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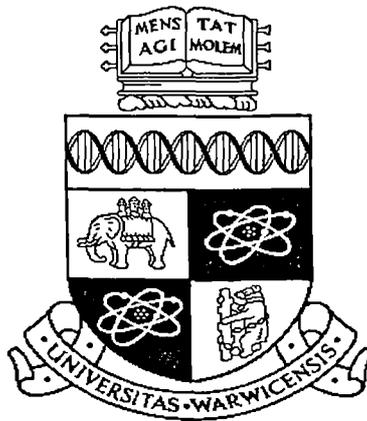
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THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
CONTINUING EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN PALESTINE:
A RESPONSE TO SCHOOL EXCLUSION

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*A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

9921485

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To my wife Tahani and my children Lubna, Hamdi and Lyali

Abstract

This research investigated the past relationship between the formal education and non-formal educational systems in Palestine as a basis for considering what form the relationship may take in the future. The study was based on the initial understanding that within the field of study and practice of continuing education, non-formal education has been conceptualised as having a particular role to play in producing a more equitable society.

The study was undertaken at a significant political moment. Non-formal educational institutions and programmes had flourished when, under Israeli occupation, much formal education provision was restricted. Palestinian non-formal education played a significant role in resistance to Israeli occupation and in the *Intifada* (1987-1994). In 1993, with the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principle on Interim Self Government, the geo-political context for the Palestinian people and Palestinian institutions changed and a transitional national authority was established. The research was shaped to consider this transitional context.

The research was planned to include interviews with people who were likely to be players in the process of national policy formulation. The researcher standpoint was that of a known NFE practitioner. The intention of the field approach was (a) to assess whether a perspective on social exclusion or, for reasons described in the dissertation, educational exclusion was likely to inform the education policy of the new regime and (b) to stimulate through the interview conversation, consideration of the past and future role of non-formal education in Palestine.

Analysis of the views of 31 members of the educational elite was informed and contextualised by a review of the literature (mostly in English and much of it written in relation to developing societies) on non-formal education, statistical data, research reports and case studies of education in Palestine.

The research argues for the necessity of reforming and reshaping Palestinian non-formal education, and for strategies to be adopted that integrate formal education and non-formal education. Consideration of policy options for the future of Palestinian non-formal education was set within a model of relationships between non-formal education and forms of governance.

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Big thank to my fantastic organisation, The University Graduates Union in Palestine, for nominating me for a British Council scholarship in 1994, and for giving me three years unpaid study leave to undertake this research. Special gratitude goes to the British Council for offering me MA scholarship which paved the road to this thesis.

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Glossary:

Educational exclusion:	The disparity and imbalance in access to formal education.
Intifada:	The popular Palestinian Uprising against Israeli occupation (1987-1994).
Palestine:	The West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
Palestinian Non-formal education:	Any organised educational activity outside the established formal education system that is intended to serve identifiable learning beneficiaries and learning objectives.

Abbreviations:

CBS	Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics.
GS	The Gaza Strip.
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
MOE	Ministry of Education (here, Palestinian).
MOHE	Ministry of Higher Education (here, Palestinian).
NFE	Non-Formal Education.
NGOs	Non-Government Organisations.
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation.
PNA	Palestinian National Authority.
PNFE	Palestinian Non-Formal Education.
SAI	Statistical Abstract of Israel.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund.
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency established for Palestinian refugees in 1950.
WB	The West Bank (Palestinian).

Chapter One

Introduction

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research problem

Following the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) on 13 September 1993, responsibilities for education in Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) had been transferred from the Israeli authority to the newly established Palestinian National Authority (PNA). The new Authority created a Ministry of Education (MOE) which started operating in August 1994. This transition provided an opportunity for the Palestinians to run their own education system for the first time in their history. The main challenge which confronts this new authority in the field of education is how to tackle the problems inherited from the Israeli occupation.

This dissertation addresses two of those problems. The first is the relation of the PNA and Palestinian formal education with Palestinian non-formal education (PNFE). PNFE emerged strongly under Israeli occupation in Palestine as an instrument used by the Palestinian people to confront the Israeli occupation policy against them. The PNFE refers here to 'any organised educational activity outside the established formal education system that is intended to serve identifiable learning beneficiaries and learning objectives'.

The second problem is exclusion from formal education. This, as it will be argued in this thesis, is one of the main problems which confronts the education system and threatens the cohesion of Palestinian society. The research was built on an assumption that exclusion from formal education exists in Palestine, and PNFE has the potential to contribute positively to reducing it.

Educational exclusion refers here to ‘the disparity and imbalance in access to Palestinian formal education’. Palestinian formal education means school education only. Access here does not only mean enrolment in school, also known as participation, but also retention and service in schools which refers to the completion of a given educational cycle and treatment during this cycle. Exclusion from formal education in Palestine means that not all children have the same chance to develop their abilities and aptitudes to the fullest extent regardless of their family background, type of study, sex and place of living.

The emergence of the PNA confronted PNFE with a new situation (whether it is a chance or a challenge), which would affect the future role of PNFE and its relationship with formal education and the new PNA. The term ‘NFE’ rather than ‘adult education’ was used in this study for reasons to be presented in chapter 2. However, the two terms are used, in many settings by many researchers, interchangeably because NFE is linked with adult education. Therefore, ‘adult education’ will be considered in this thesis as part of ‘NFE’ unless stated otherwise.

1.2 The research objectives

This research investigates the past relationship between the formal education and non-formal educational systems in Palestine as a basis for considering what form the relationship may take in the future. The study was based on the initial understanding that within the field of study and practice of continuing education, non-formal education has been conceptualised as having a particular role to play in producing a more equitable society through its contribution to reducing exclusion from formal education.

Having stated the purposes of the study, various objectives were identified as follows:

- to provide theoretical clarification for NFE and its development.
- to explore indicators and reasons for exclusion from formal education in Palestine.
- to conceptualise NFE in Palestine and review its nature critically.
- to develop a framework for a new NFE system in Palestine which would respond effectively to the demands of the new era.
- to generate strategies which would contribute to reducing exclusion from formal education.

These objectives prompted several research questions about educational exclusion, such as: what is educational exclusion? What are the aspects and indications of educational exclusion in Palestine? Why does exclusion exist? How can it be reduced?

They also raise many questions about PNFE; for instance, why and how did PNFE evolve? Who initiated it? What are its essential characteristics? What are its major goals, approaches and programmes? Who are the providers of this kind of education? What is the relationship between formal education and NFE? What is the future of the PNFE and its relationship with the PNA after the political developments in the 1990s? How can the PNFE help to tackle exclusion from Palestinian formal education? Is the current PNFE capable of contributing to reducing exclusion from formal education? If not, why and how could it adapt to achieve that?

The objectives and research questions guided the development of the structure of the study as well as more specific approaches to data collection and analysis. The research strategies required to achieve the purposes of the study included an extensive review of the literature on NFE, an intensive analysis of documents about Palestinian formal education and NFE and field work based on semi-structured interviews with

policy makers and providers of formal education and NFE who were likely to be players in the process of national policy formulation in Palestine.

The researcher standpoint was that of a known NFE practitioner. The intention of the field work approach was (a) to assess whether a perspective on social exclusion or, for reasons described in the dissertation, educational exclusion was likely to inform the education policy of the new regime and (b) to stimulate through the interview conversation, consideration of the past and future role of non-formal education in Palestine.

1.3 Significance of the study

The questions to be answered are: why emphasise NFE and its role in combating exclusion from formal education? And why this dissertation tends to focus on educational exclusion from formal education, and on the linkage between formal education and NFE?

To answer these questions, it could be argued that there is a linkage between exclusion from formal education which affects children and NFE which addresses children and adults. Adults are responsible for creating and expanding educational exclusion. It is adults who run the education system, distribute educational services, design and implement the curricula, set up the legislation, exercise the rules and provide the necessary resources. It is adults who take decisions on behalf of their children, decide to send them to schools, articulate their minds and attitudes, direct them toward specific targets and influence their perceptions.

Besides, launching literacy programmes and providing educational services for the disadvantaged adults will not alone end exclusion. Doing this is like cutting the tail of the snake without smashing its head. The best approach is to trace the roots of exclusion and control them. These roots are likely to be related to the childhood

period and be coupled with deprivation. Therefore, any serious attempt to reduce exclusion and provide equity in educational provision in the long run should start and carry on in schools among the youngest generation.

Without planned action to deal with exclusion a multitude of school children may be expected to join the illiterate adults and cripple any attempt to provide balance in educational services. This, in turn, would cause educational and economical wastage and lead to social exclusion and conflict. In other words, exclusion from education provision would hinder both the individuals' efforts to become well-informed and acquire suitable skills, and the national efforts for sustainable development. Therefore tackling exclusion among children in formal education means, at the same time, combating future exclusion among adults.

The struggle to enhance NFE and against exclusion from formal education, is also, and at the same time, a struggle for development, justice, greater equality and recognition of the human dignity of all and of the claim of each to a responsible economic, social, and political role in society. It is widely recognised that development cannot be attained on a macro level unless the disadvantaged, such as women and the rural mass, are fully integrated as equal partners in the social development process.

This role of NFE does not cancel or belittle the role of formal education. Each individual home or NFE alone cannot accomplish the task of education for social mobilisation and national development. A unified system of formal education, if utilised effectively and wisely, could be the best place to start any process of societal change and educating the next generations. However, there will remain a need for lifelong adult learning provision, some of which has been and could continue to be provided through NFE. There are always new areas of knowledge for adults not taught when they are at school, since schools cannot foretell future knowledge, so

even well-schooled adults need further knowledge. Further, it is arguable some kinds of knowledge about society can only be taught to adults and are meaningless to children.

The main problem which faces the Palestinian society in the field of education today is the low quality of the Palestinian formal education system's outcome. Among other reasons, these are due to a lack of sense of direction in Palestinian formal education, rigid and out dated curricula and unbalanced distribution of education provision. In such a situation, the PNFE becomes necessary to the future fabric of Palestinian society because, as it will be argued in this thesis, it has a great potential for supplementing, extending and improving the whole education system.

The role of PNFE became even more important and necessary after the Oslo Accord in 1993, especially since this accord, as it will appear in chapter 4, prevents overtly the PNA from creating any changes in formal education without the consent of the Israelis. By contrast, the accord did not mention anything about the PNFE or put any direct restrictions over it. This provides an ample opportunity for the Palestinians to use NFE to compensate for and avoid restrictions on formal education.

So far, and to the best of my knowledge, this is the first research on the PNFE at the macro level. The study provides documentation of PNFE practices that were developed and implemented in the last three decades. It also explores indicators and reasons for exclusion from Palestinian formal education. As this study tries to capture the transitional moment when the Palestinian policy makers were engaged in formulating policies and identifying priorities, the hope is that it will shed light on the exclusion issue in Palestinian formal education and highlight the potential role of PNFE in combating exclusion and developing a more balanced and equitable education system and society.

The analysis of the research data was guided by the desire to assist Palestinian policy makers in making more constructive use of NFE and considering how it could become more needs-responsive and development-oriented.

1.4 Delimitations

It should be mentioned that Palestinian education in this thesis, whether it is formal or non-formal refers to the educational services provided to the Palestinian people in the West Bank (WB) and the Gaza Strip (GS) only, so the education provided to Palestinian people in Israel or in exile has been excluded from this research because the Palestinians outside Palestine are subject to different educational systems and different living conditions. Likewise, the education provided to the Jewish settlers who live in Palestine is excluded because those settlers are not Palestinians and have their own education system.

In terms of time, the study covered mainly the last three decades (1967-1997). This period covers the whole Israeli occupation era which started in 1967, including the *Intifada* period (1987-1994), and the first three years of the post-Oslo era when the education system came under the supervision of the PNA.

Albeit the field work has diagnosed ten fields of exclusion from Palestinian formal education, the study has limited itself to address four fields only, which are: gender, rural-urban, regional (WB-GS) and academic-vocational education. Further, although NFE programmes in Palestine as elsewhere often cover many fields, such as education, health, agriculture and so on, the main emphasis in this study will be on the education sector which is considered the biggest sector in terms of NFE practices.

Moreover, in order to combat problem of educational exclusion effectively, educational and non-educational steps and measures have to be implemented.

However, the focus of this thesis will be on the educational factors while non-educational factors are beyond the scope of this study.

The terms 'state' and 'authority' are synonymous in this research. Chapter 2 considers the term 'state' in reviewing the literature; however, the term 'authority' rather than 'state' has been used when talking about the Palestinian case because the Oslo Accord prohibited the Palestinians from using the latter. So, the term 'authority' is the formal term that is recognised world wide to refer to the national body which governs the WB and the GS in the transitional period .

Finally, it is to be noted that the data collected in this study has represented one person's efforts under time, financial and transportation constraints during unstable and insecure conditions. This is explained more fully in chapter 3. So it was no accident that the focus of the field work was on the experience, knowledge and views of the educational 'elite' (Policy makers, providers and researchers). These have been utilised as a shortcut to provide in-depth, inside information. As a consequence, this research reflects the perception of only those stakeholders. This perception may not reflect the whole reality of the PNFE and so, further research to pursue views of other stakeholders, such as the participants is needed.

1.5 Structure of the study

The thesis contains five parts spread over eight chapters. This introductory chapter, which represents the first part of the study, demonstrates the nature, objectives, questions, significance, delimitations and structure of the study. Chapter two, which represents the second part of the study, provides a conceptual clarification of NFE. The aim of the chapter is to understand Palestinian formal education and NFE and the problem of exclusion in Palestine from a global perspective and to set the findings of this research into the context of current understanding about NFE. This chapter

emphasises the state-NFE relationship and focuses on a plethora of issues pertinent to the PNFE, and its role in combating exclusion from formal education.

Chapter three, which opens the third part of the study, discusses the research methods that have been utilised in this thesis, including data collection, access, data analysis and writing up the thesis. The chapter also reflects my personal journey, as a researcher, in the field work. As NFE and educational exclusion are context specific, chapter 4 presents an overview to the political, economic, demographic and education situation in Palestine in order to determine the contextual frame within which the study was conducted.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are the fourth part of the study. Chapter 5 focuses on four aspects of exclusion from Palestinian formal education and explores their signals and reasons. Chapter 6 contains an intensive analysis of the PNFE, including its development, historic and continuing role, programmes, providers, approaches and problems, as well as examines its potential relationship with the new PNA at present and in the future.

Chapter 7 identifies a number of factors which might constitute a framework to rebuild more effective PNFE suitable to the current and expected future geo-political and social development. It also draws a range of strategies that might be adopted and implemented, independently or in co-operation with other sectors particularly formal education, in order to reduce exclusion from formal education.

Although the main emphasis was on generating broad strategies that might be worth exploration, rather than providing definitive answers or precise solutions to the current situation, a set of particular suggestions with respect to combating educational exclusion from formal education has also been provided in this chapter.

Chapter 8, which represents the last part of the study, summarises the work and examines implications of this research.

Chapter Two

Non-Formal Education: A Literature Review

CHAPTER TWO

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to construct a theoretical ground for this study through reviewing NFE literature and discourse. The discussion in this chapter depends on the following arguments (see Diagram 2.1):

First: state is the most influential factor on NFE in contemporary societies. The term ‘state’ here refers to the ‘authority which has the upper power in a specific setting’. I shall argue that the nature of the state and the state-NFE relationship affect the nature of NFE, its definition, characteristics, roles and development, as well as its relationship with formal education.

This interrelationship between NFE and the state will constitute the ‘story line’ and the ‘theoretical control’ in this chapter and in this thesis as a whole due to the influence of the state in shaping the dimensions of PNFE in Palestine and specific challenges of analysis in transitional period.

Secondly: the state-NFE relationship placed NFE with three potential roles:

- (1) NFE aimed at promoting self-realisation and self-development of individuals (liberal pragmatic approach). NFE in this approach has no or little tension with the state in most societies except the communist societies, and performs as complementary and supplementary to formal education.
- (2) NFE aimed at increasing productivity of the people (human capital approach). NFE here is more likely to be encouraged by the state, and act as supplementary and complementary to formal education.

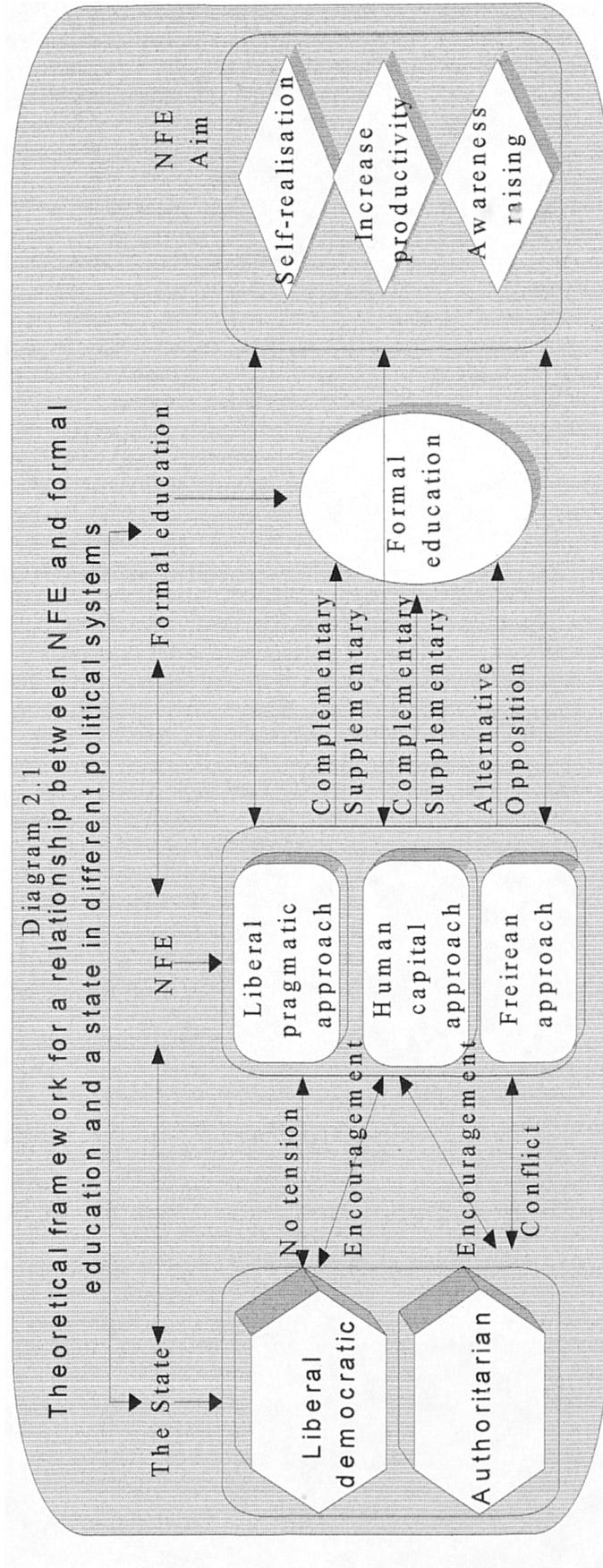
(3) NFE aimed at raising awareness of people in order to enable them understand critically their reality and liberate themselves economically, socially and politically (liberationist or Freirean approach). NFE here may have great tension with the state, and proposes itself as an alternative or even as an opposition to formal education.

Thirdly: Degree of the freedom in any society is the most important variable which determines the extent to which the state intervenes and controls NFE. The more authoritarian the state is, the more likely it is to intervene in NFE and vice versa.

Fourthly: Expanding NFE provision is unlikely to reduce the need for formal education and vice versa. The two systems, formal education and NFE, are not rivals. Therefore the benefit would be most if the two systems are integrated with each other.

Fifthly: All societies regardless of the nature of their economic, social and political systems have the chance to benefit from NFE. However, the role and structure of NFE in different societies is varying and depends mainly on the level of freedom and democracy and the socio-economic and political stability.

These five arguments will be used as a framework in this chapter to explore NFE; its definitions, emergence, approaches and problems, examine its relationship with both formal education and the state, and discuss its role in crisis' situations and in combating exclusion from formal education. Finally, a review of research into NFE and exclusion from formal education in Palestine has been included in this chapter.



2.1 Definitions

The practices now described as NFE are as old as societies themselves (Fordham 1980). However, this term, as Bock and Papagiannis (1983) stress, reflects a change in the views of educators, politicians and planners which influenced the state policy. What is new is *'the realisation that different educational programmes formerly seen as rather separate must now be seen more holistically as the educative component of national development plans'* (Fordham 1980:1). Also new is the theoretical and methodological status, and the dimensions and values or even strategies placed upon NFE's contribution to human resource development (Gajardo 1987).

But, what does the term 'NFE' in its new version mean? In order to clarify precisely what does NFE mean, Paulston (1972) tries to differentiate between formal education and NFE by producing table 2.1, to be seen on p30.

