israeli control. All the formal curriculum textbooks used in Palestinian schools, including History textbooks examined in this study, have been authored under tight control of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Only curriculum approved by the Israeli Ministry of Education is allowed to be used in teaching history. No other sources of information are allowed to be used in the Palestinian schools. The authors of these textbooks are mostly Jewish Zionist writers who construct history from a vantage point which is completely devoted to the Zionist narrative. In some cases when some of the team-authors are Arabs who work under the direct control of the Israeli Ministry of Education, the overall scientific supervision and inspection of the textbooks development is assigned to Jewish authors who are committed to the Zionist historical narrative.

Furthermore, most of the textbooks used in Palestinian schools are mere translations of the Hebrew textbooks which are used in the Jewish schools. To settle in, conquer and colonise someone else's land, with all the implications of violent settler-colonialism, requires the fabrication of history and the reconstruction of a historical narrative that would justify the settler-colonial process. To develop the formal school curriculum for the younger generations of the colonisers and implement it in their schools, can be "comprehensible" as a pedagogical practice since the authorities, the teachers, the textbooks, the students and the community are all in "harmony" with each other. To translate the exact curriculum, which was developed for the colonisers, and teach straightforwardly to the colonised, is beyond the comprehension of any form of educational practice!

FRAGMENTED ARAB HISTORY & ARAB HERITAGE

As can be clearly inferred from the list of historical topics and the order in which they are presented, history in general, and Arab history in particular, is presented in the form of isolated and disconnected events taking place in various locations in the remote past without any interconnection between them. The dialectical development of a big picture of historical events is absent from the textbooks of History. The language of the texts is written heavily in the form of past tense with detached tone and "faceless" authorship. Of course, excluded from this sheer presentation of history is the chapter which is devoted to teaching the Jewish holocaust in Europe. But again, this chapter along with the entire 9th grade textbook was originally written in *Hebrew* for Jewish schools and latter was directly translated into *Arabic* and imposed on Palestinian schools!

The presentation of these sporadic events misrepresents and disfigures the formation of a coherent picture for the Palestinian student about the historical past, present and future of his or her Arab nation and its place in world history and contribution to the human civilisation. It is unlikely for the student to answer the question: "Where are we as Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular in this type of History?"

History of the Arabs during the *pre-Islamic* era is being taught in the seventh grade where it covers almost half of the textbook, and is repeated again in tenth grade where it is presented from the *pre-Islamic* era until the end of the *Abbasid* era. History of the Arabs and Moslems is disconnectedly presented with special emphasis on internal conflicts and conspiracies to the effect of neglecting important historical events in the Arab history such as the *Andalusia* era and the Arab contributions to the world civilisation during that era.

The contribution of Arab thinkers to the world civilisation *Al-Fikr al-Arabi* is merely summed up in a superficial presentation of six Arab scholars, covering a space of less than two pages in the book (*Lessons in History 9th Grade*, pp. 210-211). Put simply, they are: Al-Khwarizmi—Lived during Al-Mamun's days and majored in Astronomy, Mathematics and Geography; Al-Batani—Lived during the 10th century and majored in Astronomy; Al-Razi—Lived during the 9th and 10th centuries and majored in Medicine and Chemistry; Al-Farabi—Lived during the 9th and 10th centuries and majored in Philosophy; Ibn Sina—Lived during the 10th and 11th centuries and majored in Medicine and Philosophy; Al-Ghazali—Lived during the 11th and 12th centuries and majored in Theology and Philosophy. This is how Arab thought is flatly presented to the Palestinian students.

Let's imagine for a moment that the same information is presented from the vantage point of the colonised. In what sense do these and many other Arab scholars constitute an intellectual movement throughout history? In what way do they form an Arab school of thinking or a "paradigm"? When and how did this "paradigm" emerge and what made a "paradigm shift"? What do you feel and think about belonging to the Arab nation when you read works by these scholars? These are the kinds of probing questions a Palestinian student would expect to think about and explore if he or she is educated to construct the historical narrative of his own nation and a more meaningful and educational manner.

JEWISH HISTORY & THE JEWISH HOLOCAUST

There is a consistent presence of the collective history of the Jews as a unique group throughout the various important historical developments. The historical thread regarding the Jewish narrative, which is carefully interwoven throughout the material in all grade levels, constantly reminds the colonised Palestinian student of the "Jewish claim" to his own homeland. This moving and overstated narrative is intended to create a mentality of submission, acceptance and glorification of the end result which is the Zionist quest for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. Contrary to this, there is clear absence and neglect of the Palestinian people and their historical existence in Palestine. The most relevant aspect of history to the students' collective-national identity (his/her people) is removed from History lessons taught to Palestinian students.

From examining the textbooks themselves, one notices the overuse of pictures and photographs that accompany the Jewish narrative throughout history. For example, the cover picture of the textbook for 9th grade depicts powerful images of the Jewish holocaust and the

brutality of the Nazi regime, but nowhere on any textbook covers can one find an image of the colonised Palestinian, let alone the brutality of the ethnic cleansing campaign which was conducted by the Zionist organisations in 1948. Images of the *Nakbah* of 1948 are central part of the Palestinian students' collective narrative. There are a total of four out of the twenty chapters about Europe between WW I & II taught for 9th grade that are dedicated to the topic of Jews in Europe.

Contrary to the rest of the History curriculum there is remarkable focus through the chapter about the Jewish holocaust on *active learning* of the students. The students are instructed to read through *original texts* and documents about the Nazis' policies towards the Jews and think critically about the unique experience of the Jewish holocaust. The chapter on the holocaust, which consists of 30 pages, includes a total 20 probing questions directing students to think critically while reading original Nazi texts, and 13 photos depicting Jewish suffering. The introduction of the chapter explicitly states that "… The chapter is divided into six sections explaining the Nazi policies, the extermination phases, Jewish reaction, the position taken by the world, and Jewish resistance. The texts, in their majority, are original texts and not written by the authors of this book. Your reflection and examination of these original texts will reveal the answers to many of the questions you may ask or may be asked about by other people" (*Lessons in History, 9th Grade*, p. 167).

Furthermore, the students are directly guided through the process of active learning and encouraged to construct their own understanding of the Jewish holocaust. The textbook reads: "… From the texts you are going to examine in the following section you can explore the way by which the Germans planned and executed the 'final solution' for the Jewish problem, and how the Jews tried from their side to hold onto life in their communities in spite of the crazy conditions until they ended up to death. You will read how the German policy of deception succeeded, and how the Germans received support from the local inhabitants, and how despair led the Jews to declare rebellion which constitutes a unique example of rebellious movements against the Germans during the Second World War" (*Lessons in History, 9th Grade*, p. 169).

Once again, when written originally for the young generation of the coloniser, not only the content of the intended historical narrative is important, but the very teaching and learning process is of great importance. Contrary to the cold and detached presentation of various historical events throughout the curriculum, here the educational objective is to get the students involved in constructing their own learning so that they understand and identify with the narrative they

are guided through. When the same content and the same *active learning* process are transmitted to Palestinian students, no educational authority on Earth can keep their little minds from comparing the content and teaching methods with those which prevail in the section dealing with their own part of history.

THE PALESTINIAN TOKEN & FABRICATION OF THE CONFLICT

Recently added at the end of the 12th grade textbook is one single chapter labelled "The Question of Palestine". The chapter is typically not included in the *Bagrut* exam, and by the time students are making their way out of high school it is more likely to be neglected altogether. The chapter is a mere detached presentation of sporadic events all written from the Zionist colonial perspective, justifying the historical right and the international support for the establishment of Israel as a "Jewish State in Palestine".

It is interesting that Ilan Pappe**,** one of the leading Israeli *new-historians*, who writes extensively about the systematic ethnic cleansing camping conducted by the Zionist armed organisations against the native Palestinian people in 1948, is serving as the *scientific consultant* of this textbook. Pappe's other books about the history of the Palestinian question provide quite compelling evidence regarding the ethnic cleansing campaign and the creation of the Palestinians' refugee problem (Pappe, 2006). But here, the new-historian and supposedly scientific consultant for this school textbook is salient, as the entire chapter about the Question of Palestine is constructed from the perspective of the coloniser Zionist paradigm. If one can judge the chapter by what is missing rather than what is presented, it is striking that there is no indication of the ethnic cleansing campaign, which is documented in Pappe's other writings of History books! There is no mention of how 750,000 native Palestinians were expelled from their homeland and no reference to the documented eradication of 530 Palestinian villages. The Palestinian *refugee question* and the struggle for self-determination are not worth mentioning in the chapter at all.

With reference to the indigenous Palestinian national movement at the time, and the range of political parties and organisations that were active among the native community during the British Mandate, one meagre list of six Palestinian parties does not go beyond one page of the whole chapter (p. 290). With this poorly presented national liberation movement, prior to the *Nakbah* of 1948, one wonders how can the Palestinian student develop a positive image of the historical narrative of his or her national group! Furthermore, the book states that: "… The armed conflict between the Arabs and the Jews started after the United Nations adapted the partition plan. The Arabs began

attacking the Jewish settlements, the roads, and the cities especially Haifa and Jerusalem and other cities" (*Contemporary Middle East*, p. 309). The "Question of Palestine" is simply concluded by a photo with the heading "Ben Gurion declares the establishment of the State of Israel" (p. 316). This is the end of history for the Palestinian student and his or her nation.

3.2. THE TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

JOB DEPENDENCY AND COOPTATION

Palestinian university graduates in Israel face a *job ceiling* reality which is heavily entrenched in their community's *colonial condition*. The time and resources that they invest in higher education and the academic degrees they obtain, regardless of their specific major of specialisation, render their incorporation in the teaching workforce as the most available option left open to them. This economic colonial domination is an outcome of the stringent system of control employed by the Israeli authorities on the Palestinian native community (Lustic, 1980). Within this enigma of restricted employment opportunity (Al-Haj, 2003), for those of them who are hired as teachers they are already entangled in a high degree of *job dependency* and insecurity regarding the possibility of losing one's job at the slightest violation of the employer regulations (Makkawi, 2002). Let's consider how this sense of job dependency is manifested in the words of one of the History teachers we interviewed:

> [Said] We must be very careful and act according to the *law*, we don't want to get our students in troubles and maybe *lose our job* as well. We live and work in certain reality, we live in the State of Israel and we have to adhere to the law of the State in which we live. Teachers must be realistic and rational and present history in a *balanced* and flexible way; you don't want things to get to a point where they reach the *higher authorities* in the State which might cost you to *lose your job*. Teachers must be flexible and conscious about getting the idea across to the students without getting in troubles with the law.

Reading into the words of this teacher one can easily become aware of the strange limitation and restriction in which the whole notion of relevance, creativity, and attention to the students' collective cultural needs is halted and derailed from the classroom environment. When the teacher operates (not teaching) under this level of surveillance and obedience to the law and regulations, not out of respect and acceptance but out of fear of losing his/her job, the whole ethical integrity of this educational experience comes to question. When probed to reflect

on his understanding of the law as a concept and probably as a moral standard that governs his role as a Palestinian teacher of Palestinian students and employed by the Israel government, our participant was very clear and concise in his statement.