Paulston's taxonomy tries to draw a theoretical line between the two systems and shows how NFE is different from formal education. Some of this classification's components do not adequately match the reality and the practices of NFE which have no commitment to these boundaries. What prevents NFE from being an academic abstract rather than skill-oriented, long-term rather than, short-term and full-time rather than part-time if that is what learners identify as 'needs'?

Coombs and Ahmed (1974:8) try to distinguish among three types of education: formal, informal, and NFE, for them formal education is:

'The hierarchically structured chronologically graded 'education system' running from primary school through the university and including, in addition to general academic studies, a variety of specialised programs and institutions for full time professional and technical training'.

Table 2.1

Paulston's Table

Variable	Formal School Programmes	Non-formal, Non-school Programmes
Structure	Relatively highly structured, functionally interrelated set of units hierarchically ordered.	On a continuum from high to low degree of structure, but usually the latter, little interrelatedness of components.
Content	Generally academic, abstract often and 'ethnocentric, highly verbal, reflects <i>status quo</i> values of elite, articulated content units.	Usually task-or skill-centred, dictated by functional needs of participants, low verbal; may reflect values conflicting with <i>status quo</i> and elite; discreet content units
Time	Future-time oriented, time and gain not joined, full-time attendance stressed; look-step, inflexible sequence of activities.	Short-term, present-time orientation, time and gain closely joined, often part-time study, flexible timing of activities.
Controls	Co-ordinated control, national, regional, or religious bureaucracies predominate; centrifugal tendency, elite influential in higher control positions.	Uncoordinated, fragmented, diffuse, voluntary organisation predominates, greater degree of local control, decisions often made at programme level.
Locales	Highly visible, expensive, fixed in place, often state-supported, urban preference, low efficiency of plant utilisation, learning physically isolated from application.	Low visibility, may be on-the-job, at home, participants bear fairly low costs, high efficiency of locale utilisation, i.e., functionally related to learning.
Functions	Stress on socialisation, enculturation, and perpetuation of educational bureaucracies, legitimisation of <i>existing</i> elite, their values and behaviours, conferring status, selection, and possible elite's recruitment.	Great variation but stress on resocialisation, acculturation and learning of practical and <i>knowledge to be used in work</i> of community situations, terminal, seeks to supplement or complement formal schooling.
Rewards	Payoffs tend to be deferred promise of long term gains in socio-cultural and economic status.	Payoffs tend to be tangible, immediate or short-term gains related to work or daily life, i. e. Increased material well-being, productivity, self-awareness, and/or power to control environment.
Methods	Knowledge standardised, transmitted from teacher to pupil in classroom; teacher-centred, teaching methods dictated by policy, relatively inflexible and non-innovative.	Teacher helps students interact with and master the material to be learned and applied, content-centred, methods relatively flexible and related to application and performance-standard needs.
Participant	Students age-defined predictable, usually urban in outlook and social mobility conscious, teachers formally certified.	Learners from all age groups, i.e., not age-or place-defined, job mobility concerns predominate, great variety of teacher qualifications and motivations.
Costs	Costs standardised by level and increase moving up the structural hierarchy; economies of size possible.	Great variation in costs per programme and per student vis-a-vis costs for comparable educational programmes in formal system; economies of size not often possible.

Source: Paulston, 1972: xii-xiv.

Informal education is:

'The truly lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment - from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the marketplace, the library, and the mass media'.

While NFE is:

'Any organised educational activity outside the established formal system, whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity, that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives'.

Coombs and Ahmed's definition of NFE is frequently quoted and appears to be the most widely accepted definition because, as Hamadache (1994) notes, this definition has the advantage of setting out the main characteristics of most, if not all, non-formal education programmes: (a) it consists of organised, structured activities; (b) it is designed for an identifiable beneficiaries; (c) it is organised to achieve a specified set of learning objectives; and (d) its activities are carried out outside the established education system. This definition will be adopted in this research because it suits the case of PNFE, as will appear in this study.

However, Coombs and Ahmed's clarification amongst the three types of education; formal, informal and non-formal, has been criticised by La Belle (1982) for considering them as three separated forms rather than interacting components. He argues that in practice formal education and NFE should be viewed predominantly by modes of learning as presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2

The modes and characteristics of education:
Examples of process and organisational implications

	Educational characteristics		
Educational modes	Formal	Non-formal	Informal
Formal	Graded hierarchy schools	Extra Curricular	Peer group
Non-formal	Certificates	Systematic out-of-school	Participation
Informal	Workplace	Parent instruction	Daily experience

Source: La Belle 1982:162.

According to La Belle, the aforementioned modes may exist simultaneously, sometimes in concert with one another and sometimes in conflict, and a certain type of education with particular characteristics may also include characteristics of other types. For instance, non-formal characteristics of extra curricular activities are present when such activities are carried out in the formal type. Similarly, the non-formal type displays formal characteristics when the trainees under this type receive certificates.

La Belle's classification means that it is not easy to draw a line between what is non-formal and what is formal. There are degrees of formality and non-formality on different dimensions. Some programmes are pure non-formal, some are non-formal but mixed with formal elements, and some are formal but mixed with non-formal elements.

Therefore, La Belle (1982) argues that the influence of the state on the sponsorship of the two types of educational programmes is the major variable which constitutes the difference between what is formal education and what is NFE. However, this distinction prevents the state from delivering or even assisting NFE activities, and it contradicts with some NFE's practices in some countries. Indonesia and Thailand, for instance,

have established NFE departments within the Ministry of Education (Alexander 1989). Likewise, India has established statutory bodies to supervise NFE activities (Iredale 1978), while in Bangladesh and Tanzania many statutory and non-statutory bodies were in charge of and involved in NFE. Therefore, the influence of state seems not enough alone to determine the formality or non-formality of any programme.

The final point to be discussed in this section is the relationship between NFE and adult education. The two terms were used interchangeably in many contexts. I would argue that 'adult education' in any setting is likely to be non-formal because it mostly occurs outside the school system. On the other hand, although NFE is not only for adults, it is historically linked with educational programmes for adults.

Further, the difference between 'NFE' and 'adult education' could also be related to the political and social realities. Adult education, it could be argued, in liberal democratic state is mostly, if not totally, non-formal. While authoritarian states are much likely to have two systems: one is adult education under direct state control, and another is NFE which is out of state direct control. This argument will be explored fully later in this chapter.

So, it is no accident that the term 'NFE' rather than 'adult education' has been adopted to be used in this study. PNFE, under the Israeli occupation, was to a large extent out of the state direct control as it will appear in chapter 6. Besides, this study tries to explore strategies to confront exclusion from formal education which include tackling problems beyond the boundaries of traditional adult education, such as school's drop-outs, and left-outs who are children not adults. Moreover, 'adult education' in Palestine refers to literacy programmes only, while NFE as a concept is broader.

But, why has NFE been emphasised in this century, and how has the term 'NFE' developed. These questions will be discussed in the next section.

2.2 Emergence of non-formal education

After the Second World War, education has been conceived globally as an instrument to achieve economic, social and political development. As a consequence, there was a quantitative expansion in formal education in the second half of this century. The focus was on school education which was the basis of official planning assumptions.

However, in the late 1960s a focus on out-of-school educational activities, to be called later NFE, started to emerge by researchers and policy makers due to multiple of factors. The most important of these factors were: the problems of school education; the development of the discourse about education as a lifelong process and development as an integrated comprehensive process; the merit of NFE itself and the attitudes of donors and international agency in the 1970s and onward.

In the late 1960s, the growth of school education started to slow down, especially in the developing countries. Enrolments did not keep up with population growth, access to education for the disadvantaged had declined, and the quality of formal education had deteriorated (Graham-Brown 1991).

This decline has been attributed to many factors. These may be categorised as lack of resources and funds which was expected specially in the poor countries, and problems in the school system, which refer to its inability to respond to educational as well as to developmental needs. Some of these problems which have been identified in the literature (Reimer 1972, Simmons 1980 and Rubenson 1987, La Belle and Ward 1994) are: the teacher-centred process, the fact-oriented curricula, the high costs, the low rate of return, the high drop-out rates, the widening incompatibility between education and employment, the weakness and the irrelevance of its content and objectives which were often based on colonial models available only in a limited age range.

The slow down corresponded with scepticism and even criticism by many scholars of the function and the benefits of schooling. Illich (1970) for instance, calls for de-schooling of society. He argues that schools and teachers, rather than the socio-economic structure, have been in the past and continue to be destroying forces that have operated a system that acts against the interests of the poor.

Freire (1970) argues for the liberation of the oppressed and for structural change in the function of schools. He views school in Latin America as one of the tools of oppression because it keeps the poor as an underclass. He advocates a model of literacy which would raise awareness of the learners in order to change their oppressive circumstances. His practices revealed the possibilities for an adult education system to take a leading position in social change.

Holt (1972) considers that the life experiences of the people and the surrounding environment have more influence than school in educating the population. While Coombs (1968, 1982) emphasises the need for a much more flexible educational strategy than the linear expansion of a formal system, arguing that formal education was not necessarily the most effective tool for responding to the needs of the people.

One of the common themes among all these scholars is that education is a lifelong process and is not time-bound and place-bound. They argue that learning does not mean schooling because they are two different things. Thus, school, although it takes most of the attention and resources, is not an adequate or even a sole instrument of meeting the educational as well as the developmental needs of the people.

On the other hand, as Dale et al (1976) point out, political debate has arisen about formal education. The Right sees the state becoming over-involved in formal education which is economically unnecessary, while much influence came from the Left under the pressure of the Marxist and socialist theme which sees formal education world wide

derived from systems created in Northern industrialised states and reflecting existing structures which are mostly capitalist and neo-colonialist, rather than changing them.

The above argument was in line with the newly proclaimed strategies that arose in the 1970s calling for a stronger, more integrated, and more community-based approach to rural development and to meeting the basic needs of the poor. NFE, as Fordham (1979) notes, was seen as a system for integrating non-educational development activities into an educational activity.

The attitudes of the United Nations and international funding agencies played a crucial role in promoting NFE. After focusing on supporting centralised approach in the first United Nations' development decades (1961-1970), the second development decade (1970-1980) was attracted by the idea of justice, and characterised by decentralised approach based on the informal sector, redistribution with growth and basic needs approach (Harrison 1980, Harris 1986).

These attitudes, as many scholars (Evans 1981, Thompson 1988 and Fordham 1993) demonstrate, gave special attention to deliver NFE programmes, especially for rural areas, to alleviate poverty and gross socio-economic inequalities. In this regard, NFE is seen as better able to reach the less privileged and to respond to local needs. Not only that, but in many settings, such as Palestine, NFE activities take place even despite the objection of the state. Brembeck (1977) and Gajardo (1987) also point out, that NFE as needs-based, participant-centred, and non-elitist, emerged not only to solve educational problems, but also to respond to the social, economic and political needs of the people.

The merits of NFE itself highlight this kind of education. NFE in the early 1970s was conceived to be more flexible than formal education. As many scholars (Brembeck 1977, Fordham 1980 and 1993, La Belle 1986, Bishop 1989, King 1991) stress, NFE had a number of qualities that are not to be found in formal education systems, much of

which are: the limited duration and practical orientation of NFE courses towards meeting the people needs, the capacity for participation in NFE programmes, the opportunity its programmes give for decentralised planning and freedom from the rigidity of the time and place bound processes of formal systems, the opportunity its programmes provide for people to learn while they work and the low costs involved in the development of its programmes.

None the less, it was Philip Coombs in 1968 who introduced the term 'NFE'. In his book *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* he calls for a much greater investment in NFE, and argues that learning was the most important concern of education and schools were only one of many places where it can potentially occur. This study was followed by two researches: *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth* in 1973 and *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education Can Help* in 1974. In these, Coombs returned to determine the form and role of NFE in the struggle against rural poverty. These studies attracted wide attention to the concept of NFE, and linked NFE with powerful international financial support provided by unilateral and multilateral organisations, such as the World Bank, UNESCO, USAID, UNICEF, Ford Foundation and so on, which paved the road for NFE to be introduced in many settings.

Although it was obvious that these funding organisation can, as Preston (1994) argues, destabilise states by controlling the ability of individual states to make their own policies, many states particularly in the developing world, due to their financial crises, took the risk and allowed these funding organisations to work in their territories. This means that NFE is a weapon with two edges. It could be used to support people or be used against them.

Anyhow, the expansion of NFE programmes went hand-in-hand with the increasing number of NGOs and the diversity of their activities, and it influenced by changing of their priorities. For instance, NFE was in line with NGOs priorities in 1970s which, as La Belle and Ward (1996) demonstrate, focused on combating illiteracy and poverty, rural development, vocational training, agricultural extension, health and family planning. Thus, having adequate understanding of NFE activities is near to impossible without tracing NGOs policies and practices.

The experience of the seventies and eighties, as Muller (1997) points out, shows that NFE contributes greatly to the development efforts by establishing low-cost non-formal training patterns for small-scale enterprises. Moreover, I would argue that the liberationist role NFE played in the developing countries and Latin America was not less important than this skill-oriented role to which Muller refers.

Despite the growing importance of NGOs in helping to fill the gaps in educational provision left by inability of the state to provide universal schooling in the eighties and nineties, often because of the international debt crisis (Archer 1994), the enthusiasm for NFE has waned during the third United Nations development decade (1981-1990) and in the early 1990s. This decline was linked to the 'structural adjustment programmes' adopted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which impose countries to devalue, cut back on social services (like health and adult education) and focus on production for export (Hettne 1990). This has coupled with changing policy of the NGOs, especially after the end of the Cold War, and the decrease in the influence of the revolutionary change models in Latin America and elsewhere.

As a consequence, the 1980s have witnessed a decline of the international education aid and, in turn, a decline in the belief in NFE as integral to development. The reason for that is obvious. NFE, as Archer (1994) stresses, becomes a luxury if the formal

education system is collapsing. So, formal education is again seen to be a necessary feature of the process of the reproduction and intensification of the internal structures of nation building (La Belle and Ward 1996, Muller 1997). However, the restoration of the formal education role, as Jarvis (1983) and Duke (1992) note, has been accompanied by new important change in educational philosophy and practice where the distinction between pedagogy and andragogy is no longer applicable or relevant, and education is viewed as a continuous lifelong process. School in the past was almost a synonym for education, while now it is just one of the instruments of the educational process. Without NFE the benefits of formal schooling will not be fully realised. Skills and knowledge generated in the formal schooling process will atrophy without the stimulation, extension, and enrichment provided by post-school and NFE activities.

In the mid 1990s, there is a strong evidence that de-schooling is increasing in the poorest countries and whole generations have had no opportunity to attend schools, particularly in conflict and post-conflict situations (Muller 1997). As a consequence, many donors, under pressure from UNESCO and some NGOs, have re-emphasised NFE. Combating poverty remains the general aim, but with focus on new topics, such as: basic education, street and working children, environment, women, citizenship, civic society, exclusion, democratisation, human rights and peace education (DFID 1997).

So far, after about three decades of the emerging of the concept of NFE, the theory of NFE still lags behind its practices and implementations. For instance, the mutual relationship between NFE and the state, the interrelationship between formal education and NFE and the influence of the surrounding environment over NFE, all these issues are still under-researched or need more clarification. This is another reason which supports the focusing on the theme 'state' in this review of the literature.

On the other hand, there are discrepancies between the theoretical concepts and the

practices of NFE, for instance:

- Most of the literature conceives NFE as a programme rather than a system while many states, such as Bangladesh, Thailand and Brazil have already systems for NFE.
- Serving the disadvantaged, as it appeared in the above discussion, is the hub of NFE literature (see, for instance, Ahmed and Coombs 1975). However, there are indications that in many situations, such as Tanzania, Nicaragua and Palestine, NFE was used to satisfy the needs of the population as a whole. Even many researchers (Bock 1976, Colletta and Tod 1982, Moulton 1982 and Bhola 1983) argue that NFE programmes are best utilised by those who already have some formal schooling and have some economic resources to invest in the new skill learned.
- The bulk of NFE literature is presented in the context of the developing poor countries. This, as Coombs (1985) notes, gives the impression that NFE is only for poor states and their people. The discussion in this chapter shows that even the most advanced and rich countries can get benefit from NFE as well.
- Despite the wide spread of NFE all over the world, very little, as Bockarie (1997) points out, is known about how it can be linked to formal education in order to extend maximum benefit to the participants.
- Most of the literature associates NFE programmes in developing countries with the external aid from the developed countries, without examining the effectiveness of this aid, or the role of local resources or achievement of the learners.

Most of the literature of NFE, as Hamadache (1994) stresses, tends to concentrate on adults and neglects NFE for children and youth.
- As NFE is encouraged in many settings to compensate for the shortage in formal

education services, this might give an indication that expanding and reforming formal education would reduce the need for NFE programmes, especially as *'non-formal idea is to some extent a reaction against formal school systems'* Fordham (1980:5), while many practices show that the relationship between formal education and NFE is not necessarily inverse.

As these issues are assumed to be influenced by the state-NFE relationship and pertinent to the Palestinian NFE, most of them will be discussed more fully in the rest of this chapter. Let us first delineate the main approaches in NFE.

2.3 Approaches

Three approaches could be identified for NFE. These are: the liberal pragmatic, the human capital and the Freirean approach. Although all these three approaches are aiming at empowering the mass of people to combat their difficulties and circumstances, each of them has its own philosophy and advocates, as following:

2.3.1 The pragmatic liberal approach

Founded on rationality and experiential liberal principles, this approach as Torres (1990) notes sheds light on the significance of self-learning and participant-centred learning in order to achieve individual transformation. It emphasises that there must be promotion of educational opportunities for all social sectors and a necessity to strengthen the agents and instruments involved in the educational process (Lamichane and Kapoor 1992).

Advocates of this approach (Rogers 1983, Knowles 1984, 1990, Brookfield 1981, 1986) argue that the investment in people through training and education is crucial to promoting self-realisation and effective development as well. Knowles (1984), for instance, argues that an integration between pedagogy and andragogy is necessary for

promoting self-development.

This approach could be found in all societies particularly the liberal democratic societies. The tension between NFE and the state whether in liberal democratic or authoritarian regimes - except the communist regime - is likely to be at a minimum level here because this approach did not directly threaten the state and the power holders. In the communist regimes, the tension between NFE and the state was at a maximum level because this kind of education contains direct threat to the state's views and philosophy.

2.3.2 The human capital approach

The advocates of this approach (Adam Smith cited in La Belle 1986, Schultz 1987 and Harbison 1990) assume a positive relationship between education from one side, and economic growth and social mobility from another side. This approach, as Lamichane and Kapoor (1992) note, views NFE as a variable in socio-economic growth based on the creation and cultivation of supply and demand.

The emphasis here is to increase the people's productive capabilities and increase their mobility and opportunities within their current fields of employment. This could be achieved through education and training. Here people are encouraged to use various NFE programmes, including pre and in-services training and skills transmission programmes to update their skills (Schultz 1987).

The main argument in this approach is that material resources are not enough to create development and modernisation, and the role of educated human being and skills are crucial in this process. From this perspective, NFE appears to be more directly integrated into other development programs than formal education (Harbison 1990).

Since 1970s, many works (Coombs and Ahmed 1974, Berstecher 1985), which could be classified under this approach, gave special attention and even priority to rural

development in order to respond to the basic needs and alleviate poverty and illiteracy as a precondition for comprehensive nation building.

This approach received encouragement from the state in most developing countries, including the authoritarian regimes, as well as regional and international support, because it is not threatening directly the *status quo* and presumably does not destabilise any state. Many states have adopted this approach to attract external funds, and in order to show their commitment to serve the mass of the people and, hence, enhance their image before the eyes of their people and the international communities.

Not surprising, then, that this approach has been adopted by the international aid. For instance, the World Bank committed itself to this approach. As Verspoor (1991) notes, the Bank lending for NFE has supported three main objectives: (a) developments of practical skills emphasised by broadcasting and disseminating messages. (b) promotion of basic literacy by providing reading material, using mobile units and utilising school buildings and teachers; and (c) preparation for income generating activities through setting-up training funds to respond to locally NFE requests.

2.3.3 The Freirean approach

The advocates of this radical approach (Freire 1970, 1985, 1987, Illich 1970, Reimer 1972 Apple 1990) build their views on political, rather than pedagogical or methodological, analysis. This approach calls for democracy, participation and economic-political organisation of the poor and greater autonomy for the communities. In other words, this approach gives priority to raise political awareness of the oppressed people by provoking them against their miserable situation in order to achieve structural change in their social and economic condition.

Although Freire was advocating a particular model of education, his writing and criticism of formal education inspired and contributed to research on NFE. For him,

formal education is used by the powerful oppressive elite to perpetuate economic and social stratification, and dehumanise and dominate the powerless mass. He sees the 'banking system' as the dominant method or pedagogy of the system. The 'culture of silence', which lead to an 'oppressed' society, is the context within which such a system operates (Lamichane and Kapoor 1992).