> [Said] Whether I like it or not, I am an Israeli citizen with all the implications of this citizenship. If you don't want the Israeli citizenship you can give it back, but if you accept it you must respect it and respect the law. It is kind of an agreement between you and the State and you have to respect that agreement.

> Another teacher is also in line with the strict commitment to *the law* and the symbols of the State, whether or not they are in line with the collective-national identity and culture of the students he teaches.

> [Fadil] When you enter our school you immediately notice that you are in an Arab school, this is obvious. But you also notice that we have the Israeli flag in our school because this is the law. If you don't put the flag you may be questioned about that because all of the official institutions in Israel including school raise the Israeli flag. This is the law.

To conclude this theme regarding Palestinian teachers' job dependency, we cannot overlook the possible impact this *state of mind* might have on their overall job satisfaction, professional identity, teaching effectiveness and interactive relationship with their students and community. These issues, among others, require further in-depth investigation of the experience of history Palestinian teachers under colonial condition.

TEACHERS' SENSE OF ALIENATION

In conjunction with their unambiguous degree of job dependency and work under repressively controlling bureaucratic work conditions, as indicated in the first theme, Palestinian teachers in Israel find themselves in a strange level of psychological *alienation* as they go through the motion of conducting their educational role. Within the oppressor-oppressed relationship when the oppressed have no control over the process and outcome of their work, they consequently experience deep feelings of alienation, frustration and demoralisation as they gradually begin to develop consciousness about their repressive work condition (Freire, 1970). The teachers in this study expressed a deep level of alienation which is intertwined with a poor level of job-satisfaction mainly due to lack of control over the content they teach, the prevalence of traditional teaching approaches, and lack of involvement in decision-making over what and how to teach their students. Some of the issues Palestinian teachers expressed concerning their

teaching role uncover the eternal frustration with their job despite their presumable acceptance of their professional role as teachers of History. Consider another teacher and his reflection on his feeling about the way he teaches History to his students:

> [Ahmad] As a teacher of History you have only one teaching approach to use: you prepare the lesson, the students prepare, and you lecture about it and then summarise it for them... the students write the *exact summary* in their notebooks and you move on. This is the typical routine of the teacher of History…I am personally not happy about the curriculum of History because it does not deal with the issue of identity. Also there is no material about the history of the Arabs in Palestine or their national and religious belonging to this land, but there is so much about Jewish nationalism and Jewish identity.

Palestinian teachers of History reflect with an immense level of agony on their alienation and disappointment regarding the content of the History curriculum and the historical narrative they find themselves obliged to teach to their Palestinian students with a great level of detachment.

> [Hamza] I am personally not happy about the curriculum of History because it does not deal adequately with the issue of identity, especially since identity is a current topic these days. Also there is no material about the history of the Arabs in Palestine of their national and religious belonging to this land, but to the contrary, there is so much about Jewish nationalism and Jewish identity.

> [Omar] Racism exists throughout the book … it is there and I did not invent it. When they divide the Arabs into several sub-groups this is racism: the way I see it, the Bedouin in the final analysis is Arab, the Druz is Arab, the Christian is Arab, and the Muslim is Arab. Why this division of the Arabs? On the other hand, the book refers to the Jews as one group, and the most it talks about is the difference between religious and secular Jews. The book never refers to the Jews by the country from which they came, for example. The Israeli society is full of sub-divisions and contradictions but this is not mentioned.

For teachers with a certain degree of national awareness, becoming aware of the irrelevance of the History they teach to the collective-national identity of their students is a frustrating and alienating experience. They are caught in a situation of intra-role conflict where their community expectations and their employer expectations are in sharp contradiction (Makkawi, 2002). For teachers who are coopted by the bureaucratic regulations of the colonial system, avoidance of culturally and nationally relevant issues becomes the preferred coping strategy.

> [Said] We always avoid dealing with these situations in order not to get in troubles with the law because teachers must confirm to specific teaching regulations; if the students want to discuss these issues we encourage them to do that but we have to maintain balance and be very careful. We can turn the question back to the students and ask them what they think, but we have to keep the discussion realistic and rational.

The struggle with their role conflict, especially in relation with the conflicting expectations regarding the colonial historical narrative they are forced to convey to their students, opens up another lever of role conflict that brings them into direct confrontation with the students. These teachers perceive themselves and are perceived by their students as no longer the national role models from whom the students seek affirmation of the national and anticolonial narrative of their history.

TEACHERS ARE CHALLENGED BY STUDENTS' NATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

The colonial condition in Palestine is not something of the past. Beyond the conflict over the historical narrative of the coloniser and the colonised, the on-going struggle and almost daily confrontations bring to focus the contradictory narratives to which students are exposed both inside and outside the school. The students are exposed to a myriad of information regarding the current events and this helps shape their perception of the national conflict. When they bring this to school, they ultimately clash with the restrictions imposed on their teachers and they gradually develop awareness of that limitation. The rift between the *school culture* and the *home culture* becomes even wider and wider as they put their teachers' nationalist awareness to test. First, let's consider the teachers understanding of the fact that their students are exposed to a different historical narrative outside the school and their teaching classroom.

> [Said] The students today have more access to technology and the internet; they have access to lots of information. Even if we try to block the information from the students, this information can reach any home at any time. Sometimes the teachers feel embarrassed when they can't elaborate on these issues of political news in details for their students.

Palestinian teachers with nationalist consciousness are perplexed by their students' pressing questions about the on-going violent confrontations between the Israeli occupying forces and the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza. Some of the teachers, are caught off guard and become emotionally involved as their students "push their buttons" with pressing question regarding the current issues.

> [Arij] When the student asked me about the current events he hit a button for me because I have nationalistic interest and have a need to emphasise for him the fact that he is a Palestinian too. He sees in the news what the Palestinian people are doing and we live here and can't even express ourselves and can't raise the Palestinian flag like them. My student was right and I regret that I could not answer his question or highlight his identity … it was an agonising experience for me and I shed some tears … the students were surprised that I did not answer. I believe without saying a word I made a point that I work under threat in this school.

Other teachers, however, revert to rationalisation and resolve the dilemma by maintain a cold and detached position in reply to their students' burning queries about the situation.

> [Fadil] During the peak point of the [martyrdom] operations, students used to ask questions. As a teacher I tried to present the issue objectively and if possible I tried to avoid the issue altogether. The best thing for the teacher is to stay neutral. I turn the question back to the students and when they express their opinions I try to reframe them in a way that does not contradict the Israeli law, but is also consistent with the fact that he [or she] is a Palestinian person.

By and large, there is a confusion of teachers' and students' roles in the context of discussing their mutual nationalist belonging as Palestinians beyond the "cold academic" aspect of the interaction. Both parties are aware of the limitations of the teachers, which are inherent in their strict role expectations, and their awareness of this strange educational role renders the mutual respect and the perception of the teacher as a questionable role model.

3.3. THE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS

COLONISING CURRICULUM AND PRAGMATIC INTEREST IN EDUCATION
Palestinian students who constitute the *human agent* in this colonising educational process are not passive recipients of the formal curriculum and the colonial historical narrative it imposes on them. They are exposed to a range of alternative sources and agents of nationalistic socialisation outside the school, including non-formal educational activities in the community, their families, the Palestinian National Movement and unlimited exposure to a variety of media outlets. The literature reveals a compelling evidence of the cumulative failure over the years of the educational system to mould and shape the collective identity of Palestinian students consistently with its colonial objectives (Makkawi, 2002; 2004). To put it mildly, the conflict between the formal school system and the native Palestinian community over the

historical narrative that makes the underpinning of the Palestinian students' collective-national identity, is a never-ending process. As a result, Palestinian students differentiate between what they refer to as *pragmatic education* for the sake of individual success and upward social mobility, which they receive in the formal school setting and the alternative and more relevant education for cultural and national awareness which is misplaced in their formal educational experience. The latter is attained by the students outside the school setting. The students in this study expressed understanding that they study Colonial History for the sake of passing the *Bagrut* exam (graduation from high school benchmark and requirement for university admission) and they differentiate between learning that is educational and socially meaningful, and learning only to meet the graduation condition. They believe that their formal education is socially and culturally meaningless to their collective development as members of the Palestinian people. Let's first consider some of the students' articulations of the lack of relevance of the curriculum of History:

> [Ghusun] In terms of education, the most important thing for me at this point is the fact that the history we study is imposed on us by the school system. There is an on-going attempt to suppress our national identity, *and there has been some success*.

> [Amal] Their goal is for me to keep walking in the right direction the way they see it. They want me to be an excellent Israeli citizen straight like a ruler who follows what they say with my eyes closed and see nothing in front of me. That is why all the books are selected according to the Israeli curriculum and how they want it to be.

> [Ruhaifa] They don't teach us anything. They could teach us about Palestinian and Arab history through any story. They teach us about the history of the Jews and the Zionist movement. They teach us more about the State of Israel and the Israeli people because this is required in our Bagrut exams. They use books and curriculum which have to be approved by the State of Israel. They teach the lesson according to what is required from them to teach. They don't relate at all to the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people. There is no mention of our national identity in the school. I would have liked that somebody helped open my eyes to these issues but nobody did that in the school. *So I focused all of my attention on passing the Bagrut exam.*

Despite the seemingly indicative signs of "success" of the formal educational system in creating sense of "false consciousness" (Freire, 1970) among Palestinian students regarding the colonial historical narrative through the formal curriculum, the process of search and exploration

of their collective-national identity continues well into their late adolescence and college years. Reflecting back on their formal education, especially after their exposure to the *real world* beyond their formal schooling, they gradually start to develop critical awareness regarding their experience if the formal schooling. Reflecting back with some agony on their school experience they have this to say:

> [Amani] In terms of the curriculum of History, I know that they do not teach us as they are supposed to. The standards of our education are very low. I now realise that this education is controlled. I realise how much we do not have enough freedom to express our ideas. I realise how much we are repressed. *Now when I reflect back on my school experience I realise how much they repressed and oppressed us*. I remember vividly a lesson in my first grade saying "I love my country and breathe her air, I love my country and her name is Israel." This phrase is still carved in my mind since my first grade. I always bring it up in my discussions. *I used to love this poem*, "I love my country and her name is Israel." I did not understand what it means to be a Palestinian. I did not know who these people were. Especially in the History curriculum there is no mention of us as an Arab nation with heritage.

> [Rafat] National awareness is not developed through the school that much. There are many factors involved here. Schools are controlled by the Ministry of Education. There are certain limits that you can't go beyond ... In History, for example, we are missing lots of things about the history of the Palestinian people that did not go through censorship. All of what we study today goes through censorship. There are lots of books and school curricula that don't have access to the country. They don't tell us the whole truth ... For example there is a whole unit about the history of the Jewish people. We study about the history of the Palestinian people through studying the history of the Jewish people. I don't say we should not know the history of the Jewish people. The opposite, we have to be familiar with lots of things. But we also have to put an emphasis on the history of the Palestinian people.

Critical theories of multicultural education assert that lack of cultural relevance of the formal curriculum to the students' backgrounds has negative effect on their motivation and academic achievement (Giroux, 2011; McLaren, 1994; Ogbu, 2008). However, as collective-national consciousness is developed and nurtured among Palestinian students in Israel outside the formal educational system, they realise the intended colonial objectives behind derailing their formal education from its national content. As a result, they begin to conceive their formal educational as a pragmatic experience they have to endure in order to secure their future. Working hard to succeed academically when your educational experience is culturally alienating is challenging

for the young students, but can be understood only when framed within the context of anticolonial resistance. One student puts it succinctly, when the main objective of her education is to get good average to enter the university:

> [Amani] I feel that we wasted thirteen years of our lives, from kindergarten to high school, in very harsh conditions. Aside from the GPA that I am expected to graduate with, which will let me enter the university, I don't feel that I gained anything else. I did not get anything in terms of my personality development. If it were not for my specific character I would have been like anyone else in the school. I look back on my school experience with lots of disappointment, frustration, anger, and sadness. There are lots of hard feelings about this period of my educational experience.

Given the choice to decide, or at least have their input being considered regarding what to include in the teaching of their formal curriculum of History, Palestinian students are not only aware of what their educational needs are, but they confidently articulate the historical narrative they would like to see included in their educational experience. It is noteworthy that this level of critical consciousness is articulated by college students who graduated from the formal educational system under discussion. The ability to reflect back critically on their colonial formal education with an alternative vision of what needs to change attests to failure of the formal educational system to achieve its colonial objectives. Here is an example:

> [Mutaz] If I had a chance to decide what history to teach, basically, I would present two issues. The first issue is the general history of the Arab-Palestinian people as a part of the Arab nation. I would survey the general Arab history and the development of different eras since their coming out of the Arab Peninsula, the creation of the Palestinian people and the role of the Jewish people in this land. I would talk about our roots which are part of the Arab-Islamic civilisation. The second basic issue would be the disaster that happened to the Arab-Palestinian people in this country and its consequences of dispossession the Palestinian people into various places and the specific suffering of each segment of the Palestinian people. I have to show the historical roots of this land and prove that I have a historical right in this land which I should keep and protect.

There is no doubt, at least as the students in this sample have illuminated the picture, that the formal curriculum of History infused in Palestinian schools in Israel is colonising and de-educating with regards to the Palestinian students' national historical narrative. This enigma is exasperated by the students' critical consciousness and awareness of the colonising mission of their education. The search for

collective-national identity enhancing education continues outside of the school's limited and limiting borders.

ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Not only are the formal educational system and the formal curriculum in Palestinian schools in Israel deliberately drained from the students' national and cultural belonging as Palestinians, but the whole system is positioned in sharp contradiction with whatever nationalist consciousness the students may gain from their community. The rift between the *home culture* and the *school culture* with regards to Palestinian students collective-national identity development is deeply rooted in the colonial condition in Palestine, a condition within which formal education of the colonised is one more tool of hegemony and control. While at university, and after leaving repressive formal educational system, the students in our study were able to reflect back and deconstruct what they had been through during their formal educational experience. Unquestionably, national identity among Palestinian students is constructed and nurtured outside the school context. Students were aware that their formal education is not designed and conducted in order to foster their national identity and consciousness, but they managed to develop and maintain a unique set of survival strategies (on the collective level of abstraction) as they *make their way* (in contrast to being educated) through the formal educational system. The following quotes from the interviews capture this strange educational reality:

> [Mutaz] As students we spend more time in school than in our own homes. The school should play a very important role in the development of the real identity, not the fake identity which they are trying to transmit to us through our schools. The students hear one thing about their political reality in their families and when they come to school they study different things. This puts the students in some type of a conflict. They don't know what their real identity is, what they study in the school or what they see at home.

Students who were raised in families with a certain degree of nationalist awareness are brought up in a rich and nurturing cultural home environment with strong emphasis on their collective-national identity as Palestinians. After all, in such colonial context, the family gains the upper hand in the nationalist socialisation of the students. Here is a family context which is culturally rich with nationalist sentiments mostly infused through music and active participation in summer camps for that particular purpose:

> [Ghusun] There is no doubt that my home had the biggest impact on me. I grew up listening to Marsil and Fariuz. I don't remember ever listening to western music at home. My first nationalist songs that I learned were: "Muntasib al-qamah amshi"; "Shiddu al-himmah"; "Biladi". I remember when I was young that I used to sing in the summer camp. My first song was "Ghabat shams al-haq" by Julia Butrus. In essence I grew up in a home with a strong nationalist spirit. Each year in the summer camp we would use names of Palestinian writers or demolished Palestinian villages. I remember at one summer camp they named another tent in the camp Malul and I wanted to move to that tent. My father came with me to the camp and said "the girl is from Malul so why don't you put her in Malul tent in the camp?"

> [Amani] My family contributed in one way through the many discussions that we used to have at home. To some extent this helped me come up with my own views. To some extent it helped me answer the question "Who am I? What is my identity? What people am I part of?" It compensated for what I did not get from the school.

Where in the colonial educational system can a Palestinian student who is raised in an internally dispossessed refugee Palestinian family, hearing the details of their explosion from his refugee mother, find acceptance and embracing of his collective narrative?

> [Hashim] My mother used to tell me stories about her village Saffuria, about how the Israeli army entered the village, about her childhood there, about the water well, about the apple tree they had in the front yard and simple things like that. She tells stories [about the time] when the Hagana army entered the village and expelled its inhabitants. She tells about her neighbours, when they were sitting around, getting ready to breakfast in Ramadan. The Mulukhiya was still warm when they ran away and never come back. She tells us how they found their neighbour murdered in the street. All these things were first-hand experience for my mother and when she told me about them of course I used to get influenced by them. Since I was very young, I knew that I belong to an oppressed people [sh'ab] who lost all of its rights. And now we found ourselves living within a strange entity.

First-hand experience with loss and direct confrontation with the Israeli occupying army is widespread in the West Bank and Gaza. However, Palestinians within the "green line" who are officially citizens of the State of Israel are not exception to this form of colonial practice. It is not uncommon for Palestinian students in Israel to lose family members and relatives in the on-going resistance. At least in two intense cases of fierce confrontations (i.e., The Day of Land in 1976 and the Second Intifada in October 2000) Palestinians who are Israeli citi-

zens were exposed to excessive use of military power resulting in the loss of a large number of martyrs. Here is how, in the words of one of our students, the martyrdom of a family member becomes an icon for further nationalist awareness and resistance:

> [Hasan] I have been politically active since I was ten years old, and even before that. Politics entered our home since I became aware that my uncle (dad side) was martyred in Youm al-Ard. All of my family were affected by that ... The atmosphere at home was very political and my uncles (dad side) were members of Abna al-Balad and other uncles (mom side) were communists or with al-Jabha. There were always many political discussions and debates in each side of my uncles.

Community centres and grassroots activities throughout the Palestinian community constitute yet another source of collective-national awareness for Palestinian students. Despite their silencing formal education, they naturally seek exposure to their real historical narrative through whatever community activities are available in their neighbourhoods. Such community centres are deliberately engaged in a countereducational process. Here is an account by one of our students:

> [Ashraf] I am involved in political activities outside the school. Mostly outside of my school, I have a group of friends from another [private] school which allowed its students to participate in political activities. There was a community centre in our neighbourhood which I used to go to and students from the other school were there. There were always political debates in the community centre. And I am a person who wants to get involved in the political debates and also looking for things to learn. I remember at that time I was in tenth or eleventh grade when I used to go and listen. I was not even talking. There was always debate among the leftist organisations and they were all Arabs, of course. And I was listening... listening... listening.

STUDENTS ARE CHALLENGING THEIR TEACHERS

Generally speaking, the students and their teachers occupy two interrelated social roles within the classroom context. In the Palestinian colonial context, both students and teachers as human agents belong to the same end of the colonial relationship. They are both Palestinians and they are both colonial subjects of the same system. Furthermore, it is indispensable for the teachers to acquire their students' respect, admiration and perception as positive role models with whom they aspire to identify and learn from. Only when they are accepted by the students can they perform their teaching and educational roles in a meaningful and productive manner. In the previous section, we found

that Palestinian teachers in Israel are coopted intellectuals, job-dependent, feel a great level of alienation and are constantly challenged by their students' aspirations for collective-national education which is relevant to their identity. This section will highlight some of the students perception and expectations from their teachers, something which exasperates the already present role conflict for the teachers. Students' expectations from their teachers are clear and demanding:

> [Ghusoun] If only our schools and especially our teachers were conscious and willing to contribute, if only we had teachers who saw their job as a mission and not just a regular job, our situation would be much better. Their economical dependency on the Ministry of Education as their only source of income has an impact on their being passive, especially when both heads of the household must work in order to support their family. If the teachers are not taking their role in the struggle by joining a strike when ten people get killed in al-Khalil, how would you expect them to educate the students for their national identity? They are afraid that someone will inform about them. In addition to all that, the appointment of principals and superintendents is political in nature. The teachers themselves might have some sense of national awareness, but their superiors do not. No doubt that there is a lot of fear among our teachers.

Knowing the limitations which are imposed on their teachers as government employees, very often Palestinian students come to the aid of their teachers by proposing and promoting alternative and indirect ways by which their teachers can maintain a balance between their formal obligations and the attention to their students' collective-national identity. This delicate balance between the formal and the real with regards to the Palestinian national historical narrative is unique to the situation involving Palestinian students and teachers in Israel. The students, however, are more articulate about the possibility of this form of national education. Let's consider how they view this relationship:

> [Hashim] The problem with the curriculum in our schools is well known. The curriculum is imposed by the Ministry of Education. *But we still have a large number of conscious teachers so we may overcome the curriculum*. In a science lesson you can introduce political issues. It is not necessary to have a special lesson for political awareness. In an Arabic lesson we can talk about Mahmud Darwish without him being in the curriculum. Of course, this is forbidden, but when all the teachers do that instead of one teacher taking the risk, I don't think there will be any problem. I am not proposing solutions to the problem, but the teachers have a major level of deficiency.

> [Hasan] The schools have a very important role because mature personality development starts during high school or at the end of the elementary

school. The content of the curriculum in our schools is irrelevant to our national identity awareness, and leads to a process of Israelisation. Based on this and despite the curriculum, *if the teachers themselves are conscious and succeed indirectly to pass information* to this generation about our history, our problems, our existence, our unique circumstances in this country, if they do this they may have some influence. Otherwise, our society may disintegrate.

Consequential to the intensity which results from this delicate teacher role conflict, many teachers often fail to resolve this inherent role conflict (Makkawi, 2002) and lose respect for their students and their cooperation if they chose to stick to the law and adhere to the formal expectations and policies as was apparent in the first theme of the previous section. Other teachers, however, when pressed to choose between the expectations of their colonisers and those of their own students, choose to risk losing their job and by doing so they become a living symbol in the eyes of their students. Here is an example:

> [Nidal] There are so many restrictions within the schools, and the Israeli intelligence (Mukhabarat) intervenes routinely in the schools. They stop any individual teacher who tries to work in the direction of national consciousness. I know many teachers who had to be stopped and one of them was my father. My father was a school teacher who also belonged to the Communist Party. They told him "either you leave the CP and cooperate with us or you lose your job". My father chose to stop teaching rather that give up his principles. The same thing happened to my uncle when he was a student here at the university and was teaching in my village. They expelled him from the school because of his political activism and he went to complete his studies overseas. Our teachers are very limited in their ability to socialise for national identity.