In this approach, education whether it is formal or non-formal should not be used to tame people and make them accept a permanent inferior status in society. NFE in this approach is more closely linked to the needs of communities and responds more easily to their demands than does the system of formal education. NFE is supposed to be used here to empower people and to enable them to live with the world not in the world. This might be achieved through raising awareness 'conscientisation' of the people, and encouraging dialogue and critical thinking among them (Torres 1991).

According to this perspective, education is never neutral, thus, NFE is supposed to be utilised as an instrument of political action, mobilisation and social change. La Belle (1976b) also points out that viable programmes of NFE must change both people and social structures that constrain their behaviour.

Having said that, it is hardly surprising that this approach has been discouraged by authoritarian states which view it as a threatening component to their authority and existence. At any rate, this approach was influential among the oppressed people in some developing countries particularly in Latin America. It also is utilised, among other approaches, by the Palestinians in Palestine during the Israeli occupation, as it will appear in chapter 6.

2.3.4 Comparison

As societies are not similar, it is not easy to evaluate any of these models and trace their advantages and disadvantages, without situating them in the context of a specific case and particular situation. Some researchers, as Zacharakis-Jutz (1988), argue that classifying approaches for NFE would narrow its scope and become more identified as being a discipline as opposed to its multi-disciplinary heritage.

In any case, this classification reflects the reality and what is on the ground. In practice, each of these approaches could be implemented alone as it happened in many settings, or together as it happened in some countries, such as Tanzania. In Palestine, similar approaches exist with slight differences in the micro characteristics and with variation in the degree of harmony and contradictions among them, as it will appear in chapter 6. The preference of any of these approaches is not facultative, but it depends on complicated historical, political, economical and cultural factors.

The pragmatic approach is the most traditional and oldest one, while the human capital approach is the newest one. The dilemma in the human capital approach is the interface between the internal factor and the external factor. In other words NFE in this approach appears as externally funded packages conceived and managed through hierarchy of local, national and international organisation rather than a community inspired activity as it should be. How the two interface in this approach is still a dilemma with no clear boundaries.

Although these three approaches are aimed at eradicating factors that make some people illiterate and powerless, the first two approaches focus on providing the people with the appropriate skills to update their knowledge, while the Freirean approach emphasises the importance of the psychological, intellectual and spiritual factors.

Each of the three approaches implies its perception about the relationship with the

state and, in turn, with formal education. In the liberal pragmatic approach, NFE is likely to be reformist and has no direct intention to create social change. Therefore, NFE here has no or little tension with the state in most societies except the communist societies, and performs as complementary and supplementary to formal education. In the human capital approach, NFE is much likely to have conservative views regarding the social change, and, thus, be encouraged by the state. Like the liberal pragmatic approach, the human capital approach does not question the legitimacy of formal education. Therefore, NFE in this approach is much likely to be complementary and supplementary to formal education as well.

In contrast, NFE in the Freirean approach is likely to have great tension with the state because this approach views NFE as an important instrument of social change. The Freirean approach involves serious doubts about the legitimacy and benefit of formal education which is represented by, and often under the control of the state. Therefore, this approach views NFE as transformative and in opposition to formal education.

The following section will be discussing the different possibilities of the relationship between formal education and NFE.

2.4 The study of the relationship between formal education and non-formal education

The dispute about what is to be considered formal education or NFE draws the attention to the relationship between formal education which is much likely to be under the state direct control and NFE which is out of the state direct control. As the two systems work to serve the society under the umbrella of one state, a relationship, regardless of its nature, is supposed to exist between them.

Brennan (1997) tries to explore this relationship by referring to three different models of NFE to be discussed across developing nations as well as for any individual developing country: NFE as complement, supplement and alternative to formal education. Each of these three models has its own roots and purposes which directly relate to the policies and practices of formal education. The following is an outline to these three models:

(1) NFE as a complement: This model represents the role of NFE in providing educational services unfulfilled by the school system. It is developed to reach those whom formal education had not been able to deliver its services. The target groups include school left-outs and drop-outs, and adults who are found to be illiterate.

The complementary nature of this type of NFE was required to perform functions which formal education was designed to fulfil, but had not been able totally to achieve because of the shortage of sufficient schools, teachers or resources, or because these tools are maldistributed or used geographically or culturally throughout the nation.

(2) NFE as a supplement: This model is designed to provide educational services related to recent important stages in the development of the nation. It is a response to the issue of the changing role of the state and economy, including the private sector, and the acceptance of education as a commodity.

This model, almost being driven by economic considerations, required as a quick reaction to educational, social and economic needs because formal education is slow in its response to these needs. The target in this type of NFE is an industry or particular type of knowledge or skill, with links between the two categories.

(3) NFE as an alternative: This model seeks to recognise the area of indigenous education and establish a link between learning and culture to achieve social change. It emerged from the unwillingness or inability of the colonial state and its formal

education to accept and recognise that there had been pre-existing educational structures in the society before the colonial period, and that some of these may have been acceptable, even preferable and more successful, than the formal education adopted from the western countries and tending to continue to serve a function of elite recruitment.

At the end of this outline, it is to be argued that the alternative model, especially after the emergence of the state as a central and superior authority in the contemporary societies, might have no chance to be fully implemented. In the Palestinian case, for instance, there were ample attempts to develop NFE approach as an alternative to formal education which was controlled by the Israeli occupation (the state). However, these attempts were ruined or did not last for a long time, so many NFE programmes end up as complement or supplement to formal education, although NFE as a whole was in opposition to formal education and the state. This analysis is not only confined to oppressive situations, but also includes the democratic liberal societies, because as the state provides freedom in such societies, both formal education and NFE together are likely to respond to most of the people's needs, and there is no need to rely only on NFE as an alternative.

Besides, although Brennan mentioned that his argument is based on developing countries, his models neglected the differences in the political reality in these countries and the diversity of the state role and its influence over NFE. To what extent, if any, do levels of democracy affects the implementation of these models? Here Brennan's models provide no answer. In other words, while the above models try to clarify the relationship between formal education and NFE, they ignored the relationship between NFE and the state which controls formal education and its relationship with NFE.

Moreover, due to the huge variations between the developing countries, Brennan's conceptualisation does not fit all contexts. For instance, although NFE in Palestine has tried to play these three different roles (complementary, supplementary and alternative) in different times over the occupation era, none of these models alone match adequately the PNFE under occupation which perpetuated its opposition to the Israeli occupation.

The Palestinian case gives credit to a **fourth model** presented by Wilson (1997) which perceives NFE as **opposition to formal education**. This model covers situations like that existing in Palestine where most of NFE was in direct dispute with formal education.

However, the four models, mentioned above, are still unable to cover all NFE practices. For instance, they disagree with the situation in a country, such as Tanzania where the state committed itself to integrate the two systems, formal education and NFE, and devoted a sophisticated amount of its budget to NFE (Kassam 1982). This discussion might refer to a **fifth model** which is the **integrated model**. This new model has different base than all the former ones. Most of the previous models depend on an assumption that NFE lags behind formal education and just provides an inferior chance to those left behind by formal education only. Ranking NFE as a second after formal education is not only noted in these models but also dominated the spirit of NFE literature as a whole.

The integrated model already has advocates and adopters. Many researchers (Coombs and Ahmed 1974, Fordham 1979, Evans 1981 and Ahmed 1983) argue that the integration between formal education and NFE education is the preferable situation which could enhance the efficiency of the education system and save resources. This model was the strategy adopted by the UNESCO in its Second Medium-Term Plan from 1984 to 1989 (Muller 1997).

The integrated model does not give preference to either of the two systems. It views them as equivalents rather than rivals. The integrated model assumes that the relationship between formal education and NFE is much likely to be subject to a direct correlation rather than an inverse one. Fordham (1980) and Bockarie (1997) argue that an increase in formal education goes hand-in-hand with corresponding increase in NFE. Bockarie cites the developed countries as an example because in these countries NFE flourished and so does the extent of participation in formal education.

To justify this argument, it could be argued that expanding NFE provision is unlikely to reduce the need for formal education and vice versa. On the contrary, as such a promotion of NFE activities would activate the mental and manual capabilities of the beneficiaries and increase their awareness, this, in turn, will expand their demand and pressure over the state for formal education provision and access. Likewise, expanding formal education would open up economic opportunities, and accelerate social mobilisation which, in turn, could create immense demand for NFE programmes.

This discussion might put an end to the debate about the relationship between development and expanding of NFE activities. So far, as Bockarie (1997) stresses, there were two views regarding this issue: the first view argues that NFE serves the poor who have been deprived of formal education, which indicates that NFE is only for poor countries and would become less important with their development. The second view argues that expansion of NFE depends on the resources available to providers and the public, thus a wider-range of NFE activities is needed and expected to be found in developed countries. Clearly, the above discussion and the practices of NFE give support to the second view.

As formal education is often under a state direct control, it could be argued that formal-NFE relationship depends, to a large extent, on the relationship between NFE and the state. If the latter is good the former is likely to be good as well and vice versa. This point highlighted the importance of exploring NFE-state relationship. The next section will be devoted to this issue.

2.5 The study of the relationship between non-formal education and the state

The main argument in this section is that mutual influence and interest exist between NFE and the state. However, the influence of the state on NFE is likely to be stronger than the influence of NFE on the state. Accordingly, to avoid conflict and contradiction between the two sides, a partnership is supposed to exist between them, and this is unlikely to take place without a democratic system.

Many researchers hint at the gap in the literature in addressing state-NFE relationship, for instance, Bown (1990) asserts that adult education-state relationship had been neglected by scholars. She argues that this relationship needs to be theorised if education for adults is to move from the margins. Jarvis (1995) also notes that adult education literature has tended to focus on the process of learning and teaching and to omit the political implications of the discourse. He criticises Freire because much of his analysis is notable by the absence of the state as a variable.

One of the early attempts to examine the extent to which the state is involved in adult education policy was started in 1981 by Kreitlow and his colleagues. However, it was only in the last decade when serious attempts to explore this relationship started to emerge by a few scholars, such as: Bown (1990) Poggeler (1990) and Jarvis (1995) and by international conferences.

For instance, in 1988 an international conference on *The State and Adult Education* was held at Aachen to discuss this relationship. In this conference, it was agreed that more methodological tools and model-building were needed to explore the relation between adult education and the state. The conference drew attention to important issues with respect to adult education-state relationship, such as: evolution of policy on adult education, adult education-formal education relationship, legislation affecting adult education, state deployment of resources for adult education, and adult education and nation building (Bown 1990).

Another international conference on *Government Roles in Adult Education* was held in Sydney in Australia in 1989. The conference emphasised the need for leadership and involvement of the state in the development of adult education, particularly in the formulation of national policy and approach to adult education, as well as the need for a national advisory or co-ordinating body to assist in the above mission (Swinbourne and Wellings 1989).

These attempts recognised the importance of the relationship between state and adult education or NFE (as I argue in this thesis), and accepted the involvement of the state in NFE as one of the requirements of the present era. As Styler (1984) confirms, it was only in this century, especially after the First World War, when the state has started to play an increasingly important role, and today, despite the dominant of the post-liberal state model in some settings which emphasis the state as a minimal intervener in individuals lives, no large scale enterprise is possible without statutory support.

I shall argue that the study of the relationship has been informed by assumptions about the value and philosophy of the state. To illustrate this argument, the relationship between NFE and the state will be examined from two sides: the first is the impact of the state on NFE. The second is the impact of NFE on the state.

2.5.1 The impact of the state on non-formal education

Researchers and scholars are split into two groups regarding the impact of the state on NFE: the first group (Fellens 1981 cited in Jarvis 1991) distrust the state and stand against its intervention in NFE arguing that the leadership role of NFE should remain with the educators. This tendency was dominant in 1960s and 1970 when NFE organisation, as Archer (1994) points out, tended to focus on developing education innovations independently of the state. In Latin America, for instance, the Popular Education Movement, based on awareness raising and mobilisation of grassroots organisations, placed NFE firmly in opposition to state.

The second group stands in favour of state influence arguing that the state should hold this role (Jarvis 1991). Within this second group, some researchers see the state's influence as a natural consequence, Jarvis (1995:34), for instance, argues that:

'The state must control, that is at the heart of any understanding about the state. No state can allow an institution to exist that could undermine its credibility. It needs the consent of the people and so it would be problematic ever to regard institutionalised adult education in any other role than that of being subservient to the state'.

This view seems to be true whether in authoritarian regimes or democratic societies with a variation in the degree of control. Jarvis (1995) argues that adult education can never be completely controlled because state control will not guarantee that everybody who passes through the institutionalised system will be conformist.

Other researchers perceive the state's influence as a duty, Styler (1984:19), for instance, argues that:

'The state has to accept responsibility because it alone has the resources to ensure an adequate degree of effort. There is also the fact that in our world when the state gives its support an activity is recognised as enjoying full social approval, for the state is the instrument used by society to ensure desirable development and change. The world wide trend, then, ..., is for adult education to become increasingly dependant on the state'.

Whether it is a duty or a right, state influence, overtly or by indirection, on NFE is inevitable. In contemporary societies, it is near to impossible to find NFE free of state influence in absolute terms. Even when NFE goes far away and becomes hidden under the ground, it presumably will modify its reaction according to the state policies and practices. The state influence will become more clear if NFE acts legally. Besides, if the state does not exercise influence on NFE, other stakeholders (funders, NGOs, pressure group, interest group, etc.) will do that and take the role of the state leaving NFE under the influence of many agencies instead of the state.

In any event, it seems that levels, principles, patterns, and methods of state influence on NFE are varied considerably from society to society and time to time. The report of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1977, suggests four possible state's level of influence on NFE (Knights 1989):

1. To let it evolve, in a spontaneous and sporadic fashion without reference to any public intervention.
2. To strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities but not to perceive it as an active instrument of public policy in the social and economic arenas.
3. To strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities, while pursuing a positive policy of support for specific activities judged to be national priorities.

4. To create a comprehensive service of NFE as an integral element of broadly conceived educational systems and to relate it to the social, economic and cultural objectives of the nation.

Ziderman (1996) also notes that the state role in NFE could display in three activities: (a) providing supportive services, such as measures to create a climate of opinion conducive to NFE activities, providing education and training assistance, know-how and advisory services, (b) financing, wholly or in part, a wide range of NFE activities, and (c) providing services directly through public sector training activities.

The aforementioned categorisations seem to be based on the assumption of the well-meaning of the state, and ignores its possible misapplication. Bown (1990) recognises this possibility when she argues that the state intervention in adult education may be favourable (normative, facilitative) or constraining. Thomas (1982) refers to a range of state responses to adult education from exercising pressure on adult education to the attempt to stop it totally.

These different attitudes imply different level of financial commitments by the state. The more money the state invests in NFE, the more influence it is likely to have over it. However, finance is not the only instrument that states use to intervene in NFE. After examining many experiences in developing and developed world, it seems that the state exercises influence and / or intervenes in NFE through seven main instruments, which are: legislation, finance, policy, co-ordination, programme provision, evaluation and training. Utilising these seven instruments will not necessarily lead to direct state control, but if they combined with a statutory administrative structure for NFE, then the state's direct influence is inescapable.

State influence on NFE depends on many factors, such as: level of development, the economic situation, the political system, degree of democracy, maturity and stability

(peace, conflict, crisis, war and so on). Although these elements are important, I would argue that democracy or not makes up the most important combined variable which affects the nature and patterns of state's control or influence, and that a positive correlation exists between the expansion of NFE and level of democracy and freedom. The more democratic the state is, the more chance for NFE to flourish, and vice versa. In other words, the pre-condition factor to promote NFE is to adopt democratic liberal approach. La Belle and Ward (1996: 230) hint at similar findings when they stated that *'the continued existence of NFE programmes requires sufficient political freedom and openness that is not found in all countries'*.

Only democratic 'states' would be able to have common commitments and build effective communications with NFE. In oppressive or crisis situations, the state is unlikely to be interested in activating this form of NFE. Poggeler (1990: 17) asserts that:

'The history of adult education shows that a critical adult education has often spread liberal thinking. The more a state works as an authoritarian system, the more the owners of the power mistrust the activities of adult education. The participation of citizens in adult education can be a test for political maturity. Knowledge produces political power, while political weakness is based on a lack of knowledge. More adult education does not automatically transfer more power to the citizens, but if people are better informed and educated than other people, they are interested in more influence, in higher professional and social positions as well as more public prestige. More knowledge and more education are normally the means to acquire more political influence and responsibility'.

Even if the authoritarian state is keen to activate NFE or to impose some sort of

formality on NFE in order to serve its interests, NFE will not respond to this wish. This might encourage the state to exercise rigid control over NFE or decide to run it by itself, in this case NFE is much likely to be split into two parts:

One to be named **adult education** which becomes under the state's control and serves its interests. La Belle and Ward (1994: 4142) point out that: *'some nations restrict local groups in their sponsorship of non-formal education programs serve to maintain or enhance the state's goals'*. They argue that this was the situation in authoritarian regimes, such as Cuba and Chile, and in many centralised communist countries, such as formal Soviet Union which exercised strict control over NFE.

The second part will remain NFE and stay, to a large extent, out of state direct control. This kind of NFE is much likely to stand in opposition of the state and, if necessary works underground. That is what has happened, as Styler (1984) determines, in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, and Kenya. This also was the situation many times in Palestine under the Israeli occupation.

It seems that objective(s) of the state influence on NFE in democratic societies, if it happened, are likely to be different from that in authoritarian regimes. In the former the aim is to assist the people to express their interests, while the ultimate goal of the latter, as La Belle and Ward (1994) point out, is to maintain and enhance the state's goals in order to protect and strengthen holders of the powers.

The common ground between the liberal democratic state and the authoritarian state with respect to NFE is that both types of state are in favour of NFE provided it follows a human capital approach because such approach would enhance reputation of the state, while the Freirean approach has no chance to be encouraged by either type of state; the liberal democratic state will claim that there is no need for such an approach because the state reflects the people's will and needs, while the authoritarian state will reject it

due to the threatening revolutionary elements embedded in it.

Nevertheless, whether in authoritarian or democratic regime, a tension between NFE and a state is expected. The extent of this tension depends on the contradiction in the visions and policies, the views of the state to the role of NFE, and whether NFE institutions are local or external. For instance, Preston (1994) notes that after four decades of international funds to improve social well-being and economic development, donor relations with states are often strained because some countries found that the so-called humanitarian organisations are used to dislocate local economics and undermine national infrastructure.

2.5.2 The impact of non-formal education on the state

Many researchers argue that NFE has direct impact on the state and could lead to social mobilisation and political change, for instance, Bown (1990), after comparatively reviewing materials taken from several African countries and from Britain, argues that *'attempts at significant political change have usually been accompanied by some form of adult education activity or movement'*.

Hopkins (1990: 23) argues *'that the promotion of change in society can be, and often has been one major objective of adult education'*, and, thus, the objective of social change can be achieved, if pursued with clear vision and real enthusiasm. This might explain the contradiction between NFE and the state and illustrate why such a state, especially in the authoritarian regimes, is frightened by NFE and tries to control it in order to abort its potential to create social change.

Thomas (1991) in setting a conceptual framework to analyse the relationship between adult education and social change argues that the interpretation of this relationship can be classified under four models: (a) the revolution model which views social change as a legitimate and central aim of adult education; (b) the reform model

which is concerned with change within society; (c) the maintenance model which looks to create a stable society for the continuing advantages of particular interests or groups; and (d) the conservation model which emphasises that social change must be totally rejected as an educational aim.

The three approaches of NFE which are discussed previously in this chapter show that NFE might take 'revolutionary' or 'radical' dimension in the case of the Freirean approach, or at least reformist dimension in the case of the other two approaches: the human capital approach and the pragmatic liberal approach, and this comes in line with Thomas' conceptual framework. Moreover, it could be argued that NFE in oppressive regimes is much likely to take or include revolutionary 'Freirean' approach aiming at achieving collective objectives despite the state's constant objection or attempts to control or approach NFE towards individuals' objectives or professional training. By contrast, NFE in democratic liberal societies is much likely to take 'liberal pragmatic' or / and 'human capital' approach and focus, as Rogers (1992) notes, on the individual, in order to satisfy his / her self interests.

This means that NFE in the authoritarian system, despite the oppression, may be more politicised than NFE in the democratic society, because in the former it is essential and crucial to the people's life and it focuses on the macro level and aims at social change, while in the latter, there is less emphasise on NFE role as an instrument to achieve social change. Styler (1984: 120) notes that:

'In the liberal democracies,..., there has been less power in the idea of adult education as a means of achieving revolutionary change. In fact, since the right of people to determine for themselves what they will study is accepted, adult education on the whole is a conservative force, for it enables people to find satisfaction in the state of things as they are'.