In conclusion, the tension between Palestinian students and their teachers, both parties as colonial subjects within the Palestinian colonial education in Israel, is inherited in the strange educational context that brings them together. The attempt to resolve this tension in a more educational and meaningful way is a daunting experience for the teachers and the students alike. It is apparent from the current analysis of the Israeli-dominated formal history curriculum used in Palestinian schools, the students' perception of this curriculum, and the teachers' understanding of their role as educators, that the formal History curriculum used in Palestinian schools in Israel has a clearly colonising attempt, culturally hegemonic, and represents a historical narrative which seeks to alienate the Palestinian students from their historical sense of collective-national identity. The Palestinian teachers were shown to be conflicted as a result of their levels of job-dependency,

as well as the conflict between the Israeli educational policies on the one hand and their community's expectations on the other.

Contrary to official expectations of the colonial authorities, the Palestinian students revealed an apparent level of cultural and nationalistic consciousness which they had developed outside of the school system, and so they did not hesitate to defy and define their teachers as representatives of the formal educational system and its objectives (Makkawi, 2009). The Israeli intention to infuse racist and exclusionary content into the curriculum is not a simple process, because the students as human agents have repeatedly demonstrated resistance to the cultural content of such education (see Giroux, 1983).

As Palestinian students graduate from this colonial educational system and they enrol at the university, the psychological process of collective identity development takes a new momentum within the new colonial educational context. Being relentlessly "integrated" with the majority Jewish students in the same educational institution puts their collective-national identity against a new challenge. Universities are the only educational context in Israel where the coloniser and colonised are fully integrated under a clear and established asymmetrical power relationship between the two groups. To a large extent, Palestinian students attending the Israeli university are educated and socialised within this formal educational context. Their entrance to university represents a transition stage giving a fresh momentum to the process of identity search and development within the university. The Palestinian Students Movement in the Israeli universities represents a resistance educational context and community engagement from the margin for them. The next chapter is devoted to the discussion of the struggle over collective-national identity development among Palestinian students in the Israeli universities.

CHAPTER IV

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH STUDENT ACTIVISM

ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES AS COLONIAL INSTITUTIONS

The inauguration of the most prominent of today's Israeli universities more than two decades prior to the materialisation of the Zionist colonial project in Palestine in 1948, attests to their core mission, as higher education institutions, which are organically harnessed to this form of colonialism. The Zionist settlers in Palestine established the Technion Institution in Haifa in 1924, which was "devoted to training engineers and technical workers" and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1925, which was "devoted to the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and medicine" (Troen, 1992: 46). From the outset, the task which was assigned to these two institutions by the Zionist movement was to facilitate the process of colonialism, an endeavour the settlers defined as "nation-building". The Israeli universities were not intended to be the typical type of ivory tower institution, but rather as Troen (1992: 50) argues "they have always been and continue to be directly engaged in the process of nation-building and maintaining and strengthening the State".

Commitment of the universities in their early history to the two main expectations, namely cultural-"reviving" and State-building, led some Israeli scholars to go thus far in asserting the dominance of these expectations over other needs arguing that "in Israel, training profes-

sional people was not an important function of the university [since] immigrants brought to the country more than enough professionals" (Ben-David, 1986: 108). While it is possible to find parallel similarities and consistencies between the role of the Israeli universities and that of the international mainstream academia in relation to research and teaching, it is quite evident that regarding the "third mission" (Bernardo, Butcher & Howard, 2012) of the university (i.e., community service), the Israeli universities are singled out as an exception. In the case of the Israeli universities, this "third mission" crosses the line from nation-building or cultural-"reviving" for the Zionist settlers, to nation-dismantling and cultural-invasive with regard to the Palestinian native people (Robinowitz, 2002).

Colonial Israeli universities (Technion Institute established in 1924 and Hebrew University in 1925) followed the German model of higher education with strong emphasis on scientific research and teaching and with secondary attention to community service in the traditional sense of the word. This is not a surprise since both universities were established during a colonial process (Troen, 1992: 107) when the Jewish community was still a small minority in historical Palestine. Ben-David succinctly puts it this way: "when the Hebrew University was established in 1925, it was intended to serve as a world centre for Jewish science and scholarship". Being so obsessed with the scientific research enterprise, Israeli universities have been criticised by their own supports for their failure to facilitate the development of the Hebrew language as an important aspect of the Jewish cultural identity they were expected to develop (Kheimets & Epstein, 2005). Earlier research and publication were conducted in German language, only to be replaced by English following the Second World War and the global expansion of English as the dominant language of science.

The Community engagement, or community service as one of the three pillars of the university in the mordent world (Watson, 2008) has been understood in the case of the Israeli universities as an active involvement in the colonial process through "reviving" Jewish culture in Palestine and pragmatically help colonising the land and establishing the infrastructure for the emerging State. The social functions of the Israeli universities were described as "contribution to reclaiming the land... cultural contributions to national revival… contribution to national security" (Troen, 1992: 50-55).

Founding Israeli academics in the social sciences were actively involved in the cultural colonisation process as well, without which the entire Zionist colonial project would have been meaningless and less enduring. The task of "nation building"—or more specifically

creating a new collective identity and culture from spaciously diverse groups of Jewish settlers arriving from over 80 countries—demanded at the same time the delegitimisation, marginalisation, "othering", and deeming primitive and backwards a competing indigenous identity and culture claiming national rights to the same land, that is the Palestinian people.

Israeli anthropologists were notoriously involved in creating "colonial scholarship" about the native Palestinians and their culture as it stands in direct negation to the supposedly progressive and western-type Jewish culture in colonial Palestine. Dan Robinowitz (2002) critically reviews the work of seven of the most prominent "first generation" Israeli anthropologists on Palestinians which were produced over the first twenty-five years of the State's existence. The contrast between the features of Palestinian culture, as constructed by these Israeli anthropologists, and their supposedly opposites in the Jewish culture, were succinctly summarised in Robinowitz's (2002) critical review. As the oriental "other" contrasted with Jewish culture, Palestinian culture was constructed and described as such:

> … peripheral, dependent [vs.] metropolitan, independent; traditional family, based on material logic, no individual freedom [vs.] modern family, based on personal choice; traditional structures dominate social life [vs.] transactionalism and meritocracy, social innovation; escapism, unrealistic politics, uprootedness [vs.] resilience, rootedness, common sense and pragmatism; subordination of public life to the culture of honour and shame and self-promoting individuals [vs.] political leaders are committed to serve communities; traditionalism, stability and ancient structures and customs [vs.] dynamism, social innovation, willingness to change; and inequality before the law, misfit between rhetoric and action [vs.] all are equal before the law, practice and theory are one. (Robinowitz, 2002: 318)

Community service as the third function of universities, in addition to research and teaching, was from the outset intertwined with the process of colonisation for the Israeli universities. If colonisation means creating a *new* society and new political-economic system in a land captured from others—all forms of colonialism have historically involved existential conflict between the colonisers and the indigenous people—then the Israeli universities were involved in a bidirectional process from their inception: facilitate the building of the Israeli Jewish society in Palestine while simultaneously help dismantling the already existing Palestinian-Arab society in Palestine. Simply put, the existence of the Arab-Palestinian people aspiring for national self-determination stands in sharp contradiction with the Zionist colonial project. This distinction is important for our discussion of the role of

community engagement for Israeli universities in relation to the native Palestinian community.

When reviewing the literature about higher education and community engagement in the global context, one comes against a striking fact: when the Israeli universities are involved in community engagement they are actually involved only with the Israeli-Jewish communities to the extent of deliberate marginalisation of the Palestinian community within Israel. Furthermore, Israeli universities are systematically repressing Palestinian student activism as a form of grassroots community engagement within the universities themselves. From here the thesis of this paper emerged which could be summarised as such: Palestinian student activists in the universities are leading community engagement from the margin (i.e., against the general policy of the formal establishment both university and government) and conduct community activities among their fellow Palestinian students (as a community of minority students within a predominantly Jewish campus) and they are also involved in community organising and action in their original their hometowns.

STUDENT ENGAGEMENT AND ACTIVISM
The concept of community engagement has been central to intellectual debates and discussions in a number of disciplines, including sociology, political sciences and community psychology. Following such widespread cross-disciplinary focus, "community engagement" has been deployed in a wide variety of forms and contexts by a range of sectors including government structures deliberately seeking to involve communities in political processes (Head, 2007), juvenile justice systems dealing with substance abuse and delinquency (Nissen, 2011), western governments seeking assistance from their local Muslim communities to "combat terrorism" (Spalek & Imtoual, 2007), mental health organisations (Centre for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 1997), and educational institutions—mainly institutions of higher education (Bond & Paterson, 2005).

Around the world, universities, like many other public institutions, also initiate engagement projects in support of their local community surroundings (Bringle & Hatcher, 2002), or society at large through research and service-learning which represent a broad variety of forms and projects of university-community engagement (see Bond & Paterson, 2005; Dempsey, 2010; Dulmus & Cristali, 2012; Lazarus, Erasmus, Hendricks, Nduna, & Slamat, 2008; Smith, 2000; Thompson, Story & Butler, 2003; Winter, Wiseman, & Muirhead, 2006). Examples include collaborative research projects involving university-community partnership, universities developing agendas to strengthen the

local community, and service learning as forms of campus-community engagement.

Irrespective of the form or sector involved, engagement initiatives target community in some sort of action that is presumably beneficial to the community and the formal institution that initiates and facilitates the engagement process. Within the process of community engagement conceived in this way the official, well-resourced, powerful and mission governed organisation usually takes the lead in the community engagement process.

While community engagement produces many positive outcomes, there are a number of problematic issues in the corpus of mainstream literature focused on university-community engagement. Below I focus on three problematic areas. First, there appears to be a tendency to discuss institutions of higher education and their community engagement work as if they were ideologically neutral and operating within homogeneous and conflict-free social contexts. However some universities such as the Israeli universities were established precisely as part of a colonial process (Ben-David, 1986; Troen, 1992). The Palestinian universities, on the other hand, were established as a form of defiance and resistance to Zionist colonialism (Bruhn, 2006). In Latin America, universities have been intimately involved in the national liberation movements across the continent and, for instance, have contributed to critical sociology and community participatory action research (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991), liberation education (Freire, 1970), and liberation psychology (Martin-Baro, 1994). In post-apartheid South Africa, many university departments have been intensively involved in community engagement initiatives, devoting their academic knowledge and expertise to various community-focused development and processes of reconciliation and reconstruction in a post-conflict society (Lazarus et al, 2008).

The engagement work of such Palestinian, Latin American and South African universities seems to find resonance in Ernest Boyer's call for "scholarship of engagement" (Boyer, 1990). Boyer proposed a "paradigm shift" (see Kuhn, 1970) in academia that included four types of research: scholarship of *discovery*, which resembles basic research and involves academics in the creation of new knowledge; scholarship of *integration*, which refers to placing new discoveries within interdisciplinary perspectives; scholarship of *sharing*, that entails the dissemination of knowledge and research findings; and scholarship *reconsidered*, that involves reflections about the relevance and appropriateness of new knowledge for priority social problems requiring resolution and innovation (Boyer, 1995).

Second, there seems to be insufficient examination of the meanings and definitions associated with the concept "community". Within

the diversity highlighted by such a construct, community has been central to the interests of a wide range of disciplines in the social sciences, each discipline having its own set of definitions and theories of community and community behaviour. Howarth (2001: 224) lists a number of definitions of community which are common in everyday discourse, such as:

> a group of people who share a common history and set of beliefs … an area where those who live there interact on a frequent and supportive basis … a collectivity of people that share common interests and hobbies … a group of people that co-construct a common identity and a sense of difference … a body of people that are brought together through similar experiences of exclusion and discrimination imposed by wider society … a group of people that share similar work patterns and work culture … a collectivity that has common politics and economics.

Howarth (2001: 228) argues that there are four aspects of community that need to be taken into account. Community can be viewed as a "source of social knowledge, a basis for common identity, means of marginalisation and social inclusion [and] as a resource for empowerment".

Third, in situations of oppression, colonised and marginalised communities are often excluded from the mainstream and hegemonic enactments of community engagement. When marginalised groups in society are excluded from mainstream politics or mainstream community engagement practices, activist community members tend to resort to "free spaces" (Evan & Boyts, 1992), in which they organise and carry out collective actions to benefit their own community. In the process of grassroots community engagement, community activists gain greater self-respect and collective identity, and develop enhanced public skills and civic participation (O'Donoghue, 2006). This form of engagement, distinct from hegemonic enactments, is commonly known as community grassroots organising, and is typically initiated by community members and local leadership (see Kahn, 1991). Grassroots community engagement is anchored in the concept of community organising, and adheres to central values of "fairness, justice, empowerment, participation, and self-determination" (CDC, 1997: 4), resonating with the commonly emphasised values inherent in community psychology for liberation and well-being (see Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010).

In recognition of these three issues, I seek to problematise the concept of university-community engagement in Palestinian colonial context. I argue that the Israeli universities, as formal institutions of higher education, were established by the colonising power and have

been directly and indirectly involved in the colonial project through the research they produce, the type of pedagogy they espouse, particularly in the social sciences, and the kind of community engagement in which they are involved (Al-Haj, 2003; Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Makkawi, 2004; Nakhleh, 1979; Zureik, 1979). I also argue for the broadening and reconceptualisation of the concept of community engagement to include community organising led by the marginalised and oppressed communities who are deliberately and structurally excluded from the community engagement efforts of higher education institutions, as is the case of the Palestinians in Israel. By exploring the experiences of Palestinian student activists in Israeli universities, as a form of community engagement from the colonised margin, I hope to expand our understanding of university-community engagement. In the following section I discuss the activities of the Palestinian Student Movement in Israeli universities as a form of community engagement from the margins.

PALESTINIAN STUDENT MOVEMENT AND IDENTITY RECONSTRUCTION

Student political activism refers to the engagement of students in non-institutionalised political activities (Whalen & Flacks, 1989). It is a worldwide and age-old phenomenon, though its degrees, forms, and manifestations vary from country to country and from one historical period to another. Most of the research on the subject of student activism has focused on student activists in western societies, and in particular their protests during the 1960s. Students were a major force in the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany, played a major role in modern Chinese nationalism in 1919, and led the most influential university reform movement in Latin America in 1918, and emerged in North America as a major force in political action in the 1960s (Altbach, 1989). A brief comparison of the North American Student Movement during the 1960s and the Palestinian Student Movement in Israel reveals the risk involved in generalising from one situation to the other. First, while American students of the 1960s were significantly more active than any other student generation in the American history (Altbach, 1989), we can find that the successive generations of Palestinian students have maintained their organisations and activities at the same level since their first organisational endeavour in 1958 (Makkawi, 2004). Second, American student activists were the offspring of middle class, college-educated and politically liberal parents (Walen & Flacks, 1989), whereas the Palestinian students' parents were members of a colonised national minority group that was cut off from the rest of its people after they were expelled in 1948

(Ghanem, 2001). Third, American students are in conflict with their own national State. Palestinian students, on the other hand, are protesting against a system that was imposed on them, and they perceive themselves as outsiders to the Israeli colonial political system (Makkawi, 2004).

The investment by individuals and communities in higher education has two domains of values: socioeconomic and sociopolitical (Mari, 1979). The economic values prevail when higher education provides the individual with potential chances for upward socioeconomic mobility; politically, higher education is valued when it is relevant to the sociopolitical needs of the individual and society. According to Mari (1979: 435), "non-economic values of higher education seem to have special significance to developing societies as they try to develop national and political identification with their respective nation State". The gloom picture of unemployment among Palestinian university graduate is a well-documented reality (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Al-Haj, 1988, 2003). However, lack of economic reward is not the only reason behind the low ration of Palestinian university students in Israel. The poor level of high school preparation and the university entrance exams create an additional set of structural barriers to their enrolment at the university (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Al-Haj, 2003). Graham-Brown (1984: 57) argues that the Israeli university entrance exam "has been criticised in some quarters in the West as containing inbuilt cultural assumptions which favour those who come from the dominant culture or social class". Cultural biases in this exam are consistent and have been reported in more recent studies (Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

Despite slight improvements, relatively speaking, the ratio of Palestinian students to the total (mainly Jewish) student population continues to be significantly low. In 1989/90 Palestinian students composed 5.4% of the general student population in the Israeli universities, whereas the Palestinian community composed 16% of the total population (Al-Haj, 1995: 193). Today, when the Palestinian community is about 20% of the total population, Palestinian university students make up only 8.3% of the total student population (Arar & Mustafa, 2011: 213). Universities are the only educational institutions in Israel where Palestinian and Jewish students are fully officially "integrated". Nonetheless, the academic life in Israeli universities "reflects [the] power relations in the wider society, and this serves to reproduce the stratification system and deepen the cultural hegemony of the majority" (Al-Haj, 2003: 351). Despite repeated attempts and initiatives made by Palestinian intellectual leadership, the idea of establishing an Arab university in Israel has been vehemently and repeatedly rejected and suppressed by the Israeli authorities (Abu-Alheja, 2005).

It is because of this colonially imposed student "integration" that the Israeli universities find it difficult to halt and repress Palestinian students' political activism while allowing Jewish students the freedom of political organisation. Hence, the relationship between the Palestinian students and the university authorities is conflictive and corresponds to the government's colonising policy towards the Palestinians at large. Palestinian student activists relentlessly exploit various spaces in the system to conduct and sustain their community political involvement both among their fellow Palestinian students within campus and in their home community as well.

Palestinian students are socially and politically alienated due to the educational context of the Israeli universities being in contradiction with their national and cultural aspirations. Nakhleh (1979: 113), argues that "the Israeli universities are dominated by Jewish-Zionist ideology, and this ideological basis frequently gets reinforced by rituals … such context places heavy sanctions on an Arab nationalist expression". Andre Elias Mazawi, a Palestinian scholar and critical theorist of education, reflects back on his own educational experience in an Israeli university: "My Tel-Aviv University undergraduate education (French language and Literature, and Education), as formative as it was, offered little curricular content that would facilitate a meaningful and critical understanding of those aspects of Palestinian society I was observing and experiencing on a daily basis" (Mazawi, 2011: 223). For the majority of Palestinian students in the Israeli universities this peculiar educational context is both challenging and inspiring for resistance and engagement in the student movement which illuminates their sense of national identity and critical political consciousness. This form of community engagement from the margin is not only neglected by the university authorities, but is systematically sanctioned and repressed. Despite the low proportion of Palestinian students in the Israeli universities, their existence as a minority community within campus is intensely noticeable due to their high level of grassroots political engagement (Makkawi, 2004).

Palestinian students maintain their right to organise themselves in independent frameworks separate from the General Student Union (GSU). Embedded in the dominant culture of the Israeli universities, the GSU is "dominated by the majority Jewish students who do not cater to the specific needs of Arab [Palestinian] students" (Zureik, 1979: 176). Despite their legitimate argument that, as a national minority group, they have different national and cultural needs, which are not on the agenda of the GSU, the university authorities intensely refuse to recognise their student organisation. This strange situation of being neither illegal nor recognised was illustrated in a statement by the head

of the National Union of Arab Students (NUAS): "the national union is not formally recognised by the university authorities, but there is de-facto recognition: they approach us when there are problems, and we approach them" (Machul, 1984: 61). The university's recognising of Palestinian students' organisations implies de-facto recognition of their collective identity as a Palestinian national group; a reality which is systematically denied and suppressed by the authorities of the Israeli universities and the government at large (Makkawi, 2004).

Palestinian student groups linked themselves with political organisations and parties throughout the community who share their political references and ideological affiliations. More accurately, they are the student branches of the various Palestinian political organisations on the community level. Hence their link to community level political engagement. The central goals and stated objectives of the student organisations have been to maintain and affirm their national and cultural identity as part of the Palestinian people within the parameters of their social and political reality. As such, student activism as a form of community engagement from the margin is conceived as one of the most comprehensive political educational processes Palestinian youths' experience. These students are active and organised in small groups who share similar ideological perceptions and belief systems. Psychologically, student activists construct their collective-national identity and express it through their membership as active group members, not as isolated individuals.

There are two interrelated levels of community engagement in which Palestinian student activists in Israeli universities are involved. First, they are involved in action among Palestinian students in each university as an oppressed minority community within the larger body of an Israeli campus. They are also organised on a national level in an umbrella organisation (NASU) that represents the various ASUs in all universities. Second, they continue to play an active role through their community level political parties through which they create a minority university-community engagement (as opposed to the official Israeli university line of community engagement). Erdreich (2006: 128), in an ethnographic work, describes the activities of the ASU as an "instructive ritual" for a minority group within an alienating educational context. She writes: "In compensation for the suppression of Palestinian national communities within Israel and for the lack of socialisation by the schools, the rites of the ASU ritualised community are instructive."

The interconnectedness between the student movement and the general Palestinian political movement in Israel is so potent. Community level political involvement of Palestinian students is generally

integrated with the political movement at large; only on campus we can identify forms of political protest as purely student engagement or led by the student movement for that matter.

We can roughly divide the activities of the PSM into two categories: students' rights and daily issues on the one hand, and political activities related to the national cause on the other. In fact this dichotomy has characterised the levels of engagement of the different political parties' organisations that have been active among the Palestinians in Israel for decades. The question of the civic rights as citizens of the State and the national cause and the dialectical relationship between them seems to be in the centre of the political discourse among the Palestinian political leadership and their student branches as well (Rouhana, 1997).

Erdreich (2006) observed a wide range of ritual activities conducted by the ASU at the Hebrew University. These include the distribution of posters with nationalistic character and content, the invitation of guest speakers, the organisation of student day activities for Palestinian students only, the celebrations of a wide range of national occasions. All of these activities were directed towards the revival and maintenance of the students' national identity through cultural activities. Furthermore, Palestinian students were in the front lines in the wide range of community protests and political action in their own home community during the eruption of the second Intifada where fourteen youths were murdered by the Israeli police (Lowrance, 2006).

College experience in general and involvement in extracurricular activities in particular have a positive impact on the student's social and psychological development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993). Extracurricular activities in the Israeli universities cater mainly to the Jewish students' culture and for the most part are not only irrelevant, but also antagonistic to Palestinian students. This essential component of the campus social life experience is made available to Palestinian students through their involvement in their own political organisations. Reaching the great majority of Palestinian students on campus in order to increase their involvement in such activities is not only fundamental to their national awareness, but also their psychological development as individuals.