NFE could and should influence the state in order to achieve its goals. Thompson (1988), argues for the importance of pooling resources by non-formal educators in influencing policies which related to their work, campaigning and lobbying for political support and if possible real participation in political activities. The most clear example which supports this claim could be drawn from Iran, where NFE is used explicitly by the Iranian revolution in 1979 as the main instrument for political and social transition (see for instance, Afshar 1989 and Milani 1994).

To sum up this section, the discussion has shown that potential tension between NFE and the state is likely to occur even in the liberal democratic systems; however, under some conditions of co-operation partnership may be possible. The discussion also hints at the changing role of NFE in crisis and conflict situations. As the Palestinian situation is a crisis and conflict one, it might be worthwhile to revolve around this issue. The question to be asked, then, is whether there is any specific function for NFE in traumatic times. If so, what role can NFE play in these situations? How does crisis affect state-NFE relationship? These issues will be discussed in the next section.

2.6 Non-formal education in crisis situations

Whilst there is some literature about post-conflict situation (see Poggeler 1991), little attention has been given to the role of NFE in conflict and crisis situations. Crisis situation refers here to instability which a society faces due to conditions such as revolution, war, upheaval, *Intifada*, catastrophe, oppression, occupation, transition and so on. Thus, in order to raise this issue for discussion, I would argue that the role of NFE as well as the attitudes of state toward NFE before, during and after the crisis are varying. As most of the previous discussion in this chapter addressed NFE in stable situations (before crisis), the remaining part of this section will explore NFE during and after the crisis.

In both situations, during and after the crisis, NFE is likely to focus on achieving national collective objectives, rather than focusing on the development of individuals or specific group as it often does in pre-crisis situation. This argument comes in line with what was previously mentioned about the national aim of NFE in dictatorship regimes, because such regimes are always in crisis situations.

The difference between the two situations is that during the crisis, the trends NFE take are much likely to focus on building up, rescue and /or relief activities based on short run emergency plans to face human needs, especially if the crisis caused widespread physical destruction and disruption to normal state provision of services. While after the crisis NFE is more likely to be approached to adopt a longer plan to promote developmental activities, social mobilisation and institutional building.

With respect to the state's attitudes, the real difference during and after the crisis might occur in the state's enthusiasm toward NFE. During the crisis it could be argued that there are two possibilities:

The first one is that the state might neglect NFE due to its focus on confronting the crisis as it happened in many countries, especially in the developing world. In such a case, external aid agencies and NGOs have a great opportunity to be accepted and allowed to provide services to different targeted groups without any real objection from the state that faces a crisis. Therefore, crisis situation would consider an ideal time for external agencies and NGOs to expand their activities and reach settings that were, for many different reasons, unreachable. Using crisis by external agencies and NGOs as an excuse to enter a new setting and stay longer periods afterward was a common tactic which used in many places all over the world.

The second possibility is that the state might focus more on NFE as one of the instruments to combat the crisis. In such a case, it is more adequate to talk about 'adult

education' rather than 'NFE'. This does not mean that in societies with such a situation, NFE does not exist, indeed, it exists but outside formal adult education, because NFE and adult education in such societies are two different things as stated previously in section 2.5. Many examples might refer to this second case, such as the experience of adult education in the ex-Soviet Union under the communist regimes. Germany in the 1930s under the Nazi regime is another example where, as Thomas and Harries-Jenkins (1991) note, adult education was used as a vehicle for encouraging or endorsing the Nazism through the conscious manipulation of the public mind. Israel also constitutes a contemporary example where most adult education is formally used by the state to rejuvenate Hebrew language and culture, as well as to absorb new immigrant Jews from all over the world and integrate them in the Israeli society in accordance with the Zionist ideology.

After a crisis there are two possibilities as well. The first one is that a state would show a greater emphasise on NFE and local participation. Thomas (1985) notes that the eradication of illiteracy is always popular as a goal with left wing revolutionary governments. La Belle and Ward (1990), after examining the association of educational reform with the types of radical political and social transformations that have occurred in seven countries in three continents, note that in the post-transformation period access to education typically expanded greatly, both by enlarging the system and making the entry easier for previously excluded groups. Literacy and technical training were emphasised almost immediately in most the countries studied. La Belle and Ward argue that literacy campaigns and other NFE efforts were often mounted in support of the new or revised ideology immediately following a transformation.

Jarvis (1991 and 1995) after analysing four historical cases which followed crises (two of them followed revolutions, and the other two followed wars), confirms this

tendency toward expanding the educational provision in post-conflict situations but argues that this tendency does not last for a long time. He stresses that after the crisis there was, among other things, a promise of adult education, while after the promise the state functions with two different sets of forces operating simultaneously but sometimes in apparently conflicting ways: first, there is a sense of national unity and the feeling that all citizens are equal members of society and have equal rights because they have suffered and / or fought together. Thus, states make their offers to the people, including the promise of education for all to build a new society (Jarvis 1995).

However, and secondly, as societies function not only according to the spirit of nationalism and in the interest of the nation, and within the state there are opposing interests as well as division between the rulers and the ruled, the spirit of nationalism and unity will last for a short period and then die again, and the competing interests will be struggling against each other to reach their objectives or to achieve greater share in the state's resources. This struggle would be used as an excuse by the ruler to break their promise (Jarvis 1995).

The second possibility with respect to the attitude of a state toward NFE in post-crisis situations is that the state might hinder or even try to stop NFE. This possibility is likely to take place in the authoritarian regime. Thomas (1985) argues that if adult education aimed at changing society, authority is likely to curb it, the rule is that the more threatening an activity is, the more likely it will be stopped. He notes that the usual practice of the right wing revolution is to close down adult education facilities. He (1985: 45) adds that *'totalitarian governments realise that education, especially adult education, which seeks to generalise about people's experiences and fit them into intellectual framework, cannot be tolerated'*.

Nevertheless, the reaction of NFE in such a case has been discussed in section 2.5.

2.7 Problems

NFE faces many problems at the theoretical and practical levels. Critique of the theory views NFE as a second-rate alternative to formal education. Some scholars (Barber 1981, Carnoy et al cited in Ahmed 1983), characterise NFE as a cynical attempt to neutralise pressures for education services from the newly enfranchised groups and a plot to create a permanent underclass to work in the farms and the factories of the governing elite. To put it in other words, they argue that NFE only helps strengthen inequalities and maintain exclusion by softening the conflicts and contradictions of the existing social structure.

This analysis of the function of NFE to protect the most privileged is not adequate when the state does not have proper and enough resources to expand formal education. The overwhelming majority of NFE practices in the developing countries showed that the choice, if there is such a choice, was not between formal education or NFE, rather, it was between NFE or nothing (Ballantine cited from Fordham 1980:9), between isolated formal education or community-based education. In other words, NFE is promoted originally to tackle social exclusion not to create it.

In addition, whether NFE strengthens the *status quo* or not depends to a large extent on the approach NFE takes. If NFE is committed to raise the awareness of the mass of the people and provoke them to think critically about their living condition and reality, NFE in this case is unlikely to strengthen the *status quo*. The Palestinian experience also supports this conclusion (see chapter 6).

Another criticism is that NFE appears as an additional element which encourages dependency on the rich western countries. This is due to the fact that NFE in developing countries is heavily dependent on the external aid from the developed countries which as Bhola (1983) mentions, first declared the crisis of formal education,

then fabricated a challenge which is meeting minimum basic needs of the poor, and then proposed NFE as a solution to the developing countries.

If this claim is accepted then it would imply that a shift in educational thinking and attitudes should occur in favour of reducing dependency on external aid. After reviewing experiences in many developing countries and the influence of external aid, and as the Palestinian case will indicate, there are strong signals that the effectiveness of the local resources and funds no matter how little they are, are more sustainable than the influence of the external fund no matter how big it is. This indicates that developing countries have no choice but to depend on their own resources.

At the operational level, many of NFE problems are related to particular programmes and specific contexts, while others seem to be common to NFE programmes and could be generalised. For instance, Bhola (1983) notes that although NFE programmes may in some cases have served to raise the consciousness of the participants, and making them more aware of new options, most of these activities have been very narrow in scope and did not lead to a real change or become part of the policy agendas in most nations.

Although Bhola describes the general scene, he tries to identify the reason/s for this situation. For instance, one of these reasons is due to the tendency of most countries, including the most poorest countries to rely on, and allocate most of the education budget to formal education despite all its problems, and devote very little or no funds to NFE. This tendency is because formal education is less threatening to the state, it is more controllable and, as La Belle and Ward (1996) stress, it reflects the interest of those who dominate the state and who are sometimes not interested in reducing social exclusion and create more equitable society.

Nevertheless, the good experiences in NFE should not be forgotten, such as experiences of Nicaragua and Tanzania which were implemented widely and

significantly reduced the illiteracy rates and expanded mass awareness. In Tanzania, for instance, enrolment in adult literacy increased from 0.26 million in 1970 to 6 million in 1978 and, as a consequence, illiteracy was reduced from 75 percent in 1961 (Siwingwa 1986) to 32 percent (20.6 % among men) in 1995 (UNESCO 1995).

Another critique is raised by many researchers like Bock (1976), Colletta and Tod (1982), Moulton (1982) and Bhola (1983) who argue that NFE programmes are best utilised by those who already have some formal schooling and have some economic resources to invest in the new skill learned, while those illiterate and poor who need it most have not been able to lobby on their own behalf.

This critique is based on inadequate assumption being instilled in the literature of NFE which assumes that NFE is for disadvantaged people only. This assumption contributes to marginalising NFE in many settings and belittling its value in comparison with formal education. Practices of NFE overtly shown that this kind of education is open to all people unless precise programmes designed to target specific group/s.

Nevertheless, there is no theory or practices without problems and NFE is no exception. Coombs (1985) refers to some problems which obstruct NFE, such as; some complex and difficult organisational problems, and a lack of any efficient system for providing competent professional support services, such as programme design and evaluation, staff training, preparation of training materials.

There also is a problem of the unsuitability of NFE output, for instance, participants may be taught skills which are not marketable in their region. This is partly due to the lack of adequate needs assessment of the area. A more critical reason; however, is a lack of available jobs for rural poor and the shortage of opportunities for them to supplement their incomes even when they have learned new skills (Bock 1976).

The difficulties and confusion in measuring NFE economic return considers another problem which hinders NFE because unlike formal education which often been taken for granted, NFE as Bhola (1983) suggests; *'has to be justified for every planning period and during every budget cycle'*. Thus, many researchers (Ahmed 1975, Hunter et al. 1974, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985) claim that it is essential for cost of NFE programmes to be calculated as accurately as possible.

it seems that the major reason for the above distrust was the high expectations scholars put upon NFE, especially for those who perceived it as an alternative to formal education, or those who forgotten that NFE in the contemporary era due to the state control, is not allow to pass formal system.

2.8 Non-formal education and educational exclusion

As this dissertation tries to address the role of NFE in combating exclusion from formal education, the question to be answered is: does the literature refer to any NFE's role in confronting exclusion from formal education? Before answering this question let us illustrate what educational exclusion means. The key words being used in the literature in describing the disparities and imbalances in education system, especially in the second half of this century, are 'educational inequality' or 'inequality of educational opportunity' and more recently the term 'exclusion' has become common as well. A huge literature relating to this topic already exists (see for instance, Coleman 1968, Galtung 1973, Tyler 1977, Acker 1987, Stromquist 1990).

The concept of 'educational inequality' and its explanations, has changed radically over time under the influence of changes in political values and climate. At the beginning sociologists emphasised educational inequality as a social problem (Flude, 1974: 42). Therefore, educational inequalities were linked with social inequalities; and reducing the latter appeared as a direct tool to solve the former. For instance, the early

discussion of educational inequalities in Britain has been concerned with the access of working-class children to education and the effects of their home background on this and on achievement (Bernbaum 1977). However, in the last three decades more attention has been given to the nature of available education, to the sort of abilities on which school achievement depends, and to the kind of learning fostered by schools.

This means that there has been a shift from explanations of educational inequalities in terms of the individual and social characteristics of students to explanations which emphasised the role of the education system, and, thus, the research shifted away from being primarily concerned with the effects of home background towards analysis of the education system itself.

Another change has been taken place in research on inequalities in the late 1970s and 1980s. Under the influence of the feminist movement and the emergence of multiculturalism and anti-racism, educational inequalities between the sexes and within and between ethnic groups became the focus for research particularly in the Western countries. The new wave of research saw educational inequality as a problem requiring political solutions. Moreover, it encouraged an internal criticism of the education system for not achieving its own ideal of equality in a context of universal free compulsory school (see, for example: Weiner and Arnot 1987; Measor and Sikes 1992).

Though, for this study 'educational inequality' and 'educational exclusion' are two sides of the same coin; however, the tendency to use the latter in this study is due to the ambiguity of the former. Equality appears as a utopian slogan and it is impossible to be achieved fully, different people in different situations and times could have different needs. Equality might be understood as treating people equally, while achieving equality requires sometimes creating a sort of preferential treatment. In this regard, educators and researchers might propose a positive discrimination 'affirmative action' policy,

where individuals have special treatment in educational selection because of their membership in a disadvantaged group/s (Wang 1983).

For instance, equality of opportunities entails specific forms of assistance for those most in need of it and special attention for those who are psychologically, socially or economically disadvantaged. Those groups in society have to be provided with more than equal amount of resources within the educational system to overcome the effects of other societal handicaps.

The multi-ethnic liberal society is another example, where maintaining cultural diversity is one of the important aims of this society. In this case, equalisation of educational opportunities does not only mean providing equal access to education, it also means emphasising equal rights of each individual and each community to keep alive its cultural identity and take a full part in directing and organising society as a whole. This means that it is not enough merely to distribute an education service equitably over a whole territory. The content and operation of this service must also vary according to the various cultures found in the territory. The two above examples recommend different treatment to different individuals or groups with diverse abilities to finally arrive at equal opportunities.

Besides, 'inequality' is a measurement tool, while 'exclusion' is a cause. Inequality occurs because somebody or something has excluded. In any case, educational exclusion is not a static concept, it is a specific culture term influenced by time, setting and context. This is because educational exclusion does not exist independently and its not educational problem only, it is related to a complex mixture of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors and context. A balanced situation from one point of view might not appear balanced from others perspective.

Further, educational exclusion refers to so many things-potentials, opportunity, and outcomes, and it can be based on several sorts of ground. This means that achieving a full and absolute balance is near to impossible, and, if it ever happened, would be for a very short period. Once the targeted exclusion is eradicated other new exclusions will emerge, therefore, the term 'reduction' of exclusion, rather than 'eradication' is preferable in this study.

Having said that, it could be argued that generalising a definition for educational exclusion is neither desirable nor fruitful, and we should not be worry in seeking common experiences and approaches. Therefore, there is no attempt in this thesis to present a general definition, instead it would be more realistic to define educational exclusion in the Palestinian context which refers to the inability to maximise educational opportunities, because the quality of what is offered is limited, because it is interrupted, because the range and quantity available are limited as we will see in chapter 5.

Returning now to the question of the role of NFE in reducing exclusion from formal education. The literature on NFE has repeatedly stressed its status as a strategy designed to reach specific groups that are denied access to formal schooling. This remains the main feature of both NFE theory and practices. Most scholars agree that NFE reduces effects of exclusion and can be an instrument for widening access to some of the knowledge taught through the formal system (though that would be suspect to Freire). Fordham (1980) and Wilson (1997) argue that the main purpose of NFE is related to the policy issues of equality of access since many NFE programmes, especially in the poorest countries, have launched to serve those whom access was denied by the formal education.

Many thinkers (Illich 1970, Freire 1970, Coombs 1985) argue against the gap between classes, and hierarchically organised societies, and, explicitly, attacked social

inequality. Special attention has also been given by many scholars (Foster and Sheffield 1974, Ahmed 1983, Coombs 1985, Berstecher 1985) to the economic development of rural areas through NFE. In addition, the inferior status of vocational education and girls' education was in the centre of NFE literature and led to numerous NFE projects designed to promote women's status and vocational education as a means to combat poverty and exclusion. In this regard, and to a various extent, NFE has been adopted by many developing countries, such as Tanzania, India, Bangladesh, and Nicaragua as a part of multi-sectoral strategies to achieve rural development by transferring and utilising relevant skills and information which fits with the existed infrastructure.

Publication on NFE refers to numerous innovations and projects for rural areas in many countries. For instance, Narang (1992) and Passi (1997) report about India's initiatives based on integrating formal education and NFE and adopting multiple-entry and re-entry system. Sungsri and Mellor (1984) and Alexander (1989) concentrate on the experience of Thailand which included establishment of 8000 village reading centres. Khawaja and Brennan (1990) devote attention to the Rural Education and Development Programme (READ) in Pakistan which started in 1977 as a pilot project adopting NFE strategies to promote literacy. Wilson (1997) reports about the Dikmas Programme in Indonesia which have been designed to facilitate the entry of illiterate and out-of-school youth into the formal education systems. Miske (1997) illustrates the Rural Advancement Programme in Bangladesh which provides non-formal schooling in grades 1 to 3 for older unschooled children (mostly girls) from the poorest home.

Reimers (1997) refers to the Education with the Participation of the Community Programme (EDUCO) in El Salvador which launched in 1991 as an approach to expand access to pre-school education and to the first cycle of primary education in rural areas. He (1997a) also draws the attention to the project of *the Fe y Alergia* (Faith and Joy)

non-government organisation which provides formal education and NFE at different levels to the poor in 12 countries in Latin America reaching more than half million students. The basic principle in this project is to create partnerships between the organisation, the state and the local community. Arnove (1987) shows that expanding formal education and reducing gender, regional and rural-urban bias were direct outcomes of the Literacy Crusade Campaign launched in Nicaragua in the 1980s.

In addition, the UNICEF annual report (1997) devoted to *the state of the world's children* and focused on child labour, refers to many NFE innovations to attract school drop-outs and left-outs and to combat shortage in schools in rural and forgotten areas in many countries, such as Brazil, Kenya, Philippines and Colombia. The Escuela Nueva (EN) school programme in Colombia was one of these initiatives which started in the mid 1970s and aimed at providing school education to rural children. The programme presented as an integrated and comprehensive system of curriculum development, teacher training, administration and community mobilisation. The number of these schools has increased from 2,000 in 1982, to 18,000 in 1989 reaching 800,000 rural children.

In the end of this quick review of the above innovations, it is to be noted that most of them were expressed in a particular cultural context, learner-centred and acknowledging the diversity of social structure and culture. Therefore, although similar methods could be used in different countries, importing solutions from outside and copying experiences of the others might not work and remains inadvisable.

This indicates that it is better for every country to put a combination of measures best suited to its own circumstances. It also indicates that the driving role in identifying the priorities should remain with local representative not the international aid agencies.

It is to be noted here that the literature of NFE because of its linkage with the

literature of 'adult education' has not focused on children's programmes in spite of the devotion of many NFE programmes to children. In India, for instance, and as Fordham (1980) notes, the NFE of children is given high priority. Hamadache (1994) argues that delivering NFE for children is a new field of study and emerged particularly in the developing countries. He summarises most of the methods used in this field which are classified into sets of methods:

Methods designed to provide infrastructure including: (a) multi-shift schooling (double or triple shifts; (b) community control and instruction: in some Indian's districts the community supply classrooms and equipment and selecting instructions from among themselves; (c) adaptation of school schedules to suit children times; (d) making the traditional indigenous system (Koranic schools in Pakistan) more cost effective; and (e) facilitating opportunities for access to deprived or isolated groups (multi-grade classes, tent schools for the nomads, mobile schools).

Other kind of methods are designed to improve the educational efficiency and relevance, including: (a) experiments in changing or adopting the curricula through adding additional vocational training relevant to meet the needs of daily life, linking the contents to the needs of rural life and orientation of education toward productive work; (b) 'second chance' remedial programme for drop-outs; and (c) innovations in the teaching-learning process and materials.

Reviewing these methods reveal that social exclusion, including educational exclusion, was the target, and that implementing these methods effectively would be best through a central authority which has the ability to address the peoples' needs on a national level. This is another element which would justify the intervention of the state in co-ordinating NFE.

2.9 Research on non-formal education and educational exclusion in

Palestine

The research movement in Palestine, as confirmed by the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) (1997) which is in charge of research, is very modest both in quantity and quality and not oriented toward societal needs. There are serious statistical data gaps and inconsistencies, lack of academic and scientific research resources, inadequacy of the records and lack of experienced, well-trained researchers and field workers. Before 1995, most of the data about Palestinian society came through official Israeli sources and only a few were available to the specialist or to the mass of the people. Data from Palestinian and unofficial Israeli sources were sparse and selective (Tamari 1994).

The crisis in education research is also obvious. There is an absence of 'Palestinian' educational text and a lack of theorisation in most areas of educational practices. In as much there is no national education research centre, most of education research is carried out by post-graduate students, university staff, or some NGOs. There is a serious gap between research and practice and policy, and very weak connection between research finding and decision making.

Needless to say, thus, that even less attention has been given to research on adult and NFE. There are a very limited number of adult educators and professionals locally. The lack of local literature about adults is remarkable. The debate about NFE and adult education generally within academic frameworks has not yet started. This neglect of NFE and adult education research in Palestine might be attributed to the bias of the education system to formal education, and the recent emergence of NFE in Palestine, especially as most of the PNFE activities are implemented during the occupation era with no official state recognition, as it will be demonstrated in chapter 6.

2.9.1 Research on educational exclusion

Having said that, it is no accident that issues related to educational exclusion are under-researched despite the existence of educational exclusion in Palestine. There is an absence of a national-scale research and lack of data in this field. A UNESCO mission to Palestine, that took place on November 1994 to review the situation of education in Palestine, noted (UNESCO 1995: 40) that:

'The problem of equity and access to the education system are not well documented, but exist in spite of enormous improvement over the last decades. It is, therefore, critical that the 'Ministry' carry out or commission research in this area'.

Generally speaking, the discussion with respect to educational exclusion came indirectly through discussing problems of Palestinian education as a whole. During the occupation, educational exclusion was not one of the priorities of the Israeli authority who was controlling Palestinian education. Nor was it a leading priority of Palestinians who were busy fighting the occupation. Moreover, Palestinians attributed all their educational problems to the policy of the Israeli occupation, thus, any serious attempt to look for internal reasons was deliberately neglected (Tamari 1994).

Nonetheless, there were a few fragile attempts to address topics related to educational exclusion. Gender was the most attractive topic, followed by the gap between vocational education and general education, while the gap between the WB and the GS was the most neglected field. One of these attempts with respect to gender exclusion was made by Heiberg (1992) through a study to be called later the FAFO study. This study, based on interviews with 2500 householders, explored aspects of

Palestinian conditions in different fields (education, health and economic) and identified some aspects of educational exclusion, especially between the sexes and in rural areas. However, this study did not trace the reasons or recommend solutions.

Jirbawi (1993) focuses on gender bias in curricula and concluded that there is neither qualitative nor quantitative sexual equality in curricula. Hasheweh (1995), through his work for the Palestinian Ministry of Labour, produced a policy document paper about the vocational training system in both formal and non-formal sectors, and its future prospects. Despite the comprehensiveness of this paper it ignored the gender dimension and marginalised the role of NGOs. Further, his recommendations neglected the complexity of the political and economical situation in Palestine.

Tull (1995) reviews most research which was carried out during the 1990s in the field of vocational and technical education. Like Hasheweh, he overlooked the gender dimension. Abu Nahleh's report (1996) might be considered the most serious attempt to explore gender exclusion from Palestinian vocational education and technical training. The report depends on a survey conducted in the late 1995 by questioning 853 twelfth grade high school students. The study shows that vocational education system in the WB perpetuates gender bias. However, due to constraints in movements the study covered only the WB and excluded the GS.

2.9.2 Research on non-formal education

Regarding NFE research the situation is slightly better, activities of the PNFE could be traced through annual institutional reports, organisational leaflets, human rights reports and so on. There are descriptive materials by many scholars (Baker 1989, Donnan 1990, Ramsden and Senker 1993, and Al-qadi 1993) and agencies (UNICEF 1992 and Educational Network 1994) which present some specific educational practices: literacy, training, special education, social work, vocational and technical

education, learning needs, women issues and NGOs activities.

However, some booklets and articles have addressed aspects of NFE in Palestine and are of significant value. One of the early attempt was by Graham-Brown (1984). She describes Palestinian education prior to 1948, then examines the situation of Palestinians in Israel, Palestine and Lebanon. A discussion of primary and secondary schools, technical and vocational training and the PNFE programmes was included.

Another descriptive attempt was made by Baker (1989) who uses the term (informal education) rather than NFE, and addressed the programmes provided for two groups: the disabled and the illiterate. Mahshi and Bush (1989) also analyse the *Intifada* as a catalyst for educational change. They examine Palestinian 'popular education' that was designed to overcome the closure of the formal educational institutions, and argue that the *Intifada* has created an educational laboratory, which challenges conservative educators to start afresh.

Mani (1991), devotes her short paper about literacy and adult education in Palestine to the role of Palestinian Women's Committees. She argues that literacy programmes which are dedicated to bring about social change must be predicated on an understanding or consciousness of the specific material and social conditions in society.

Fasheh (1990, 1992, 1995, 1995a) from his Freirean perspective, has made the most serious and coherent contribution in Palestine to advocate out-of school education. He stresses the urgent need to create a system of community education, and argues that innovative educational programmes will not work without a fundamental change of attitude on the part of the Palestinian population as a whole.

He also asserts that if people come to value learning outside traditional formal institutions, learning will become a community-wide and a communicable process. He emphasises that the development of the Palestinian community education as an agent of

change, is critical to the empowerment of the Palestinian people, and argues that formal education limits the abilities of the learner to be creative. Fasheh's arguments and themes will be more fully examined in chapter 6.

Al-Kurd (1994) in his doctorate thesis about 'Alternative Education Under the Palestinian *Intifada*', discusses Palestinian 'Popular Education' which was developed and implemented during the Palestinian uprising (1987-1994) after the closure of all schools and higher education institutions by the Israeli authority. According to him, alternative education refers to a system of education conducted by the population outside of the traditional educational setting. He argues that Palestinian educators during the *Intifada* developed a comprehensive system of alternative, or popular education to meet the educational needs of the affected citizens. Although this claim is debatable, his thesis remains the sole attempt which examined the process by which this popular education was developed and implemented.

Qazzaz (1997) in her doctorate thesis: 'Adult Non-formal Education in Developing Countries: The Case of Palestinians in the Israeli Prisons' used a descriptive approach to explore the educational experience of Palestinian political prisoners. Depending on interviews with 40 released prisoners from the GS only, she argues that Palestinian prisoners achieved a highly organised non-formal education programme.

Overall, apart from Fasheh's contributions, these studies focus on specific micro or meso cases without linking them to the macro national NFE frame or to the global literature of NFE as a whole. In other words, these studies did not aim at a new educational approach and provide no conceptual and theoretical clarification for NFE in Palestine. My master dissertation (1995), although it focuses on the occupation era, was a preliminary attempt to display the PNFE as a cohesive educational approach.

This situation draws the attention to the necessity for macro level research to theorise and explore in-depth the reality of the PNFE and to identify possible NFE strategies with links to the problem of exclusion from Palestinian formal education. This thesis, hopefully, is a preliminary attempt to achieve that.

Chapter Three

Researching Colleagues In Crisis Situation

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCHING COLLEAGUES IN CRISIS SITUATION

This chapter explores methods of this study, including data collection, field work, access, data analysis and writing up the thesis. The chapter discusses why the topic of the study has been selected and refers to sources of the data. It also focuses on the field work journey and process.

3.1 Selecting the research problem

Research problem may be framed either as hypotheses or questions. Research questions may be of various kinds: hypothetical ('what would happen if?'), theoretical ('how can we define this?'), historical ('what happened?'), empirical ('what is the state of affairs?') (Cohen and Manion 1980, Gay 1987).

This research is largely empirical. The source of this research questions emerged from my work experiences in Palestinian education. On the one hand, I always had strong feeling that exclusion exists in and is an outcome of Palestinian formal education. On the other hand, I have noted that in spite of the existence of NFE activities, this type of education is still under-researched in Palestine. Moreover, after the transfer of the Palestinian education to the PNA, a question about the role of PNFE in re-building Palestinian education system was highlighted. This development raises issues which are of general relevance to national states concerning the balance and relationship between formal education and NFE. All this encouraged me to investigate both the status of the PNFE and aspects of exclusion from Palestinian

formal education, and prepare a preliminary framework for a new PNFE system which would effectively contribute to nation building. A further purpose is to explore NFE strategies that, through policy intervention, might contribute to reducing exclusion from Palestinian formal education.

3.2 Related literature

In order to connect this study to the international literature of non-formal and adult education, the development of NFE globally was identified and reviewed through exploring published sources. This process helped to stimulate theoretical sensitivity through limiting the research questions, clarify and defining the concepts of the study and understanding which methods are useful and which seem less promising. It also provided an opportunity to explain phenomena in light of NFE theory and to interpret the significance of the literature's results, and, thus, plan and conduct my own research after becoming familiar with previous researches in the same field.

The literature review was a continuous process, it happened before and after the field work. There was a mutual influence between the literature review and the research questions. For instance, the literature review in NFE raised a number of issues which are taken into consideration during the field work. On the other hand, the research questions related to the Palestinian experience directed the literature review toward particular themes, such as NFE and the state, NFE in crisis situations, the relationship between formal education and NFE and educational exclusion in NFE literature.

3.3 Data collection

Although this research is mainly qualitative, the sources of data provide a combination of qualitative and quantitative data, these sources included:

(1) **Secondary sources:** based on the critical analysis of surviving documentary and other evidence. This included collecting, classifying, and retrieving the information. Conventional material which included books (in Arabic and English), printed articles in professional magazines and research journals.

(2) **Primary sources :** which consist of:

a) National Statistics, such as the national educational statistics which were published (for the first time) in 1995, and the national demographic survey which carried out in mid 1993 by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics through interviewing 15, 000 households.

b) The valid laws and legislation that related to education system.

c) Grey materials: mostly unpublished governmental reports and studies. The full list of these materials appears at the bottom of the references list for this research.

d) Field work: this instrument was the pillar of this research and was crucial to my understanding and findings. The field work not only provided up-to-date information not yet documented about the PNFE; corroboration of information particularly documented; and illuminations and explanations to some phenomena and situations, but also it enable me to capture views of Palestinian policy makers and providers of formal and NFE and exchange ideas at a significant historical moment. As the process of the field work reflected my personal experience, the following section will explore it fully.

3.4 The field work

The field work was dependent on semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews. The interviews' schedule was composed of a list of thirteen open-ended questions (see appendix 1) that were put to 31 interviewees.

3.4.1 The study population

The study population was theoretically unknown. If all the relevant stakeholders (donors, policy makers, providers and participants in both formal education and NFE) are to be considered, then we talk about hundred of thousands of people, but it is very difficult to predict precisely how large this population is. However, two elements were taken into consideration when the sample was drawn: first, the sample has deliberately excluded the participants in both formal education and NFE, and focused only on the policy makers and providers of formal education and NFE. Further, and secondly, only those who engaged in education sector were considered. The others whose works and experiences are pertinent to other sectors, such as health and agriculture, were excluded. These two conditions minimised size of the study population to approximately less than two hundred.

My intention had been to interview 45 persons which constitute about 23 per cent of the study population. However, due to conditions under which the research was carried out (to be explained later in this chapter) 31 persons (about 16 per cent of the study population) were interviewed. The question to be answered here is, why are the participants in both formal and PNFE excluded from the study population? This happened because as a Palestinian researcher, I strongly believe that problems of Palestinian education system, in its two wings; the formal education and the NFE, lie at the top of the system. The fragmentation of PNFE and lack of sense of direction that

both formal education and NFE suffer, as it will appear in chapter 4, 5 and 6, are due to the absence of effective leadership and an appropriate policy.

Besides, by interviewing the policy makers and providers of education services in these transition moments where the Palestinians are busy in planning and implementing educational reforms, I intended to inform the current debate on education policy and provoke dialogue with and among policy makers and draw their attention to the potential which NFE has, in order to improve policy formulation and planning. Furthermore, expanding size of the sample to include local projects or participants would have become a time-consuming and costly process and does not match the unstable situation in Palestine and my personal circumstances.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

The interview method was chosen to be the chief instrument for collecting the data of the field work. The interview was practically the most available realistic option which suits the research topic. It seemed able to generate descriptive information and interpretation of available quantitative data and provide shortcut to understand rationale, motivation and attitudes that direct people's action, as well as generate practical suggestions concerning some particular issue (Mikkelsen 1995).

Theoretically speaking, questionnaire was another option. However, it was felt that this instrument is not an appropriate to this research. Culturally speaking, Palestinians value the personal oral contact more than the written correspondence. This preference coincides with the smallness of the sample which made it possible to conduct face-to-face interviews. Besides, the research sample included key informants most of whom are occupying high governmental positions and are, relatively, busy people, especially

as the field work began a couple of weeks before the opening of the new school year. Hence, it was estimated that some of them are unlikely to bother themselves and fill a questionnaire, and if they do that, some of them will not do it adequately and fully. Further, the mail system in Palestine was under-developed, and the chances of stray and missing questionnaires were very high, especially as the field work has coincided with the process of handing over the mail system from the Israeli authority to the PNA.

But, why were the interviews semi-structured? In this type of interview, the main topics and questions to be covered are predetermined, while other questions are formulated during the interviews. This, as Fitz and Halpin (1994) point out, often offers the interviewer the possibilities of exerting some control over interviews conducted in difficult situations. The semi-structured interviews have advantages in trying to achieve objectives which appeared appropriate to this research, including flexibility and responsiveness to individual differences and situation changes, its ability to provide in-depth inside information, its cheapness and the possibility for it to be carried out quickly (Mikkelsen 1995).

This type of interview; however, has some limitation. For instance, samples of informants might be susceptible to bias caused by selection of informants or interviewer bias caused by inaccurate and / or distorted perception and interpretation on the part of the interviewer and lack of acquaintance or confidences in interviewers may cause distortions in information (Mikkelsen 1995). These limitations were borne in mind. However, there was little possibility of the distortion of data as a result of lack of acquaintance or confidence in interviewer because I was well-known to the majority of the informants. Further, to reduce the susceptibility to systematic bias caused by selection of the informants, the field work depends on a non-random purposive sample

and a snowballing sample, so about half of the informants from the proposed sample were selected by other informants, as it will be explained fully later.

As the aim was to interview particular people who have knowledge and experiences in formal education and NFE, 31 key informants were interviewed. The informants consisted of policy makers, researchers, and providers. Twenty one of them have had the opportunity, whether in the past or at the present, to work in both formal and PNFE sectors. Five informants have worked in formal education only, while other 5 informants have worked in NFE only. The majority of the informants are well-educated, highly qualified and in charge of superior positions (see table 3.1). As none of the informants asked to be anonymous, appendix 2 presents a list of their full names and main characteristics.

Table 3.1

Distribution of the informants according to their current status and sex

Position	Male	Female	Total
Deputy Minister	4	-	4
Director-General in the MOE or the MOHE	7	1	8
Director of educational district	2	-	2
Director in the MOE	1	2	3
Director of PNFE institutions	6	4	10
Dean of education departments	1	1	2
others	2	-	2
Total	23	8	31

Although there were 8 women among the informants, the informants were selected and interviewed due to their knowledge, experiences, or positions rather than their sex. There were two criteria in selecting the informants: their experience or previous experiences and their previous or current position. So, some informants were chosen to be interviewed because of their previous experience rather than their current position

and vice versa. For instance, the Deputy Minister of Interior was interviewed not because of his current position but due to his voluntary position as president of one of the biggest PNFE institutions in Palestine. Nevertheless, both the previous experiences and the current position of half of the informants were relevant to the research topics.

This mutual interaction between previous experiences and current positions of the informants and vice versa, explain why there were no real differences between those who are working in formal education and those who are working in PNFE. The logic is to find differences in the views of those two groups and expect them to advocate the education system which they are working with. However, this was not the case; although there was some minor differences between them, both side were in the same tune, the harmony and similarity in their views were obvious.

Another explanation of this phenomenon is related to the fact that the interviews captured views of the informants, particularly those who were in a governmental positions, before they personally and professionally committed to their position owing to the fortunate fact that the interviews occurred at the beginning of the transition period, when all the informants, who were working in governmental positions, were only very recently appointed in their positions.

I was based in the city of Hebron (southern of WB) and worked alone. It was my responsibility to attend to the recorder, take notes, and ask questions. I wished I had a partner so he/ she could take notes and handle the recorder. This would have enabled me to be fully involved with the interviewees and concentrate entirely on the subjects discussed.

Before starting interviews, I often sought permission to tape-record to avoid missing any thing. All but two people agreed to be taped. However, during the interviews I switched off the recorder in four cases after it was found that the

informants were uncomfortable and talking very cautiously. In these six unrecorded cases, the main points and responses were written down, rather than the whole responses in order to avoid losing eye contact with the informants. However, every single question was checked later on at home on the same day. So, any responses being heard and not written yet were written down. In two of these cases the interviewees were phoned and asked about issues which appeared unclear to me, to check their responses.

The interviews focused on five main topics as follows: (a) problems of the Palestinian education in general; (b) exclusion from Palestinian formal education; (c) the situation of PNFE; (d) the role of PNFE in overcoming educational exclusion; and (e) the relationship between formal education and NFE.

3.4.3 Travelling through sieges

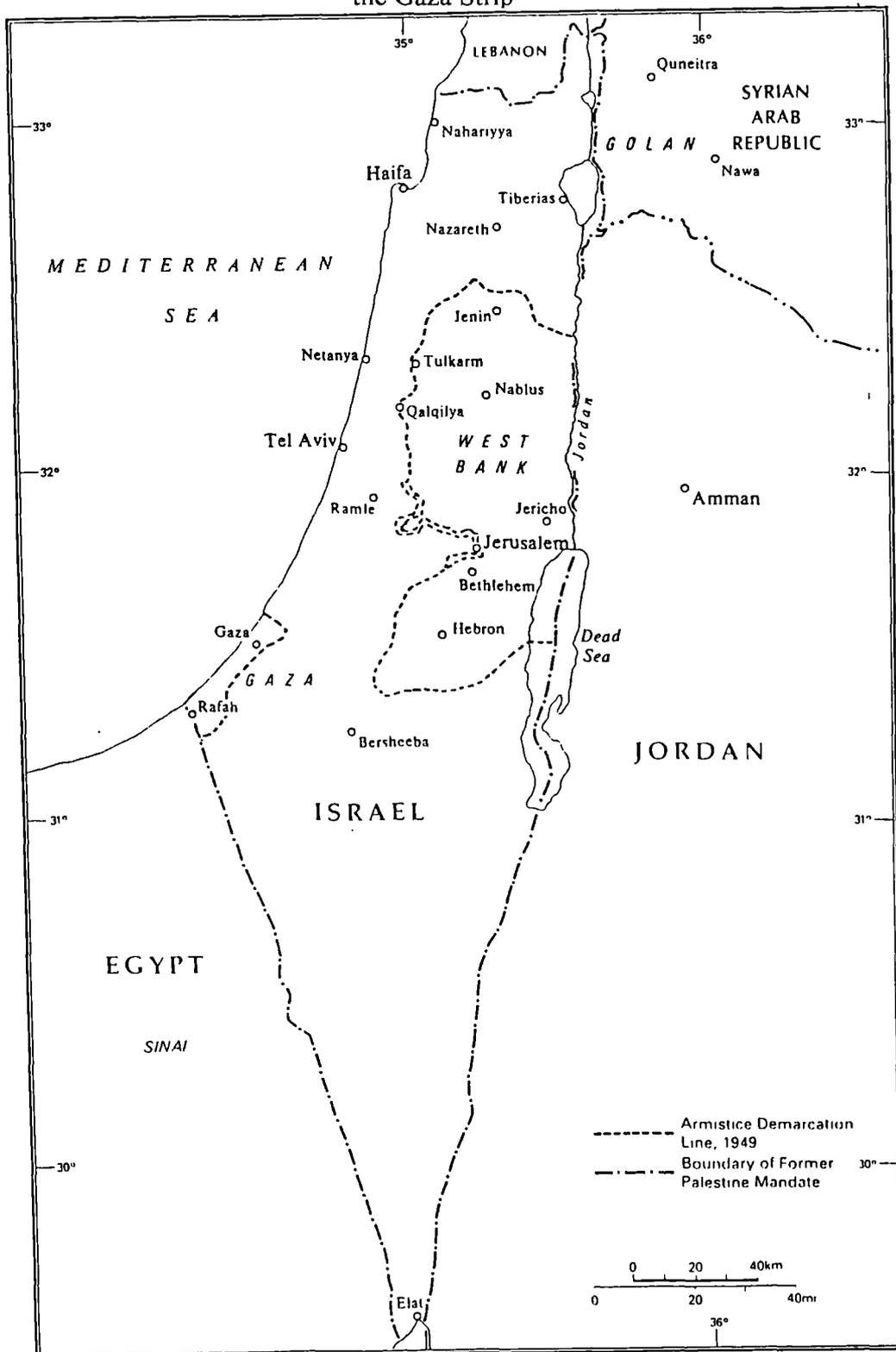
Unfortunately, the field work, which took place in Palestine in summer 1996, was conducted in extremely difficult circumstances. It was carried out after the Islamic Resistance Movement, *Hamas* launched a series of suicide bomb-attacks in the heart of Tel-Aviv which strongly shook the peace process and the premature trust between the Palestinians and Israel, and led to strengthening Israeli restrictions over the movement and transportation between the WB and the GS, as well as between Palestine from one side and the rest of the world, including Israel from the other side. Israel used to implement such closures since the beginning of the *Intifada* in 1987, but this one was the longest (four months) because the Israeli authority decided to maintain it until after the Israeli general election to avoid any unforeseen disruption that could affect the result of the election.