Ironically, the Israeli universities as academic institutions are still controlled by the political system and the dominant Zionist ideology. As such, they take upon themselves the mission of protecting the status quo from the "threat" stemming from Palestinian students' national identity. Palestinian student organisations are still not recognised by the universities and their activities. Especially those addressing their Palestinian national identity are still to a large extent

censured and repressed by the university authorities. It is because of this repression of their national identity by the university authorities that Palestinian students persist in their activism. A strongly committed Palestinian male student activist puts it this way: "problems like these motivate us to work even harder. Indirectly, by creating these problems they give us incentives for more resistance and work against them." (Makkawi, 2004: 51)

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As critical ethnography (Thomas, 1993), this study is grounded in the assumption that historical Palestine in its entirety is subjugated to a classic form of colonialism where the colonialist Israeli authorities employ all means in their capacity to fragment, control, and exploit the native people who have been involved (albeit in various forms) in a prolonged struggle for self-determination. The Palestinian people today do not live and interact with each other as one intact community in a clearly defined sociopolitical structure, but rather they are scattered in various locations where some of them live within their original homeland (1948 occupied Palestine), some in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and the rest are dispossessed refugees in exile (Makkawi, 2009). The transformative contribution of this critical qualitative inquiry has been designed to uncover inductively the colonialist exploitation and hegemony of formal education among the Palestinians in Israel as a means of identity distortion, socioeconomic class reproduction and cooptation of the intellectual elite. While remaining committed to the utilisation of methodological standards commonly used in qualitative research, the long term objective of the study was to contribute to political transformation in Palestine which could be achieved, among other means, by transforming the formal educational system itself.

In order to achieve this goal, education of the oppressed (Friere, 1970) first and foremost must be relevant; above all it must be relevant to their cultural and notional being. Furthermore, education must be relevant in order for it to be critical. And finally, it must be critical in order for it to be transformative. Relevance, criticality and transformation constitute a three level process in which the achievement of one level forms a precondition to the next. While aspiring to contribute to the transformative end of Palestinian educational system in Israel, the current study intended to explore the relevance of the formal curriculum of History to Palestinian students' sense of national and cultural identity and was confined to the first level of the transformational process.

The critical assumption about the formal educational system of the Palestinians in Israel is the fact that it has been systematically controlled and manipulated by the Israeli authorities in order to achieve three intertwined objectives manifested in the following: first, the Israeli government's attempt to shape Palestinian students' sense of collective-national identity consistently with Israel's definition as a "Jewish State". There has been growing evidence that the formal educational system for the Palestinians in Israel is the most effective political tool used by the government to manipulate Palestinian students' sense of collective-national identity (Makkawi, 2002; 2004). Second, the Israeli government systematically uses the school as a social institution for reproduction of the socioeconomic class structure—that is channelling Palestinian students into a working-class future. Material discrimination against Palestinian schools does not only represent colonialist racist attitude of the Israeli policy makers, but carefully intends to maintain the employment gap between Palestinians and Jews through the reproduction of working class where class and ethnicity are intertwined. Third, there is an obvious attempt to coopt the Palestinian educated and intellectual elite through employment as teachers, by keeping other forms of employment restricted.

The research intended to investigate the conflicts and contradictions imbedded in the process of constructing social-psychological sense of collective-national identity among Palestinian students in the Israeli formal educational system through closely examining the dialectical interplay between three agents in the formal educational process; namely the formal curriculum of History, the students, and the teachers. The three sets of data were submitted separately to qualitative data analysis and subsequently were compared and contrasted to depict the overall picture of the findings of the study. Generally, the results indicate that the formal curriculum of History which is being strictly used in Palestinian schools in Israel is colonising the students'

minds, culturally hegemonic, and represents a historical narrative which is peculiar and alienating to the students' sense of collective-national identity. The teachers were found to be coopted intellectuals who have a great level of job dependency leading to an immense level of role conflict; they are torn between their community's expectations and their employer's formal policies and regulations. Finally, the students revealed an apparent level of cultural and nationalistic consciousness which they have developed outside of school and did not hesitate to challenge their teachers as representatives of the formal educational system and its values. Overall, the integrated picture emerging from the perspectives of the students, the teachers, and the formal curriculum they use in the "educational" process is clearly a colonising experience.

To reiterate, the main question set forth to be investigated by this study pertains to the ways by which the formal educational system for the Palestinians in Israel is exploited and manipulated by the government in the political process as a hegemonic tool used for blurring the students' collective-national identity and what forms of "resistance", if any, are being adopted by the students to counter such a process.

As indicated in the first theme emerging from examining the formal curriculum of History, it was established that all the formal curriculum textbooks used in Palestinian schools, including History textbooks, have been authored under tight scrutiny of the Israeli Ministry of Education. The authors of these textbooks are mostly Jewish, and in some cases, when the author is an Arab, the overall supervision of the textbook development is assigned to a Jewish person. Furthermore, many textbooks are mere translations of the Hebrew textbooks used in the Jewish schools. This reality is congruent with the central assumption of the study indicating the formal control the Israeli authorities exert over Palestinian education in order to maintain their colonialist objectives. Laws and regulations are rigid and leave no space for interpretation when it comes to Palestinian education which is run and controlled by the Israeli Ministry of Education.

The function of teaching History as a discipline is to help the students develop historical consciousness and locate their nation on the big picture of the world's historical development (Pratt, 1974). This goal would be achieved by clear connection between those past historical events, the present sociopolitical arrangement and a clear vision and aspiration for the future. This continuity of locating the Arab and Palestinian people on the thread of historical development is clearly missing from the formal curriculum. History is presented in the form of isolated and disconnected events taking place in various places and times worldwide without any form of interconnection between them

showing the dialectical development of seminal historical events. The presentation of these sporadic events misrepresents and disfigures the formation of a coherent picture for the Palestinian students about the historical past, present and future of their Arab nations and its place in world history and contribution to the human civilisation. It is absurd to answer the question: "Where are we as Arabs and Palestinians in this type of History?"

I would argue that in the same manner in which the Israeli educational curriculum planners purposely design the History curriculum for Jewish students to achieve the goal of historical consciousness and Jewish "milting pot" for that matter, they, on the other hand, invest the same meticulous, but contradictory effort to create a colonising curriculum that blurs any chance of Palestinians students gaining historical consciousness and national identity. There is an overwhelming presence of the collective history of the Jews as a unique group throughout the various important historical eras. The Jews are presented as a people with a cause and a common narrative to the effect of neglecting the presence of the Palestinian people (the most vital collective belonging for the students) and the avoidance of their historical existence in Palestine. This fragmented historical narrative is not coincident with but a result of a carefully designed attempt of "social engineering" aspiring to disfigure the collective-national identity of Palestinian students.

General history of the Arabs during the pre-Islamic era is being taught in the seventh grade where it covers almost half of the textbook, and repeated again in tenth grade where it is presented from the pre-Islamic era until the end of the Abbasid era. History of the Arabs and Moslems is disconnectedly presented with special emphasis on internal conflicts and conspiracies to the effect of neglecting important historical events in the Arab history such as the Andalusia era and the Arabs' contributions to the world civilisation during that era. Looking back into the historical roots of his or her nation, the Arab-Palestinian student finds a gloomy picture where the glory of Arab-Islamic civilisation and its contribution to the world's human civilisation is intentionally misrepresented.

There is evident indication of a growing sense of Arab-Palestinian national identity among Palestinians in Israel in recent years (Rouhana, 1997). In light of the growing out of school exposure of the students to nationalistic content of their culture and identity, particularly pertaining to the Palestinians national question, the Israeli Ministry of Education found itself compelled to incorporate such knowledge in a controlled manner in the formal educational curriculum. This would give the Israeli authorities more room for control of such knowledge

comparable to the information students construct on their own outside formal schooling. Consequently, the most recent edition to the History curriculum has one chapter at the end of the twelfth grade textbook about the "Palestinian cause". The chapter is a mere detached presentation of sporadic events during that era avoiding the explicit elaboration on the ethnic cleansing campaign perpetuated by Zionist organisations against the indigenous Palestinian people (Morris, 1989; Pappe, 1994) resulting in the refugee questions and their demand for the right of return. The whole narrative of the Palestinian cause ends at the "truce fire agreement" leaving the impression that we were dealing with a remote historical event with no connection to the present, let alone ever considering the students' consciousness regarding the future of their nation and its quest for self-determination.

Findings from the teachers' interviews illustrate an inherent role conflict they endure as part of their teaching profession. Teachers expressed a great level of "job dependency" and adherence to the formal policies and regulations of the Ministry of Education that require them to teach History to their students consistently with the formal curriculum and the status quo. They were aware of the fact that other venues of employment are quite limited for them and that their only option is to maintain their teaching position not as a free career choice they have made, but rather as the only option left after the Israeli authorities restricted other employment possibilities.

Consequently, the teachers expressed a deep level of alienation and a poor level of job satisfaction mainly due to a lack of control over the content they teach and a lack of involvement in decision-making regarding the education they provide to their students. Their statements and expressions illustrate a narrative of a coopted educated group of professionals who are involved in justifying the status quo and the official line of the Ministry of Education. There was an apparent low level of enthusiasm as they were speaking about their professional role, and for the most part this lack of enthusiasm was blamed on the students' lack of motivation to study. The teachers were aware of the potential and real conflicts with their students regarding national identity of the students and the content of the formal History curriculum. They indicated continuous attempts to avoid confrontation with the students regarding nationalism and national identity. Discussion of current political issues that may raise controversial perspectives are intestinally avoided, which is consistent with the official regulations they receive from their employer.

In sum, one can clearly observe the negative effect of the teachers' role conflict and its manifestation in the overwhelming level of job dependency, alienation, and cooptation of the teachers. This demoral-

ising level of teachers' effectiveness is clearly reflected in the students' perspectives and the way they relate to their formal education, especially with reference to the content of the History curriculum and the way it represents a peculiar narrative with regard to their national identity.

Gieroux (1983; 1997) critically reviews the classical theories of reproduction according to which the capitalist system exploits the formal educational system for purposes of reproduction of the socio-economic class structure and infusing the dominant culture into the minds of the oppressed and marginalised minority students. While accepting the argument that the dominant system relentlessly uses the education of the oppressed as means of further domination and oppression (Friere, 1970), Giroux's resistance theory emphasises the active role of the students in resisting such a colonising education and alternatively reconstructing their cultural and collective identity consistently with their home culture and not with that of the school.

Findings from the interviews with Palestinian students indicated a clear manifestation of a resistance process consistent with Giroux's proposition. They have indicated clearly that they study History for the sake of the exam—they differentiate between learning that is educational and socially meaningful to them and to their community, and learning only to meet the graduation condition. This type of "instrumental" learning is anything but educational since its value to the students' personal and social development is not only minimal but is also in sharp contradiction with their overall cultural and national socialisation.

National identity construction, according to the students' argument, is developed and nurtured outside the school context. Students were aware of the fact that their formal education is not designed and conducted in order to foster their national identity and consciousness, but rather to create an alienated minority student who is unable to identify with his or her national identity. This void in their formal education is filled through involvement in community based activities and the family. Consequently, the gap between the "home culture" and the "school culture" is increasing, rendering the entire process of formal education a "strange" experience to the Palestinian student in Israel. Furthermore, the students expressed a clear level of awareness of the limitations imposed on their teachers by the Israeli authorities. They varied in their responses between those who expressed understanding of the limitations imposed on their teachers, and those who insisted to challenge the teachers as representatives of the formal authorities.