Although Jerusalem is recognised internationally as part of the WB, a permanent closure around the city has been imposed by Israel since the breakthrough of the *Intifada* in 1987. This closure, which prevents Palestinians reaching the city without permission, was the most disruptive one for this research, not only because many PNFE institutions and NGOs are based in Jerusalem, but also because Jerusalem is in the middle of the WB and closing it means separating the North from the South (see map 2.1). So the only way to travel from the South to the North and vice versa is to use another alternative, narrow, ill-prepared roads through mountains and valleys which double the duration of travelling and increase its risk.

Further, during the field work in September 1996, and as a reaction to the Israeli decision to open a tunnel to reach Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, which is considered by the Palestinians (and Muslims) as an aggression against Islam's third holiest shrine and a violation to the *status quo* in the Old City, comprehensive confrontations were breaking out between the Palestinians, including the newly Palestinian police forces, and the Israeli army all over Palestine. These confrontations were the first comprehensive ones since the Oslo Agreement. As a result, the Israeli authority not only imposed the previous forms of closure over Palestine, but also implemented a new form of closure around the Palestinian cities and districts inside the Palestinian areas themselves. By this measure, every single city, village and camp became under siege. As a consequence, movement between the population centres became near to impossible.

Map 3.1

Boundary of former mandatory Palestine, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip



Source: United Nations 1992: 170.

What made it worse was that the Israeli authority even imposed a comprehensive curfew over some cities and villages, and the irony that my city Hebron was one of them. The good news was that these very distressing events took place after I had finished 27 interviews from 45 interviews proposed in the field work's initial proposal. Further, the compulsory home-imprisonment during the curfew period provided an opportunity to review what have been done and re-evaluate the field work schedule. This revision convinced me that the majority of the people who are both concerned in educational policy and aware of the role of NFE had already been interviewed. This conclusion and the general insecurity and political tension convinced me to cut the number of the interviews from 45 to 33. At the end only 31 interviews were conducted because other two informants became unavailable because of their personal circumstances.

The final constraint happened when my return to England became due, and under the excuse of the comprehensive closure which was still in action, the Israeli authority refused to issue a travel permission to let me reach the airport on the Israeli side (The Palestinians have no ports or airports, and they are using the Israeli airport to travel abroad after getting a travel permission from the Israeli military authorities in the WB or in the GS). So, I found myself in a serious plight; my family and I had a charter air flight tickets which meant I was unable to alter the date of travel, I was without funds and unable to buy new tickets, I already renewed my unpaid yearly vacation which meant that if the Israeli insisted not to let me get out, I would have stayed a year unemployed until my vacation ended. and finally my part-time job at the University of London, which I relied on to stay in England and sponsor my study, would be under risk if I did not attend it by mid October, because the employer might consider me to have abandoned the job.

The only option was to strive full-time to obtain the permission. So, I persisted in contacting the Israeli authority several times every day hoping that they might change their mind. Further, in response to my request, many influential and political people in the area, like the Mayor of the city, tried their 'good offices' and talked to the Israeli authority. But, unfortunately, all these efforts were hopeless. Finally, I have decided to phone *Hamokide*, an Israeli centre for human rights in Jerusalem. The centre immediately decided to adopt the case and asked me to fax it with all necessary papers.

One day before my travel, *Hamokide* centre, through its solicitors, succeeded to get an order from the high supreme court in Israel asking the Israeli authority to issue immediately a travel permission. As a consequence, I was given seven hours permission only to leave, but that was enough to let me reach the airport, and only in the sky after the departure of the plane, I believed that I am finally released.

3.4.4 Access

Despite these difficulties in getting in and out and moving between areas, the field work itself was enjoyable and carried out smoothly. Choosing Palestine to be my arena enabled me to be an insider researcher who was presumably able to get much better access than an outsider researcher. Generally speaking, access to informants was relatively unproblematic. As a Palestinian, I lived and was educated under the occupation and know the daily life of the Palestinians. I also worked for ten years in the field of Palestinian education at the University Graduates Union, one of the older and biggest PNFE institutions in Palestine. During my work I had the opportunity to move through many departments and be in charge of different positions, ranging from instructor at Hebron Technical Engineering College, and researcher in the Research

Centre focusing on Palestinian education under occupation, to co-ordinator and, then, director of the first Continuing Education Department in Palestine.

In addition, I have taken part in many voluntary activities through my membership in many organisations, committees and forums. This background assists to build strong relationships, co-ordination works and co-operative activities with colleagues from other institutions, and allowed me to be well-informed about the 'whole picture'. Such background was a decisive factor in getting full access to both interviewees and data and the original source of my research theoretical sensitivity.

So, a day after my arrival to the WB, I phoned up 20 people, mostly friends and colleagues, whom I thought, because of their previous experiences and / or current positions, it is difficult to be ignored by any researcher who wants to address the same topic. I explained to them briefly the nature of my research, expressed my willingness to interview them, and asked for appointments that suit them and me to do so. None of them refused or have been evasive. I also asked them about other possible names they might identify as significant in some way and worthwhile to interview. As a result, another list of 25 new names was formulated. Thus, the interconnectedness of the interviewees was an aid to the research process.

It would have been easy for me to determine all the interviewees from the first moment. However, as it is mentioned previously, I have done it this way to minimise the possibility of bias caused by selection of informants. Further, in order to avoid systematic bias and distrust about the credibility of my study, high attention was exercised through all stages of the research to avoid any kind of prejudice or particular bent. For instance, in using the secondary sources, I was very careful in using the Arabic sources pertinent to the Palestinian education under Israeli occupation. Most of

these sources put all the blame on the occupation for the disastrous condition of the Palestinian education and over-looked the interior factors.

Avoiding bias was not an easy task for me, I was not an angel flying in Paradise, but rather, a Palestinian who has witnessed the expropriation of the Palestinian land and the systematic attempts by the state of Israel to uproot and disperse the Palestinian nation, and who lived under the Israeli occupation, suffered from and struggled against it. However, as I accepted to wear the researcher hat, I determined to respect it. My Palestinian identity does not necessarily make the research biased, but it provokes enthusiasm and makes the approach more committed.

Nevertheless, reviewing the snowballing sample showed that some of the new names were recommended by more than one person. Seven of them I had never met before because either they were in exile and had returned while I was in England, owing to Oslo peace agreement; or, due to their working in other sectors, they were from outside the education 'club', and had recently obtained new positions in the education system. Furthermore, from the recommended names in the second list, it was discovered that 7 of them were abroad, and another five was inaccessible. So, other 13 appointments were identified. And at the end I had a very extensive schedule with daily interviews, including the week-end.

Although the minister of education is originally from my district, I only met him in person for the first time during the field work because he had been in exile. I met him twice: the first one, which was the most important one, was during a special barbecue party prepared in his honour. During this party a friend of mine who is a senior officer in the MOE introduced me to him, then I explained to him the nature of my research and expressed my hope to interview him. He warmly welcomed me and appreciated the topic of my doctoral research, asked his office director who was standing beside him to

give me an appointment, and invited me to visit him in his office to discuss what he can do for me. Luckily, this party meeting happened two days after my arrival to the WB. Four days later, I visited him in his office and had with him a general conversation about political and educational issues.

During this visit I asked him to give me a *To Whom It May Concern* letter to ease my mission in the formal education sector, so he issued a very straightforward letter (see appendix 3) asking the ministry's departments and the educational directorates in all districts to co-operate with and allow me full access to their departments. Although I got an appointment to interview the minister, his office director phoned me later on to cancel the appointment due to unexpected cabinet meeting (I faced the same situation with the minister of higher education).

3.4. 5 Researching colleagues

It must be noted here that the literature on research differentiates between researching the powerless and researching the powerful. The researcher in the former, as Walford (1994) stresses, is 'researching down' and most educational research comes under this type. While in the latter the researcher is 'researching up' and addressing the powerful in an elite situation.

The growth in policy studies and research at the national level sheds light on researching the powerful and expand this type of research. Policy research has distinctive characteristics. Only more recently several attempts to describe the process of doing this kind of research started to emerge; for instance, Kogan (1994) was one of the pioneers in Britain in stressing the importance of researching the powerful. Walford

(1994) edited a book *Researching the Powerful in Education* which contains a plethora of experiences in researching the powerful.

Some scholars (Walford 1994, Fitz and Halpin 1994) emphasise that researching the powerful elite is problematic and interviewing them is challenging, and it is unusual to have extensive access to the powerful. It is true that the majority of my informants were powerful in elite positions, however, I did not feel that researching up or down was my case at all. I would argue that rather than researching the 'elite', I was researching 'colleagues'. My professional reputation and relationships with the majority of the informants were the magic key to gaining access to them. I had a letter signed by the Minister of Education himself to ease my mission, as mentioned previously, which in the end I did not need to use. Nevertheless, the possession of the letter was valuable to me in giving me additional confidence in my work because I knew that I had ministerial support.

Fitz and Halpin (1994) hint that already knowing the interviewees means that the researcher will at least be given a hearing. Nevertheless, the following pages will explain what 'researching colleagues' meant to me. For me, this process was exciting. It had its own features, advantages and disadvantages as well. In researching colleagues you do not say 'I was wondering if I could interview you' but 'I was wondering when I could interview you'. In interviewing colleagues you have full access, co-operation and even support which goes sometimes far beyond the call of duty. These merits are unlikely to be obtained when researching up. Interviewing colleagues is an informal process and there were a lot of 'off-the record comments' which make not only the 'whole picture' clearer, but also give the researcher chance to see the 'real picture', whilst, interviewing the powerful in their formal niche is likely to be inhibiting and too

formal and sometimes the informants might not be interested in letting the researcher know the 'real picture'.

Colleagues cannot exaggerate because they already know that you know the games, you are a member of their 'club' and aware of the rules. This understanding minimises the chances of misleading, while the elite are very skilful in justifying things according to their views which might be right or wrong, and as a consequence, may be able to mislead you without difficulties. Walford (1994) stresses that the powerful in elite positions are well versed in controlling any information they provide and present considerable difficulties in analysing the views expressed.

Colleagues probably trust you, so you do not need to prove your credibility. Your colleagues talk to you frankly and honestly because they believe you will not put them down or threaten their interests. This is unlikely to happen when 'researching up' because the powerful in elite settings are instinctually cautious and sometimes over-scrupulous. They, as McHugh (1994) emphasises, are well able to avoid answering questions if they wish to, or releasing very little.

Interviewing colleagues strengthens your ability and confidence, because your readiness for the interview is very high. You might seem to do little preparatory activity before the interview. You will actually use your previous knowledge about the informants and your relationship with them unconsciously to choose the best way to handle them. By contrast, when researching up, you are blind because you have to move to a different setting and environment with limited or no idea about the interviewees. To sound efficient and well informed in researching the powerful, you need to spend a lot of time in preparatory stage and read through press cuttings and other relevant documents.

In researching colleagues you feel comfortable, your hands do not shake, you can appear in your ordinary clothes with no need to be too elegant. You sit down as you wish, you can laugh whenever you want, there is no or little time pressure, you ask directly without hesitation, you can relax and have a hot or cold drink, you do not feel embarrassed if the recorder is not working, or if you forget, dropped or run out of anything. You have time to think and reshape your arguments and questions. You have the opportunity to exchange views and disagree with your informants, and still have free access in the future, because you are a partner not only a listener.

Further, you have high chance to keep the interview under your control, and prevent the informants moving in unanticipated directions. The informants here are much more likely to express their personal views in addition to, or rather than 'formal' views. By contrast, in researching the powerful elite, researchers have to express a high level of politeness in their manner of dressing, sitting down, speaking, reacting and moving. They are often under time-pressure. They have to control their emotion and think very quickly. They have to exercise care or, as Walford (1994b) describes it, self-censorship in order to avoid any sensitive or provocative questions or comments, and not to make any mistake or to forget any thing. Further, the powerful prefer the interviewers to be listener and receiver, so it is better for the interviewers not to argue and disagree with them or to cause any trouble, especially if they possibly need to maintain access in the future. Kogan (1994) notes that those who are researching the powerful in elite settings have to pretend to know far less than they do and resist the temptation to correct errors of interpretation during the interview.

The powerful, as Fitz and Halpin (1994) and Ball (1994) state, often have high ability to make you wait and thus determine the organisation and the pace of the research, as well as control the interview situation. They inform you about the 'formal'

policy, and are unlikely to express their personal views if it contradicts with the formal one.

The issue whether the informants, especially those who are in formal governmental position, present their own views or their departments' views are debatable. Nevertheless, from the very beginning, I have explained to the informants that I am interested in their personal views rather than the formal views unless I stated otherwise. This happened because of two reasons: first, I intended to let them speak out for themselves frankly without any restrictions or limitations. Secondly, as the governmental departments and their employees were less than three years old when I conducted my field work, most of the governmental policies were not established clearly yet. There were trends and dimensions but not formal policies.

In reality, however, I have discovered that many informants, especially those occupying governmental formal positions, exercised care to avoid any contradiction with their departments' policy. Thus, the fact that the two informants who refuse to be taped were in governmental positions did not surprise me. Generally speaking, the informants who were working in PNFE institutions were more open and frank than those who were working in formal governmental jobs.

From this experience of interviewing colleagues, I realised the disadvantages which might be associated with this type of interviews. One of the problems is that some informants might talk briefly and avoid mentioning the whole story or give details because they assume that you, as a member of their 'club' or 'network', know the rest of the story and understand what they are talking about. To overcome this problem, I used to pause whenever I found it necessary and explain to the speaker that I have been abroad in the last two years and asked for details.

In interviewing colleagues, the researcher still has to be sensitive, so anything which might cause harm or trouble to the colleagues is supposed to be avoided. Any trouble might affect the colleagues and the researcher as well, and might destroying his / her reputation and relationship with them. This ethical issue might cause possible bias and raise question about the confirmability (objectivity) of the research. But, as it is up to the informants to say whatever they want to, my obligation was not to quote them in the bits they do not want to. So the informants were repeatedly asked to say wherever they did not want to be quoted. Although a lot of data were mounted which did not explicitly appear in this thesis whether because it was irrelevant or confidential, this data; however, assisted to understand the real picture and influenced the analysis and the interpretation of the findings of the field work.

Another possible problem which could arise from interviewing colleagues, especially if a non-random purposive sample is to be utilised, is that the researchers might choose the people they like and avoid those whom they dislike or have had a dispute with, and this could cause systematic bias. To overcome this problem, one-third of the informants was chosen by a snowballing sample. In the end, I exercised care to draw a sample that represents a range of employment and a range of various experiences.

3.5 Data analysis

In order to analyse the data, the interviews were transcribed in Arabic. Manual analyses of tapes and transcripts were immediately started. The findings of the interviews and the bits that appear worth quoting were translated into English.

For the purpose of analysing the interviews and in order to refer to them in this thesis, each interview and question were numbered. Although statistical analysis was not the intention, some questions were analysed statistically to state frequencies and find rates, while the rest were grouped, reread and analysed through the process of content analysis which suit the analysis of non-numerical data. This kind of analysis contains four main steps: organising the data; generating categories, themes and patterns; searching for alternative explanation of the data; and writing (Berg 1989 and Silverman 1997).

So, all the interviews were read in chronological order one after one. The aim was to understand the body of the material as a whole, recognise the ideas implicit in the interviews and recognise the similarities and differences among the informants. The questions, then, were classified into main five groups according to the following topics: formal education, educational exclusion, PNFE, the relationship between formal education and NFE and the role of PNFE in combating exclusion. Each of these groups was reread separately as a batch.

Next, the interviews were read question by question, so that all the responses to question number one were read one after another, and so on. Interesting or 'typical' quotations were noted. Finally as each interview has its own characteristics and uniqueness, each interview was reread again to make sure that nothing relevant was lost or misused.

It should be mentioned here that the analyses and writing stages were overlapped, the interviews were not analysed once as a whole, but rather they classified according to the main topics. A chapter was devoted to each topic. Then, the relevant concepts and categories were identified and analysed separately to produce a chapter, and so on.

3.6 Writing up the thesis

Writing up might appear as the last task in this journey. However, it started from the very beginning, I never stopped writing since I engaged formally with this research. This process was not easy for me because, on the one hand, I am overseas student who studied English as a foreign language in a very poor level. Therefore, the time spent in building the sentences and the paragraphs was very long. On the other hand, I had to choose my words carefully because the whole of my work over the last three years will be judged in dependent on my writing, or as Blaxter and her associates (1996:241) put it: *'if doing research is a risky business, writing up that research for assessment makes these risks all the more visible'*.

Nevertheless, after the field work, the skeleton of my thesis has started to take shape through identifying the main chapters and titles. PC file has devoted to each chapter, then each chapter has been written separately after analysing interviews.

3.7 Quality of the research

The questions to be answered are: How credible are the particular findings of the study? How transferable are the findings to other contexts? How can we be sure that the findings would be replicated if the study were conducted with the same participants in Palestine? How can we be sure that the findings are reflective of the subject and the research itself?

As this research depends mainly on qualitative approach, concepts of validity, reliability, generalisability and objectivity, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) note, are inappropriate to address applicability, consistency and neutrality of the research. Lincoln and Guba, instead, propose four alternative constructs that more accurately fit

qualitative research. These concepts are: credibility, dependability, transferability (generalisability) and confirmability which captures the traditional concept of objectivity.

In this research, a study of critiques and a detailed review of various innovative ideas and propositions were carried out in order to address credibility, dependability and confirmability of the data. The discussion in this chapter refers to many steps which were exercised to reduce bias. Further, for the purpose of attaining credibility of the study, all data collected were cross referenced to identify congruent ideas. In order to maintain dependability of the literature review, documentation of the data was maintained; a focus on major philosophical orientations of NFE was emphasised. Confirmability of the field work was enhanced by emphasis on recorded data which have been preserved and are available for reanalyses. Issues of dependability and confirmability of the field work were attended to by the good relationship with the informants, by relying on the dialogical process to uncover their ideas and by cross examining ideas of the informants to identify commonalities.

Particular attention was given to ensure that essential meanings were not distorted in the process of translating the data from Arabic into English. The emphasis in the translation process was on the meaning of the sentence, rather than on word-to-word translation. However, special attention was devoted to choose the closest English words to the original meaning of the Arabic words. Although the whole translation process in the end depends on my knowledge in English language, this process was not difficult because the majority of the informants were educated in the West and were quite familiar with the education terminology.

Finally, although generalisation was not one of this study's aims, this does not shut the door for transferability. However, similarity of the setting will be the determining factor in relation to degree of transferability of the results of the field work to other contexts.

Chapter Four
Profile Of Palestine

CHAPTER FOUR

PROFILE OF PALESTINE

This chapter presents an overview to the political, economic, demographic and educational situation in Palestine in order to determine the contextual frame within which the study was conducted. The chapter highlights the devastating effects of the Israeli occupation over Palestinian society and education which paved the road for the emergence of the PNFE.

4.1 The political context

For over 400 years (1512-1917) the Turkish Ottoman empire dominated the near east, including the historical Palestine. In the 19th century the decline of the empire began and the final collapse came in 1917 when the Ottomans lost the First World War. As a consequence, what was Palestine came under the British Mandate during the period (1917-1948) (Zuriek 1992).

The Jewish Zionist Movement had called for a Jewish home land in the mandatory Palestine since the end of the 19th century; their movement was unsupported until 1917, when the British government issued the 'Balfour Declaration' agreeing to the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in the historical Palestine. As a result, direct conflict between the Jewish and Arab population accelerated (Clarke 1992).

On 14 May 1948 the British army withdrew from Palestine. Next day the state of Israel was proclaimed in Tel-Aviv. War broke out immediately between Israel and Arab countries. When the fighting ended in 1949, the borders of the new Israeli state,

included three quarters of the mandatory Palestine and half of Jerusalem, were established. The areas that remained outside Israeli control were the WB and the GS. The WB was unified with the East Bank (Jordan) in 1950 and came under Jordanian administration, and the GS came under Egyptian administration (Lemella 1992).

In June 1967, war broke out again between Israel and the Arab countries and led to the Israeli occupation of the WB and the GS (to be called Palestine in this research from this time on), Syria's Golan Heights and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. Israel immediately announced the annexation of east Jerusalem. Accordingly, the WB divided into two main separate administrative areas: East Jerusalem administered by the municipality of Jerusalem under civil Israeli law, and the remaining WB under military rule where the Israeli army was responsible for almost all spheres of life. No country has as yet recognised Israeli sovereignty over the WB, including Jerusalem, or the GS. The United Nations resolutions identify these territories as occupied by Israel (See map 3.1, p 91).