In conclusion, the study provides a serious contribution to critical-multicultural education, focusing on the experience of a

non-assimilating, non-voluntary national minority group within the context of a prolonged international conflict. It rigorously and inductively investigated the formal curriculum of History, as well as the students' and teachers' perceptions of whether formal education within such a conflictive situation is a tool of domination and hegemony by the majority group or a process of liberation for the oppressed minority group. Palestinian education in Israel is conflictive and controversial and the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed over the utilisation of the formal educational system as an instrument within the prolonged conflict seems to be the dominant state of affairs for the coming future.

Finally, with reference to Palestinian students in Israel institutions of higher education, the recent movement called community engagement holds promising and widely optimistic views regarding genuine community involvement, social justice, the collective alleviation of human misery, and an ideal set of values that underpin our work with the marginalised, excluded, socially, economically and politically oppressed groups in the larger society. This picture might be accurately reflective of the situation in mainstream scenarios where the State, the official political authorities, the formal institutions of higher education, the larger society, and even marginalised groups within this larger society share common interests and identification. The premise of this conceptualisation of university-community engagement falls apart once we examine it in a colonial context where the universities themselves have been established as part of the colonial process.

In the last chapter of this project, I attempted to unpack the concept of community engagement and by its application to the situation of a colonised native community expand its boundaries to account for community based grassroots organising as a form of community engagement when the basic idea of community engagement by the university excludes and marginalises the community in question. Similar to the lack of agreement among the scholars of community on a unified definition of the concept community, it might be more appropriate to describe the concept of community engagement as context-specific rather than a generalised notion that can hold across contexts. We may have different understandings of university-community engagement depending on the specific context within which universities operate.

Unlike classic forms of colonialism, the Zionist colonial-settler project in Palestine had intended from the beginning to settle in a land which was, to the disenchantment of the settlers and their leadership, relatively developed and fully populated by its native population aspiring for national self-determination. The inevitable clash between

the settlers and the native people resulted in the fragmentation and disposition of the native Palestinian population. The Palestinians who remained in their homeland and reluctantly were granted the Israeli formal citizenship were never intended to be included in the composition of the Jewish State and its national goals and aspirations. It is within this peculiar reality that the Israeli institutions of higher education have never intended to serve the collective needs of the native Palestinian community in the State.

I argued throughout this paper that historical Palestine in its entirety is subjugated to a classic form of colonialism where the colonialist authorities employ all means in their capacity to fragment, control and exploit the native people who have been involved in a prolonged struggle for self-determination. This critical discussion attempted to uncover the colonialist exploitation and hegemony of formal education among the Palestinians in Israel as a means of identity distortion, socioeconomic class reproduction, and cooptation of the intellectual elite. Formal education for the Palestinian community in Israel lacks relevance, it is non-critical, and has never been transformative. As Palestinian students graduate from this educational system and enter university, they find in the Palestinian Students Movement in the universities an ideal and "safe space" for community engagement as a way of compensation for their earlier identity-blurring education.

The Palestinian Student Movement as a specific form of community engagement within the general college experience for Palestinian youths has been most helpful for the development of their collective-national identity. This is very important in light of the fact that the formal educational system continues to do exactly the opposite; blurring rather than developing Palestinian national identity. Since Palestinian formal schools in Israel are politically controlled and rigid against any attempt for transformation, it would be safe to argue that the student movement in the universities constitutes the most important educational context within which Palestinian students are engaged in collective identity development where domination and repression prevail. Having little chance to influence policy in the formal educational system, the target for change and development must be the Palestinian Student Movement as a valuable national educational context.

The concepts "community engagement" and "community grassroots organising" work almost in diametric oppositions. While in community engagement a formal organisation such as the university takes an initiative in the process of engaging the community, community grassroots organising is a process initiated by community activists. The distinction between the two concepts becomes sharper when colonised native communities are deliberately marginalised and ex-

cluded of the process of community engagement run by the dominant institution. Recalling the core values dwelled upon by proponents of community engagement, and putting them to test in a colonial context, one is left puzzled by the hypocrisy of applying these values to members of the colonially dominant community where repressing and excluding the colonised is the norm. Although they operate in different directions, community engagement and community grassroots organising should not be separated and discussed as two different social processes. If institutions of higher education are genuinely committed to the set of values that underpin their community involvement, then the incorporation of grassroots organising and community action that comes from the marginal and excluded communities should be incorporated in their core mission of community service and community engagement.

REFERENCES

Aboud, F.; Doyle, A. 1993 "The early development of ethnic identity and attitudes" in Bernal, M.; Knight, G. (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanic and other minorities*, pp. 47-59 (New York: State University of New York Press).

Abu-Alheja, Y. 2005 "Why there is no Arab University in Israel?" in Gur-Zeav, I. (ed.) *The end of the Israeli academy*, pp. 303-3011 (Haifa: Haifa University Press).

Abu-Saad, I. 2006 "State-controlled education and identity formation among the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel" in *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(8), 1085-1100.

Abu-Saad, I. 2008 "Present absentees: The Arab school curriculum in Israel as a tool for de-educating indigenous Palestinians" in *Holy Land Studies*, 7(1), 17-43.

Ahonen, S. 2001 "Politics of identity through history curriculum: Narrative of the past for social exclusion-or inclusion?" in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33(2), 179-194.

Achilli, L. 2014 "Disengagement from politics: Nationalism, political identity, and the everyday in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan" in *Critique of Anthropology*, 34 (2), 234-257.

Al-Haj, M. 1988 "Arab university graduates in Israel: Characteristics, potential and employment situation" in Al-Haj, M. (ed.) *The employment distress among Arab university graduates in Israel*, pp. 9-27 (Haifa: University of Haifa).

Al-Haj, M. 1995 *Education, empowerment and control: The case of the Arabs in Israel* (New York: State University of New York Press).

Al-Haj, M. 2002 "Multiculturalism in deeply divided societies: The Israeli case" in *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 169-183.

Al-Haj, M. 2003 "Higher education among the Arabs in Israel: Formal policy between empowerment and control" in *Higher Education Policy*, 16, 351-368.

Al-Haj, M. 2007 "A curriculum between conflict and peace: The teaching of history in Jewish and Arab schools in Israel" in Al-Haj, M.; Mielke, R. (eds.) *Cultural diversity and the empowerment of minorities: Perspectives from Israel & Germany*, pp. 61-75 (New York: Berghahn Books).

Altbach, P. 1989 *Student political activism: An international reference handbook* (New York: Greenwood Press).

Apple, M.; Christian-Smith, L. 1991 "The politics of the textbook" in Apple, M.; Christian-Smith, L. (eds.) *The politics of the textbook*, pp. 1-21 (New York: Routledge).

Apple, M. 2012 *Education and power* (New York: Routledge).

Arar, K.; Mustafa, M. 2011 "Access to higher education for Palestinians in Israel" in *Education, Business and Society: Middle Eastern Issues*, 4(3), 207-228.

Banks, J. 1994 *Multiethnic education: Theory and practice* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon).

Bar-Tal, D.; Teichman, Y. 2005 *Stereotypes and prejudice in conflict: Perspectives of Arabs in Israeli Jewish society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Beit-Hallahmi, B. 1998 *Original sins: Reflections on the history of Zionism and Israel* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Interlink Publications).

Ben-David, J. 1986 "Universities in Israel: Dilemmas of growth, diversification and administration" in *Studies in Higher Education*, 11(2), 105-130.

Bernardo, M.; Butcher, J.; Howard, P. 2012 "An international comparison of community engagement in higher education" in *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, 187-192.

Bond, R.; Paterson, L. 2005 "Coming down from the ivory tower? Academics' civic and economic engagement with the community" in *Oxford Review of Education*, 31(3), 331-351.

Boyatzis, R. 1998 *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development* (California: Sage Publications).

Boyer, E. 1990 *Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching).

Boyer, E. 1995 "The scholarship of engagement". Presented at the 1178th Stated Meeting. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, October, Princeton, NJ.

Brewer, M.; Gardner, W. 1996 "Who is this 'we'? Levels of collective identity and self representation" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), 83-93.

Bringle, R.; Hatcher, J. 2002 "Campus-community partnership: The terms of engagement" in *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(3), 503-516.

Brown, N. 2001 *Democracy, History, and the Contest over the Palestinian Curriculum* (Washington DC: Adam Institute).

Bruhn, C. 2006 "Higher education as empowerment: The case of Palestinian universities" in *American Behavioral Scientist* 49(8), 1125-1142.

Bulhan, H. 1985 *Frantz Fanon and the psychology of oppression* (New York: Plenum Press).

Calleja, I. 2008 "Education and the teaching of history in the light of encouraging conflict resolution in Cyprus" in *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 13(2), 49-67.

Carter, R.; Goodwin, L. 1994 "Racial identity and education" in *Review of Research in Education*, 20, 291-336.

CDC /ATSDR 1997 *Principles of community engagement* (Atlanta, GA: CDC Public Health Practice Program Office).

Chatty, D. 2010 "Palestinian refugee youth: Agency and aspiration" in *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 28 (2&3), 318-338.

Chickering, W.; Reisser, L. 1993 *Education and identity* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass).

Cross, W. E. 1991 *Shades of black: Diversity in African-American identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).

Davis, U. 1987 *Israel: An apartheid state* (London: Zed Books Ltd).

Dempsey, S. 2010 "Critiquing community engagement" in *Management Communication Quarterly*, 24(3), 359-390.

Dragonas, T.; Frangoudaki, A. 2000 "Introduction" in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 18, 229-238.

Dulmus, C.; Cristalli, M. 2012 "A university-community partnership to advance research in practice settings: The HUD research model" in *Research on Social Work Practice*, 22(2), 195-202.

Erdreich, L. 2006 "Instructive ritual: The Arab student union and the communitas of the Palestinian Israeli educated" in *Social Analysis*, 50(3), 127-145.

Erikson, E. 1968 *Identity: Youth and crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company).

Evan, S.; Boyts, H. C. 1992 *Free spaces: The sources of democratic change in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Fals-Borda, O.; Rahman, M. 1991 *Action and knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with participatory action research* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers).

Fanon, F. 1963 *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fincham, K. 2012 "Learning the nation in exile: Constructing youth identities, belonging and 'citizenship' in Palestinian refugee camp youth in south Lebanon" in *Comparative Education*, 48 (1), 119-133.

Fox, D. 2011 "Competing narratives about competing narratives: Psychology and Palestinian-Israeli conflict" in *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 5, 383-392.

Freire, P. 1970 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum).

Ghanem, A. 2001 *The Palestinian-Arab minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A political study* (New York: SUNY Press).

Giroux, H. 1983 "Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis" in *Harvard Educational Review*, 53(3), 257-293.

Giroux, H. 1997 *Pedagogy and the Politics of Hope: Theory, Culture and Schooling* (Colorado: Westview Press).

Giroux, H. 2011 *On critical pedagogy* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group).