The Palestinian people have been largely subject to a military rule that has denied their most basic human rights. They have been systematically dehumanised by the Israeli occupation (Said 1989). There was no freedom of speech and expression. Torture in detentions as well as inhuman jail conditions, were routine against Palestinian prisoners. Land confiscation and collective punishments (deportation, the demolishing of houses, administrative detention, school closure, restrictions on internal movement, uprooting of trees, and curfew) were popular Israeli devices (B'TSELEM 1992).

As a result, of this oppression, a Palestinian popular uprising (*Intifada*) broke out on December 1987 which was to last for seven years. The *Intifada* was a comprehensive confrontation between the Israeli army and Palestinian civilians. It led

to a severe deterioration of the daily life of the Palestinian people. The damage was tremendous, particularly in education sector as will be described later in this chapter.

Following the 1993 peace talks in Oslo, the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles on Interim Self Government was signed on 13 September 1993 in Washington D. C. This declaration outlines the principles underlying the transfer of the authority from the Israelis to the Palestinians until a final settlement between the two parties is reached. Under this agreement the two parties agreed to put an end to conflict, recognise their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful co-existence. They agreed upon the withdrawal of the Israelis from 70 per cent of the GS and city centre of Jericho which was implemented in May 1994 (JMCC 1994).

On 28 August 1994 the two parties signed another agreement, called the Transfer Agreement. This agreement covers the transfer of authority from the Israeli authority to the PNA in the fields of education, culture, health, social welfare, tourism, direct taxation and other civic affairs, while natural resources and services, such as electricity, communication and water resources remained under the control of the Israelis. In October 1995 another agreement was signed in Washington D.C. to expand the PNA over the centres of Palestinian population in the WB (except East Jerusalem and Part of Hebron city). As a consequence, an Israeli re-deployment from cities of the WB was started in 1996 and completed in 1997.

The PNA was established in May 1994 to administer the Palestinian people in Palestine for a transitional period not exceeding five years. Over this time a permanent settlement would be negotiated. The new authority acted as a national government and established ministries, including the MOE which was created in August 1994.

Finally, after the Israeli general election in 1996 which was won by the right wing *Likud* party which is firmly opposed to the Oslo Accord, the implementation of the agreements with the Palestinians has stopped and the whole peace process is stuck. Nobody knows whether the current situation is a transitional period as it is stated in the Accord itself and a Palestinian state will emerge in 1999 after final negotiation, or whether the final stage has been reached with no chance to create a Palestinian state.

4.2 The demographic context

According to the 1998 Palestinian national census, the total number of the Palestinian population in Palestine (the WB, including East Jerusalem and the GS) was 2.890.631, of whom 1.869.818 was living in the WB which extend over 6257 km square, while 1.020.813 was living in the GS which extends over 378 square (AL-Quds Al-Arabi Newspaper No. 2736, 1998).

Half of the population in Palestine is under 18 years old and about 30 per cent are students in the basic and higher education. 39 per cent of the population in the WB are refugees, of whom 26 per cent still live in 19 refugee camps. While in the GS 75 per cent are refugees, of whom 55 per cent live in 8 refugee camps. The refugees in the WB and the GS are part of 2,7 million registered Palestinian refugees living in many countries specially in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (Ramisden and Senker 1993).

The population in Palestine is distributed between urban areas and rural areas. About two thirds of the WB is rural, while 85 per cent of the GS population are in urban centres or refugee camps located in crowded urban areas (the population density is 1400 / sq.km in the GS and 135 / sq.km in the WB) (UNICEF 1992, Helberg and Ovensen 1993). Rural areas in Palestine are characterised by higher illiteracy rates, poverty, the low status of women, very poor technology and infrastructure, and inadequate health and sanitary facilities (Heiberg and Ovensen 1993).

4.3 The economic context

Since 1967, Palestine has been linked economically with the Israeli economy, in a relationship of structural dependency. Under the occupation, Palestine served as a source of cheap and tractable labour for Israeli economy. As a result of employment of Palestinians both in the Arab Gulf States and Israel, the Palestinian economy, during the period of 1967-1980, grew rapidly with an average annual increases of 7 per cent and 9 per cent in real terms per capita GDP (1275 US \$ in 1991) and GNP(1,717 US \$ in 1991) respectively (The World Bank, 1993, Vol. 1).

By 1986 (two years before the *Intifada*) about 50 per cent of the Palestinian labour force were employed inside Israel, while Israeli goods provided the main source of imports for the Palestinian market, which was cut off from trade with the Arab world (UNCTAD 1989). The Palestinian economy became peripheral to Israel's development economy. It is characterised by low levels of investment and constraints on the development of indigenous businesses. This included unfair competition, inadequate access to credit and technical knowledge, difficulties in exports, and a lack of incentives and subsidies for entrepreneurs (European Commission 1994).

Since 1987, the economic situation in Palestine moved in to a phase of recession for two reasons (The World Bank, 1993). The first was the Palestinian *Intifada*; as a result of the curfews, strikes, daily confrontations, reduction of work hours and reduction in external remittances, the economic price of the *Intifada* over Palestinian economy was very high. The second cause is the Gulf crisis in 1990 that had a serious impact on the economics of Palestine. On the one hand, the remittances from Palestinians working in the Gulf States to their families in Palestine have declined. About 40,000 Palestinians working in Kuwait stopped sending remittances altogether, while remittances from other Gulf States decreased. Many reports estimate this loss

from \$120-\$340 million annually (UNCTAD 1991). On the other hand, up to 25,000 Palestinian workers in the Gulf States returned to Palestine placing additional strain in the labour force and social-welfare services.

After establishment of the PNA in 1994 no significant change has occurred in the economic situation. The only development which takes place was the emergence of the government sector and the recruitment of about 70, 000 employees to serve this sector which depends heavily on external funding and World Bank loans.

4.4 The educational context

The turbulence of Palestinian history in this century, the loss of territory in 1948 and 1967 and the relentlessly oppressive circumstances, have led Palestinians to focus on education as critical to their survival and development as a nation. This section will shed light on the main features of Palestinian formal education under the Israeli occupation, and explore the main problems that face this system nowadays after it was handed over to the PNA. Formal education in Palestine constitutes of school education and tertiary education as follows:

4.4.1 School education

Schools in Palestine are divided into two stages; the basic compulsory stage (10 years) and the secondary stage (2 years). Secondary education offers two main streams: secondary vocational education which is provided by secondary schools and is composed of commercial, agriculture, industrial and nursing studies; academic education in two fields: literary and science.

At the end of the general secondary stage students sit for general examination (The General Secondary Exam: *Tawjihi*) (equivalent to A-level in England). This examination qualifies successful candidates for higher education, and determines whether or not

students may attend college or university. A student who completes successfully the vocational secondary stage receives Vocational Secondary Certificate (*Tawjihi mihani*). These examinations were prepared by the Jordanian Ministry of Education for the WB, and by the Egyptian Ministry of Education for the GS. The curricula are closely linked to the examination content.

Since the 1950s, school education in Palestine has been provided by three sectors: the government, the UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) which was established in 1950 to serve the refugee children, and the private and voluntary sector. Table 4.1 gives a statistical view of the size of school education at the time of this study.

Table 4.1

Number of schools, classes, students and teachers in Palestine
by type of supervising authority for the year 1995/ 96

	School	Class	Student	Teacher
Government	1070	12524	447822	14742
UNRWA	253	3918	174284	4642
Private	679	3139	85448	3636
Total	2002	19581	707554	23020

Source: MOE 1996.

To varying degrees all three sectors come under the overall administration of the governing authority. UNRWA sector and the private sector follow the government system in matters concerning the curricula, textbooks, study plans, duration of the school year, regulations governing examinations and repetition of classes. The government also is responsible for granting licences, and permits to build schools and to create educational institutions, determining the length of the school year and when schools are opened or closed (UNICEF 1992).

The governmental education sector provides basic and secondary levels (1-12 grades). Government schools levy a yearly tuition fee of \$15 at the basic level and \$20 at

secondary level. UNRWA has basic schools only (1-9 grades) and they are free of charge. After the last grade UNRWA students join governmental schools. The private and voluntary sector covers all stages of education, including kindergarten. The private schools, like UNRWA schools, follow the government education system. It is the responsibility of the government directorates to regulate the private schools, issue permits needed, and control their curricula. Students in private schools have to pay tuition fees.

Regarding the cost of school education, the World Bank in 1991 estimated that the total expenditure for all levels of academic education in Palestine is about US \$ 145 million a year. This represents a per capita expenditure of about US \$ 90 per resident (The World Bank 1993).

4.4.2 Tertiary education

Palestinians are credited with having one of the highest proportions of their population completing higher education in the Arab World, with 18 university graduates per 1000 (World Bank, 1993, Vol. 1). When Israel occupied the area in 1967, twelve colleges already existed. After the occupation, with Palestinian local initiatives, many of these colleges became universities. New universities, colleges and centres were also established. By 1997, 8 universities, all but one in the private sector, and 16 technical and community colleges existed in Palestine. These institutions absorb 65 per cent of the total number of secondary school students who pass the general secondary examination (Council of Higher Education 1991).

All Palestinian universities, except the Open University, are private and financially autonomous. While the funding of the community colleges is more varied: 5 colleges are funded by the government, 4 by UNRWA, and the rest by the private sector. Higher education institutions, as it will appear in chapter 6, played a crucial role during the

occupation era. They made a huge effort to cater to the real needs of the Palestinian community, by building a human resource network, giving more attention to the vocational education and training, and supporting NFE.

4.4.3 Development of the school system

4.4.3.1 Education before 1967

Although the emergence of the Palestinian education system started under the Ottoman rule with compulsory elementary education, modern Palestinian education was established during the British mandate. However, as Tibawi (1956) and Hadad (1980) point out, schools under the mandate were viewed as instruments for the inculcation of the skills, knowledge and beliefs necessary to the functioning of the government and economic system of the Mandate. Little thought was given to the implications of the indigenous knowledge, beliefs and skills relevant to Palestinian society.

By the end of the British mandate, and after the annexation of the WB to Jordan and the GS to Egypt in 1948, public schools were established in most cities and many villages and camps. This means that Palestine has been served by two distinct educational systems which differ in terms of objectives, curricula, organisation and examinations: the Egyptian system in the GS and the Jordanian system in the WB. This separation was to continue until the emergence of the PNA in 1994.

4.4.3.2 Education under occupation (1967-1994)

During the occupation, the Israeli authority retained the Jordanian and Egyptian systems in these two areas, but with military orders, changes took place which affected the educational infrastructure, the teachers, the students and the curricula. The next pages shed light on the effect of the Israeli policies.

(1) Hindering the educational infrastructure

The development of an educational infrastructure was not priority. The Israeli authority provided minimum funding which was devoted mainly to cover teachers' salaries. It ignored the lack of school buildings, equipment and furniture which grew worse every year. In the government sector, for instance, the average class size was often over 36 (Al-zaroo 1988).

Most of the schools built during the occupation era were established by the efforts and of the Palestinians, foreign governments, international NGOs, and multi-national agencies. These schools were then handed over to the Israeli authority for administration and to cover the teacher salaries. The poor quality of the existing school buildings is one more difficulty added to problems of the schools. Pat Hawkes from British Trade Unions visited the Palestine in 1993 and witnessed the condition of school buildings, she (Ramsden and Senker: 1993: 19) wrote:

'School buildings in general are either obsolete, lack proper design or have inadequate utilities and services. Furthermore, many schools depend on rented buildings to satisfy their enrolment requirements. Many classroom buildings do not provide a comfortable environment for learning. They have poor lighting and are not well ventilated. There are no heating systems in any of the schools to combat the bitter cold of the winter months in the West Bank. Many walls and ceilings are cracked and they leak when it rains. In the winter, there is a distinct dampness in many of the classrooms'.

The situation in Palestinian higher education institutions was no better. The Israeli authority often refused to respond to applications for building licences or even telephone lines. This situation forced these institutions to use unsuitable buildings and even tents (in the case of Islamic University in Gaza), split site campuses and hired buildings which

were never intended for academic use. Higher education institutions had also to pay 17 per cent tax on books and scientific and cultural equipment. Sometimes these taxes were more than the pre-tax cost of the equipment (Al-zaroo 1989).

Regular closure of the Palestinian education institutions by the Israeli authority has been one of the main problems that faced Palestinian people. Before the *Intifada* in 1987 this had only happened from time to time and for short periods (days, weeks, months). After 1987, all Palestinian education institutions were closed for periods ranging from two years, in the case of the WB schools, to more than four years in the case of some universities. Even the kindergartens were included in the military closure orders. A tenth of the schools were used as military camps and detention centres during the closure period (Al-zaroo 1989b, Ramsden and Senker 1993).

During the *Intifada* the closure of the schools took various forms, such as: collective closure, partial closure, delaying the beginning of the academic year or ending it early, compulsory vacations for students and closure associated with imposition of curfews (Al-zaroo 1989b). Table 4.2 presents estimates of lost school's time by Palestine children since the beginning of the *Intifada* until 1991.

Table 4.2
Percentage of academic year lost
in Palestinian schools (1987-1991).

Year	WB	GS
87/88	75	35
88/89	50	47
89/90	50	35
90/91	35	43

Source: UNICEF 1992: 65.

Palestinian higher education institutions have also been subject to closure, albeit at different times and for varying periods, since the beginning of the occupation. After the breakthrough of the *Intifada* in 1987, the Israeli authority closed all Palestinian higher

education institutions. For most universities, these closures continued until 1991, others, including Birzeit University, remained closed until April 1992.

(2) Oppressing Palestinian teachers and students

School teachers were subject to various oppressive measures at the hands of the Israeli authority. They included: compulsory retirement, redundancy on political grounds, arbitrary transfer to remote teaching posts, suspension of teachers' grades and professional allowances, deduction of pay following strike days or closure of schools, low salaries, hindering and obstructing the professional development of the teachers and prohibiting teachers' unions (Al-zaroo 1988).

To overcome the economic constraints and to supplement their income, the majority of the teachers became involved in small businesses, as street peddlers, car drivers and home-based self employment. This development has had a negative impact on education, as it has weakened teachers commitment towards education and reduces their attention to their teaching skills.

The Israeli authority had no formal professional criteria to use when appointing teachers. As a result, corruption, patronage and bribery flourished. Besides, any new appointments had to be approved by the Israeli intelligence services, who used the appointments as a means to recruit young Palestinians, who were desperate to get a job. As a result, unknown numbers have been appointed to work as teachers with low qualification or even no qualification at all. The official statistics revealed that 70 per cent of female teachers and 50 percent of male teachers have qualification below bachelor degree level (PCBS 1995).

Students were also subject to Israeli repression. The Israeli authority not only failed to implement the law on compulsory education in Palestine, it ignored the drop-out rates of approximately thirty thousand students each year, it used various methods to restrain

politically active students: expulsion from schools for political reasons, arrest during general certificate examination, arbitrary transfer of students, prohibition from travelling abroad and detention and imprisonment (Al-zaroo 1988).

(3) Curricular distortion

There has never been a Palestinian national curriculum. Since 1950, all three school sectors (The private and voluntary, the UNRWA and the governmental sectors) followed the Jordanian curriculum in the WB and the Egyptian curriculum in the GS. This has continued even after the establishment of the PNA in 1994.

Curricula were subject to restrictive Israeli control. The Israeli authority tried in the beginning to impose Israeli curricula but this failed because of Palestinian resistance. For this reason, curricula in use before the occupation continue to be used but with strict censorship by the Israeli authority. One third of the Jordanian curricula in the WB and all the Egyptian curricula in the GS were banned and the rest were distorted (Al-zaroo 1988).

The Israeli authority made sure to exclude or distort any text or even word related to the land, history, geography, people, and literature of Palestine and the Palestinians. Classroom maps are required to show Israel instead of Palestine. Quranic verses, poetry and history on the struggle against the aggressor were deleted. Every text or model sentence mentioning Arab unity or the struggle against imperialism was deleted. In addition, about four thousand books in different fields were prohibited (Al-zaroo 1988). There were no criteria fixed by authorities, but any book in the colours of the Palestinian flag, published by a Palestinian publishing house or discussing the Palestinian question is prohibited. The rule was that every book should be outlawed until permission is granted for its use (Ramsden and Senker 1993).

As a consequence, school curricula have been almost frozen since 1967. Textbooks are not attuned to the national identity or to the specific socio-economic needs of the Palestinians, but, often contain inaccurate and outdated information (PCDC 1996). For instance, until the end of the eighties history books still mentioned Libya as a kingdom and Algeria as a colony. Students are taught the history and geography of neighbouring countries rather than that of their own country. Pupils learned nothing from their textbooks about the WB and the GS or even about their own towns.

Essential elements of the human life were neglected or nearly forgotten, such as the body, the development of feelings, the ability to express oneself through art, familiarisation with technology, and initiation into the economic and political aspects of life. The whole curricula were designed to cram the pupils' heads with facts most of which were old or irrelevant to their life and needs.

Special education, physical education, vocational education and technical training and adult education in general have had no attention from the Israeli authority. It is only in the last decades and through non-formal education, that these fields have come to be viewed by the Palestinians as a serious part of their educational programme. As a consequence, the quality of formal education has severely deteriorated. Evidence of this on the outcomes of education has become available in 1990s. For instance, the testing programme of *The International Assessment of Educational Progress*, a twenty country international comparative study of students' achievement in science and mathematics, was administrated in 1992 to children in the WB. The results ranked the WB in the last place, while Israel was placed eighth. In the mathematics examination, the WB ranked nineteenth among 21 participants, while Israel was placed ninth (The World Bank 1993)

The World Bank mission (1993, vol. 1: 79) sums up the situation of Palestinian formal education, as follow:

'The major problem confronting the Palestinian educational and training system is quality. The system has been designed to transmit knowledge rather than to develop capacities for critical thinking or skills in solving complex problems. In addition the system has failed to overcome traditional culture constraints to the enrolment of female students, particularly at the secondary level. The quality problem is traceable primarily to an outmoded curriculum, uncreative teaching methods, and scarcity of modern educational inputs (Particularly library books, laboratory equipment and computer facilities). Efforts to improve teaching are sometimes frustrated by overcrowded classrooms, particularly in those UNRWA schools situated in converted rented houses rather in building designed to be used as schools. In addition, the frequent and prolonged interruption of instruction during the Intifada denied a generation of students a sound education'.

4.4.3.3 Education in Palestinian hands

Handing the authority over education to the PNA in August 1994, which took place in accordance with Oslo Accord, did not totally discharge Palestinian education from Israeli control. According to the transfer agreement, Palestinians have to maintain the previous system in general. In case of any desired reforms or change, the Palestinians must place their proposals before the relevant Israeli authority. If the Israelis do not respond within a month, then the changes can be implemented. If they object, then a process of negotiation will follow (Rigby 1995).

The Palestinians inherited a highly centralised bureaucratic administration system to manage their formal education. The system itself suffered from severe and chronic problems. The newly created MOE adopted a list of four goals for formal education to be achieved in the short-term. These goals are (interview 13): (1) improving the quality

of basic and secondary education; (2) offering equity to those young people who have learning difficulties; (3) increasing the relevance of education to the current changes in the Palestinian society; and (4) ensuring an efficiently managed educational system.

It is too early to evaluate what has been done to achieve these goals. However, practices of the MOE shows that this Ministry has implemented some loose measures and steps to reduce exclusion, as it will appear in chapter 5.

To summarise this chapter, the discussion above has revealed that as a result of losing land and living in an oppressive situation, Palestinian people have turned toward education as a primary means for survival. However, Palestinian formal education has been used by the colonial rulers, particularly the Israeli occupation, as an instrument to tame the Palestinians. As a result, formal education became irrelevant, out of date and inequitable. The deterioration of formal education and in Palestinian life has two consequences. It deepened the fragmentation and maintained or increased exclusion from formal education, and forced the Palestinians to focus on NFE and examine its relevance to Palestinian society. These two consequences will be discussed in chapter 5 (on exclusion) and in chapter 6 (NFE).

Chapter Five

Exclusion From Palestinian Formal Education

CHAPTER FIVE

EXCLUSION FROM PALESTINIAN FORMAL EDUCATION

The poor quality of the Palestinian formal education identified in the World Bank mission document, and the goals of the MOE, discussed in chapter 4, include some specific concerns about exclusion from formal education. This chapter examines indicators and explores processes of exclusion more broadly and in great depth, drawing from interview data and statistical data. The dimensions of exclusion considered are regional (between the WB and the GS, and between rural and urban residents) and are linked to curriculum (academic or technical education). The process of exclusion for girls, is considered in detail.