Glaser, B.; Strauss, A. 1967 *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (New York: Aldine Transaction).

Graham-Brown, S. 1984 *Education, repression and liberation: Palestinians* (London: World University Service).

Grossman, D. 1992 "The guests can be shown the door" in *The New York Times Magazine*, 13, December, 40-50.

Hart, J. 2002 "Children and nationalism in a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan" in *Childhood*, 9 (1), 35-47.

Haslam, A.; Reicher, S. 2006 "Stressing the group: Social identity and the unfolding dynamics of responses to stress" in *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91 (5), 1037-1052.

Hogg, M.; Abrams, D. 1988 *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes* (London: Routledge).

Hourani, R. 2011 "Post-colonialism and ethnicity: Does it matter to history teaching?" in *Social Identities*, 17(5), 665-679.

Howarth, C. 2001 "Towards a social psychology of community: A social representation perspective" in *Journal of the Theory of Social Behavior*, 31(2), 223-238.

Human Rights Watch 2001 *Second class: Discrimination against Palestinian Arab children in Israel's schools* (New-York: Human Rights Watch).

Jabareen, Y. 2006 "Law and Education: Critical perspectives on Arab Palestinian education in Israel" in *American Behavioural Scientist*, 49(8), 1052-1974.

Jinadu, A. 1976 "Language and politics: On the cultural basis of colonialism" in *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 16 (3-4), 603-614.

Johnson, W. D. 1970 *The Social Psychology of Education* (Edina, Minnesota: Interaction Book Company).

Kahn, S. 1991 *Organizing: A guide for grassroots leaders* (New York: NASW Press).

Kheimets, N.; Epstein, A. 2005 "Language of science in the era of nation-state formation: The Israeli universities and their (non) participation in the revival of Hebrew" in *Journal of Multilingual and Cultural Development*, 26(1), 12-36.

Korostelina, K. 2008 "History education and social identity" in *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 8, 25-45.

Kuhn, T. 1970 *The structure of scientific revolutions* (IL: The University of Chicago Press).

Lazarus, J.; Erasmus, M.; Hendricks, D.; Nduna, J.; Slamat, J. 2008 "Embedding community engagement in South African higher education" in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 3(1) 57-83.

Lowrance, S. 2006 "Identity, grievances, and political action: Recent evidence from the Palestinian community in Israel" in *International Political Science Review*, 27(2), 167-190.

Lustick, I. 1980 "The quiescent Palestinians: The system of control over Arabs in Israel" in Nakhleh, K.; Zureik, E. (eds.) *The sociology of the Palestinians*, pp. 64-83 (New York: St. Martin's Press).

Machul, A. 1984 "Our policy is to encourage cooperation" in *New Outlook*, 27(10/11), 61-62.

Makkawi, I. 2000 "The psychological profile of Palestinian student activists in the Israeli universities". Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, April, New Orleans, LA.

Makkawi, I. 2002 "Role conflict and the dilemma of Palestinian teachers in Israel" in *Comparative Education*, 38(1), 39-52.

Makkawi, I. 2004 "National identity development among Palestinian student activists in the Israeli universities" in *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research and Practice*, 5(2), 19-59.

Makkawi, I. 2009 "Colonizing education and formal history curriculum in Palestinian schools in Israel". Paper presented at the Fourth Mediterranean Society of Comparative Education Conference, November, Rabat, Morocco.

Marcia, J. 1980 "Identity in adolescence" in Adelson, J. (ed.) *Handbook of adolescent psychology*, pp. 159-187 (New York: Wiley).

Mari, S. 1978 *Arab education in Israel* (New York: Syracuse University Press).

Mari, S. 1979 "Higher education among the Palestinians with special reference to the West Bank" in Ben-Dor, G. (ed.) *The Palestinians and the Middle East conflict*, pp. 433-448 (London: Turtledove Publishing).

Mari, S. 1987 "Policy and counter policy: The state of Arab education in Israel" in *Relations between ethnic majority and minority: A symposium* (Tel-Aviv, Israel: International Center for Peace in the Middle East).

Martin-Baro, I. 1994 *Writing for liberation psychology* (MA: Harvard University Press).

Masalha, N. 1993 *The Palestinians in Israel: Is Israel the state of all its citizens and "absentees"?* (Nazareth: Galilee Center for Social Research).

Mazawi, A. 1994 "Teachers' role pattern and mediation of socio-political change: The case of Palestinian Arab school teachers" in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 15(4), 497-515.

Mazawi, A. 2011 "Education as spaces of community engagement and a 'capacity to aspire'" in Sultana, R. G. (ed.) *Educator of the Mediterranean: Up close and personal*, pp. 223-235 (Malta: Sense Publishers).

McLaren, P. 1994 *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education* (New York: Longman).

Memmi, A. 1957 *The colonizer and the colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press).

Morris, B. 1989 *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge University Press).

Muldoon, O.; Lowe, R. 2012 "Social identity, groups, and post-traumatic stress disorder" in *Political Psychology*, 33 (2), 259-273.

Nakhleh, K. 1977 "The goals of education for Arabs in Israel" in *New Outlook*, 20(3), 29-35.

Nakhleh, K. 1979 *Palestinian dilemma: Nationalist consciousness and university education in Israel* (Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduates).

Nasser, R.; Nasser, I. 2008 "Textbooks as a vehicle for segregation and domination: State effort to shape Palestinian Israelis' identities as citizens" in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 40(5), 627-650.

Nelson, G.; Prilleltensky, I. (eds.) 2010 *Community psychology: In pursuit of liberation and well-being* (NY: Palgrave McMillan).

Nissen, L. B. 2011 "Community-directed engagement and positive youth development: Developing positive and progressive pathways between youth and their communities in reclaiming future" in *Children and Youth Services Review*, 33, 23-28.

O'Donoghue, J. 2006 "'Taking their own power': Urban youth, community-based youth organization, and public efficacy" in Ginwright, S.; Noguera, P.; Cammarota, J. (eds.) *Beyond resistance ! Youth activism and community change: New democratic possibilities for practice and policy for America's youth*, pp. 229-245 (New York: Routledge).

Ogbu, J. 2008 *Minority Status, Oppositional Culture, & Schooling* (London: Routledge).

Pappe, I. 1994 *The making of the Arab Israeli conflict 1947-51* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co).

Pappe, I. 2006 *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine* (London: One-world Publication).

Peres, Y.; Ehrlich, A.; Yuval-Davis, N. 1970 "National education for Arab youth in Israel: A comparative analysis of curricula" in *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 12, 147-163.

Phinney, J.; Chavira, V. 1992 "Ethnic identity and self-esteem: An exploratory longitudinal study" in *Journal of Adolescence*, 15, 271-281.

Phinney, J. 1989 "Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents" in *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9(1-2), 34-49.

Phinney, J. 1990 "Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research" in *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(3), 499-514.

Phinney, J. 1993 "A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence" in Bernal, M.; Knight, G. (eds.) *Ethnic identity: Formation and transmission among Hispanic and other minorities*, pp. 61-79 (New York: State University of New York Press).

Phinney, J. 1995 "Ethnic identity and self-esteem: A review and integration" in Padilla, A. (ed.) *Hispanic psychology: Critical issues in theory and research*, pp. 57-70 (California: Sage Publications).

Pollard, D. 1989 "Against the odds: A profile of academic achievers from the urban underclass" in *Journal of Negro Education*, 58(3), 297-308.

Pratt, D. 1974 "The foundations of teaching history" in *The History Teacher*, 7(3), 410-425.

Robinowitz, D. 2002 "Oriental othering and national identity: A review of early Israeli anthropological studies of Palestinians" in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 9, 305-324.

Rodinson, M. 1973 *Israel: A colonial-settler state* (New York: Monda Press).

Rouhana, N.; Ghanem, A. 1993 "The democratization of a traditional minority in an ethnic democracy: The Palestinians in Israel" in Kaufman, E.; Abed, S.; Rothstein, R. (eds.) *Democracy, peace, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*, pp. 163-185 (London: Lynne Rienner Publisher).

Rouhana, N. 1989 "The political transformation of the Palestinians in Israel: From acquiescence to challenge" in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 18(3), 38-59.

Rouhana, N. 1997 *Palestinian citizens in an ethnic Jewish state: Identities in conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

Santeisteban, A. 2002 "Palestinian education: A national curriculum against all odds" in *International Journal of Educational Development*, 22, 145-154.

Schoenman, R. 1988 *The hidden history of Zionism* (Santa Barbara, CA: Verites Press).

Seller, R.; Shelton, J. 2003 "The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84 (5), 1079-1092.

Shabaneh, G. 2012 "Education and identity: The role of UNRWA's education programs in the reconstruction of Palestinian nationalism" in *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Doi:10.1093/jrs/fer055

Shalhoub-Kevorkian, N. 2010 "Palestinians, education, and the Israeli 'industry of fear'" in Mazawi, A. E.; Sultana, R. G. (eds.) *Education and the Arab World: Political Projects, Struggles, and Geometries of Power*, pp. 334-349 (London: Routledge).

Smith, C. 2000 "A community outreach program: Teacher training at the University of Durban-Westville" in *Educational Review*, 52(1), 5-12.

Smith, L. T. 2012 *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous people* (London: Zed Books Ltd).

Solonari, V. 2002 "Narrative, identity, state: History teaching in Moldova" in *East European Politics and Societies*, 16(2), 414-445.

Spalek, B. & Imtoual, A. 2007 "Muslim communities and counter-terror responses: 'Hard' approaches to community engagement in the UK and Australia" in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 27(2), 185-202.

Tajfel, H.; Turner, J. 1986 "The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour" in Worchel, S.; Austin, W. (eds.) *Psychology of intergroup relations* 2nd ed., pp. 7-24 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall).

Tajfel, H. 1981 *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Taulviste, P. 1994 "History taught at school versus history discovered at home: The case of Estonia" in *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 9(1), 121-126.

Thomas, J. 1993 *Doing critical ethnography* (California: Sage Publications).

Thompson, L.; Story, M.; Butler, G. 2003 "Use of a university-community collaboration model to frame issues and set an agenda for strengthening a community" in *Health Promotion Practice*, 4(4), 385-392.

Tibawi, A. L. 1956 *Arab education in mandatory Palestine: A study of three decades of British administration* (London: Luzac & Co., Ltd).

Tormey, R. 2006 "The construction of national identity through primary school history: The Irish case" in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27(3), 311-324.

Troen, S. I. 1992 "Higher education in Israel: An historical perspective" in *Higher Education*, 23, 45-63.

Vickers, E. 2002 "Introduction: History, politics and identity in East Asia" in *International Journal of Educational Research*, 37, 537-544.

Watson, D. 2008 "The university in modern world: Ten lessons of civic and community engagement" in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 3(1), 43-55.

Whalen, J.; Flacks, R. 1989 *Beyond the barricades: The sixties generation grows up* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).

Will, D.; Ryan, S. 1990 *Israel and South Africa: Legal systems of settler dominance* (New Jesey: Africa World Press).

Winter, A.; Wiseman, J.; Muirhead, B. 2006 "University-community engagement in Australia: Practice, policy and public good" in *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 1(3), 211-230.

Zureik, E. 1979 *The Palestinians in Israel: A study of internal colonialism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).