5.1 Introduction

As school systems reflect wide forces of power and wealth in society, exclusion from educational systems exists in most countries. Conclusive evidence since the 1960s shows that exclusion from various aspects, including education has been increasing, but with variation, both in advanced and developing countries (The World Bank 1995).

In Palestine, although this problem exists, none of the informants referred to it explicitly when they were asked, at the beginning of the interview, about the five most important problems that confront Palestinian education at present. Some of the responses do; however, touch some of educational exclusion's indicators and reasons. The lack of a comprehensive perspective on this issue might be due to two reasons: the lack of research which would provide information and form a conceptual framework to link different aspects of the problem together.

Exclusion is still not one of the top priorities of the Palestinians. As the Palestinian Deputy Minister of Education stated: *'it is nonsense to tackle educational exclusion while we have not enough classrooms, teachers, national curriculum, or proper resources* (interview 13). This last explanation indicates that although informants did not identify overtly educational exclusion as an educational problem, they were aware of the problem. This assumption has been supported by the informants' answers when they were asked whether they think there is exclusion from formal education or not. All of them acknowledged that exclusion exists. All, but one, viewed educational exclusion negatively. One (interview 8) argued that:

'We should look to the educational exclusion in a positive way. Exclusion from education is not a good thing of course, that's right, but sometimes even inclusion in education is not good as well, it is like designing a suit and asking every body to wear it, but people are different in their sizes, heights and tastes. In education they are different in their cultures, values, experiences, attitudes and aims. We have to use exclusion from our formal education system positively'.

It seems that this informant is referring to the importance of differences among people; however, taking these differences into consideration does not deny the right of all people in any society to have equal opportunities. Nevertheless, when the informants were asked in which fields educational exclusion exists, they identified ten aspects. Table 5.1 ranked these aspects in order of importance.

Table 5.1

Fields of exclusion from formal education

No.	Educational exclusion between	Favour	Responses (Number = 31)
1.	Gender	males	30
2.	Rural-Urban	urban	30
3.	West Bank-Gaza Strip	West Bank	27
4.	Academic-Technical education	academic	25
5.	Government-Non-governmental schools	no pattern	20
6.	General-Special education	general	18
7.	Science stream-Art stream	science	17
8.	School education-Adult education	school ed.	7
9.	Muslims-Christians schools	Christian	7
10.	Theory-Practice	theory	4

It is obvious from the table that the overwhelming majority (80-97 %) of the informants believed that girls, rural areas, the GS, and technical education are disadvantaged in comparison with boys, urban areas, the WB, and academic education, respectively. The informants' strong focus on these four fields of exclusion might be because they are more visible and dangerous than the others, or it could be due to the fact that the lay and professionals are used to talking about them since the occupation era.

A smaller majority of the informants (55-65 %) believed that there are imbalances between governmental and non-governmental education, general and special education, and the science stream and the arts stream. It might be true that this second group of exclusion pose less dangers than the first group, mentioned above. However, it is to be borne in mind that the less emphasis given on these exclusions might be due to the features of the sample of the study. For instance, very few informants have had experience or worked in the special education sector. The lack of information about this sector may have influenced their responses.

There was a consensus between the informants, who diagnosed this second group of exclusion, that the situation is in favour of general schools and the science stream at the expense of special education and the arts stream, respectively. There was disagreement between them about the gap between governmental and non-governmental education (UNRWA education and private education). Some informants stated that the situation is in favour of the former while others adopted the opposite stand. This contradiction might be attributed to the fact that in the peripheral areas in the WB (north and south), governmental education has a better image than private education but not UNRWA education, while in the centre of the WB (Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Rammallah) private education, which is controlled by Christian organisations and missionaries, has a better image than both governmental education and UNRWA education.

The third group of comparisons (school education - adult education, Muslims - Christians schools, and theory - practice) which was identified by the minority of the informants (10-22.5 %) are new in the Palestinian educational discourse. The fact that only some informants addressed these does not mean they are less important than the others. The political sensitivity which surrounds some of these exclusions, such as the segregation between Muslim schools and Christian schools might have discouraged some informants from emphasis putting on them.

In practice, these aspects of exclusion are rotative and overlap. The influence of any aspect of exclusion has different levels and is linked with others. For instance, living in rural areas will reduce the chances of access to education. These chances will be reduced more if the learner is a girl, and it will be reduced further, if the rural setting is in the GS, and the chances will be least if a girl in such a setting is seeking vocational education. Nevertheless, although all these fields are important, the four most frequently mentioned have been selected for discussion below.

5. 2 Gender exclusion

It is widely recognised that the education of girls is an investment and has an important impact on development (Lone 1996). It is claimed that it might increase incomes, help to free women from subjection and give them wider opportunities and lead to better child health and nutrition. It also might provide more chance for later marriages and lower birth rates, and fewer maternal and child deaths as well (King and Hill 1993). It is above all a right for girls as human beings.

In Palestine, all the people interviewed admitted that there is a gender bias favouring boys in formal education. Although, the situation in Palestine is not one of the worst in the world, educational exclusion is not only a matter of enrolment in school. Completing a given cycle of education, levels of learning by gender and job status are other dimensions which should be taken into consideration. In these terms Palestinian school education has to do a lot to achieve a satisfactory level. Before stating the reasons for the gender gap in the Palestinian formal education, let us explore its indicators.

5.2.1 Manifestation of gender exclusion

Five indicators putting girls after boys have been recognised by the informants and they will be discussed in this chapter. These are: inferior status in curricula, lower enrolment rates, lower completion rates, under-representation in science and vocational education streams, less opportunity to attend tertiary education or to study abroad.

5.2.1.1 Inferior status in curricula

Traditionally, in most countries, the type of education provided for girls was strongly influenced by the assumption that much of their time as adults would be devoted to household activities and raising a family (UNESCO report 1995). The situation in the Palestinian case is similar. School textbooks in Palestine mainly address

males and portray men and women according to a strong division of labour, with women depicted in domestic tasks and men presented in professional activities, stereotyping and marginalising the role of women and portrayed passive less esteemed images for them (interview 25). They present males as the main actors and the winners while the females are watchers, receivers and losers (interview 2 and 24).

These responses by some informants have been confirmed by a research conducted by *Jirbawi* (1993) on how males and females are presented in school textbooks. She found that there is neither qualitative nor quantitative sexual equality in curricula. She notes that the way of presenting the role of the sexes instils in children the perception that men are independent, superior to women, brave, determined, powerful, curious and dispassionate, while women are dependent on men, inferior to them, passive, weak, confused, humble, submissive and their role is restricted to being only mothers. She points out that as the grade level increases, the number of times that females are presented in the textbooks decreases in relation to the number of times that males are shown.

According to *Jirbawi*, women are always shown in the text or picture in connection with the family (washing, cleaning and ironing) and they are doing their work inside the house. They are rarely seen doing work outside the house and even when that happens they are usually engaged in activities which are of the same character as their housework (secretaries, seamstresses, nurses). Men are rarely shown in that light. They appear outside the house and are shown as professionals (such as doctors, farmers, engineers) or in important positions (such as mayors, directors, leaders).

Velloso (1996) states that the exclusion is not only in the visible curricula, but also in the hidden curricula, such as parent and teacher expectations of and behaviour towards male and female children. This statement has been confirmed by some

informants as it will appear later in this chapter. But to what extent does this sexual stereotype in curricula affect the achievement of girls in schools in Palestine? Here, there is no answer. This issue needs to be addressed by further research.

5.2.1.2 Lower enrolment rates

Four informants (2, 12, 25 and 31) argue that since the establishment of school education, women have tended to lag behind men at all levels of education. This claim has been supported by the statistics. Table 5.2 shows that in 1995/96 more boys than girls were in schools, the percentage of girls was 48.6. The difference in the percentage (1.4%) means that the number of girls is about twenty thousand less than that of boys.

Table 5.2
Distribution of schools, classes, students and teachers
by gender in Palestine in 1995/96

Area	Gender	Grand Total			
		School	Class	Student	Teacher
Grand Total	T	2002	19581	707554	23020
	M	502	7444	363861	11667
	F	489	6917	343693	11353
	Mixed	1011	5220		
West Bank	T	1681	13796	446977	15782
	M	379	5025	229655	7612
	F	398	4897	217322	8170
	Mixed	904	3874		
Gaza Strip	T	321	5785	260577	7238
	M	123	2419	134206	4055
	F	91	2020	126371	3183
	Mixed	107	1346		

Source: MOE, 1996.

Several informants (interviews 4, 5, 11 and 31) suggested that this gap in enrolment is a result of two factors: the lower completion rates of girls in comparison with boys, especially at secondary levels, and the lack of places for girls which prevent them being enrolled. The first factor will be discussed after a while as a third indicator. Regarding the second factor, the statistics show that there is a minor, but real enrolment problem in

basic educational levels (see table 5.3). Even the official statistics, which were released recently, show that girls' enrolment rate at basic level is higher than boys (see table 5.4).

Table 5. 3
Distribution of students, repeaters and drop-outs
and their proportions by class level and gender in Palestine in 94/95

Grade	Gender	Students		Repeaters %	Drop-out %
		No.	%		
Grand Total	T	617868	100	4.6	2.9
	M	318743	51.6	5.1	2.9
	F	299125	49.4	4.2	2.9
1-9 basic	M	277528	51.3	5.0	2.2
	F	263053	49.7	4.5	2.1
10th Basic	M	16510	51.7	4.9	8.3
	F	15438	49.3	3.1	9.0
1st. Sec. Sc.	M	4799	63.4	2.5	1.7
	F	2775	36.6	0.4	4.9
2nd Sec. Sc.	M	5322	69.1	10.1	2.3
	F	2382	30.9	0.8	3.7
1st. Sec. Lit.	M	7490	46.5	4.2	10.5
	F	8610	53.5	2.1	12.7
2nd. Sec. Lit.	M	5861	46.9	5.8	9.1
	F	6632	53.1	0.8	9.9
1st. Sec. Voc.	M	671	82.7	2.1	6.3
	F	140	17.3	2.1	6.4
2nd sec. Voc.	M	562	85.5	0.5	7.3
	F	95	14.5	1.1	4.2
Sec. Level (Total)	M	24705	54.5	5.4	6.5
	F	20634	45.5	1.3	9.7
	T	45339	100	3.5	7.9

Sec.: Secondary. Sc. : Scientific. Lit.: Literacy. Voc.: Vocational.
Source: MOE 1996.

Table 5. 4
School enrolment rate by age, sex and region in 1995/6

Age	Total		West Bank		Gaza Strip	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
6-11	91.5	90.5	90.9	90.2	91.8	90.7
12-14	90.7	89.5	89.4	87.2	91.4	90.8
15-17	63.6	68.1	63.8	71.9	63.6	66.1
18+	5.0	7.8	4.7	9.0	5.1	7.2

Source: PCBS 1996: 95.

However, it seems that fewer schools and classrooms are available for girls. Table 5.2 shows that both schools and classrooms for girls are less than for boys. This suggests that the girls' class size is bigger than that of boys, but there is no statistical verification of this claim. Moreover, five informants (interviews 1, 2, 11, 18 and 30) mentioned that girls' schools have poorer facilities and they referred to the greater shortage of laboratories, libraries, athletic facilities, and equipment, and even toilets in girls' schools, especially in the rural areas. Again there are no statistical figures to support or deny this claim.

5.2.1.3 Lower completion rates

Four informants (interviews 1, 2, 4 and 13) believe that males enjoy, on average a longer education than females. Yet, there are no national statistics that could explain to what extent, if any, a gap exists between the sexes in term of length of participation. However, the Israeli official statistics about Palestine in 1993 confirmed this phenomenon explicitly, (see table 5.5).

Table 5.5

Distribution of the population in Palestine by gender and number of years of schooling in 1993

Years of schooling	Male %	Female %
0	9	26
1-6	21	20
7-8	11	11
9-12	45	37
13+	14	6
Total	100	100

Source: CBS 1993: 98-101.

Table 5.3 shows that there was equality in enrolment rate in basic education; however, the situation in the secondary level is in favour of boys. The difference was less than one per cent at the basic level, and it reaches nine per cent in secondary level, in

favour of boys. Another indicator pertinent to this phenomenon is the number of students who attend final school's exam (GSE); the proportion of girls is always less than boys (see table 5.6) owing to girls' drop-out from schools. Table 5.3 indicates that in 94/95 the drop-out among Palestinian females was 2.1 per cent in basic level, and reached 9.7 per cent in secondary level. By contrast, the percentage amongst boys was raised from 2.2 per cent in basic level to 5.5 per cent in secondary level.

Table 5.6

Number of participants in the General Secondary Examination in Palestine for selected years.

Year	Total No.	Female No.	Female %
80/81	17434	6179	35.4
85/86	20142	7842	38.9
90/91	22841	8588	37.6
91/92	26749	9902	37.0
92/ 93	24737	9369	37.9
93/94	25769	10016	38.9

Source: PCBS 1995: 177.

Abu Nahleh (1996) argues that the rate of drop-out is even higher than the official rate because some drop-out is never recorded. She illustrated that school administrators are required to report the number of drop-outs only at the start of, and during, the academic year. Drop-out occurring during the transitional stage between basic education and secondary education does not seem to be officially recorded.

Further, girls, in comparison with boys, not only have lower completion rates, but also inferior participation. Finn (1989) demonstrates that there are four levels of participation. The first level is active participation which is considered the minimal essential condition for formal learning to occur. The pupil must present at school to learn. Performance in class is a direct outcome of this participation. The tables presented previously in this chapter reflect this kind of participation.

The second level is the willingness of students to initiate questions and dialogue with the teacher and display enthusiasm by their expenditure of extra time in the classroom before, during and after school, or by doing more class work or homework than is required. For some students this enthusiasm could expand into participation in subject-related clubs, community activities. Extending this kind of participation to Palestinian education will emphasise gender exclusion in favour of boys who have greater freedom of movement. Boys can stay after school time but girls cannot. Boys can participate in community activities while girls are unlikely to do that (interview 11).

The third kind of participation assumes that a youngster's autonomy and the opportunity for participation in the school environment outside of course work (in the social, extra curricular and athletic aspects of school life) increase with age. In the Palestinian case, this might be true for boys, while for girls such an opportunity is likely to be decreased by age. The fourth level is participation in governance of the school at least as it affects the individual student. This may involve academic goal-setting and decision-making and a role in regulating the school's disciplinary system. This kind of participation is still far away from Palestinian pupils, both boys and girls.

Although the bias in participation is in favour of boys, there is some evidence that girls' attainment and results at schools are better than boys. During my field work in summer 1996 the results of SGE (Secondary General Exam) were announced and it was obvious that girls had better results than boys. The statistics of previous years confirm this. Another indicator of girls' better attainment appears in table 5.3, which shows that the percentage of repetition among girls is less than boys at almost all stages.

At the first glance, this phenomenon looks like a contradiction, especially as in most developing countries, as King and Hill (1993) note, where there is a gender bias in favour of boys, girls have lower achievement. So, how was it that Palestinian girls, who

vis-a-vis boys, have worse condition in terms of schooling, had better results in the last couple of years?

It could be argued that this phenomenon is related to multiple factors. This might be due to a deterioration of the boys' level caused by the *Intifada*, rather than a real improvement in the girls' standard. It is to be noted; however, that as most Palestinian girls have to stay indoors, they have more time for studying, which gives them the opportunity to have better scores. Girls' residence at home has re-assured and been tightened after the break out of the *Intifada*, for safety and for protection reasons. It coincides with a decrease of parental control over the male children, who became involved heavily in the activities of the *Intifada*.

High levels of female attainment could also be a reaction against their oppressive conditions, so they are striving harder than boys to perform better in order to please their families, and, in turn, strengthen their chances to stay in school and join post-school education in the future. As one of the informants (interview 12) noted, most parents prefer their girls, especially in secondary level, to drop out if they have to repeat, and prefer boys to repeat rather than drop out. One of the informants notes that girls adjust to textbooks more than boys. He (interview 15) adds:

'There is a harmony between girls and curricula, in a conservative setting, such as the Palestinian society, the conservative girls go well with the conservative curricula. This makes girls consider their textbooks as holy and take all what is written seriously. Therefore, a sort of symphony occurs between them. Even in mixed schools, girls, in response to their marginality in their schools, try to make up through strengthening their relationship with their textbooks'.

5.2.1.4 Under-representation in science and vocational education

As mentioned in chapter 4, the secondary school level is divided into three streams; literary, scientific and vocational. The scientific stream was assumed to open up wider opportunities toward higher education and jobs which offer better pay and higher social status. Thus, it is more prestigious than other streams. Theoretically it is competitive, so students in the tenth grade who score best, particularly in science subjects, are supposed to join it, while the rest of the students go to the other streams.

It was expected that significant differences in the types of education received by the sexes usually begin to appear in secondary level, especially as there is a widespread tendency among girls to participate less than boys in technical and science-related studies, and join, instead, the literary stream. Table 5.3 shows that girls are under-represented in first and second scientific secondary grades, and over-represented in the literary stream. the percentage of girls in the first and the second secondary scientific grades was 36.6 per cent and 30.9 per cent, respectively, and it was about 53 per cent in the literary stream. This streaming system deepens the educational exclusion between the sexes and among the regions, and determines the future of the student at a very early stage. Abu Nahleh (1996:125) emphasises that:

'Streaming as a system or as an educational philosophy does not seem to allow equal access to curricula, in terms of exposure to different types of knowledge-science disciplines versus arts disciplines versus vocational field-leading to inequitable future opportunities in two major directions, education and employment'.

Table 5.3 also shows other indicator of gender exclusion. Girls are less likely than boys to be enrolled in vocational stream. the percentage of girls in first and second secondary vocational streams was only 17.3 per cent and 14.5 per cent, respectively.

It is to be mentioned that this phenomenon exists in many countries in both developing and developed worlds. In England, for instance, as many researchers (Pratt et al 1984; Gillborn 1990; Riddell 1992) demonstrate, boys tend to take scientific courses while girls tend to take humanities courses which are considered to be less likely to lead to high-status work. This creates or / and maintains exclusion not only in schools, but also outside schools as those courses which are taken by girls are considered as a lower status in both school and society.

5.2.1.5 Less opportunity to attend tertiary education

Table 5.7 shows a significant gap between the sexes in Palestinian Universities. In addition, gender exclusion is illustrated by an examination of the students who are studying abroad, where the majority of them are males. There are no recent statistics about people studying abroad; however, Israeli statistics indicate that in the period 1984-1987 only 19 per cent of all the WB students abroad were female (CBS 1990: 725).

Table 5.7

Percentage of females in new entrants, students, graduates, scholarships and staff of Palestinian universities for selected years

Category	85/86	90/91	91/92	92/93	93/94	*95/96
New entrants					42.4	42.8
Students	41.0	38.0	38.0	39.0	43.0	42.9
Graduates	48.0	49.0	44.0	43.0	42.0	48.4
Scholarship abroad					8.0	3.5
Staff	24.0	23.0	20.0	20.0	19.0	20.2

Sources: - PSBC, 1995: 194, 197, 201.

- Council of Higher Education 1996.

5.2.2 Reasons for gender exclusion

The constraints operating against girls are often divided into school-based and non-school based factors (Swainson 1995). Understanding the gender gap in education cannot be achieved without perceiving multiple factors, such as indigenous culture, parental aspirations for children's education, kinship relations, values, economic condition and history. The informants explained that the exclusion between the sexes in Palestinian schools is due to five main reasons. These reasons are: (1) the poor conditions of formal education (2) historical reasons (3) under-development of the legislation (4) economic constraints, and (5) the social structure. The first reason has been discussed in chapter 4. The rest of the above reasons will be discussed next.

5.2.2.1 Historical reasons

Historically, the Palestinian education system had a crippling start; boys' schools were established before girls' schools, urban schools established before rural schools, and academic schools established before vocational schools (Tibawi 1956). During the British Mandate (1917-1948), a few schools for girls were opened, thus, girls' enrolment never went above 23 per cent of the total Palestinian enrolment in elementary schools and this percentage was much lower at secondary level. Furthermore, the quality of facilities in the girls' schools was inferior to that in the boy's schools (Tibawi 1956, Hadad 1980).

Not only did the British mandate not promote females' education, but also the community itself was not keen to do so. Some people, at that time, objected to education for girls because they thought it would be more difficult to control girls who had learned to read and write (interview 12). For example, there was a belief that if girls

were educated, then, boys and girls would write each other love letters which would destroy their morals (Hijab 1988, Warnock 1990).

A Palestinian girl called *Fadwa Tukan* (later to become the Arab World's most famous female poet) mentioned in her autobiography how she '*preferred school to home*' (1990:46) and how in the late 1920s she was sentenced by her brother to '*compulsory confinement to the house till the day of my death*' (1990:48) Her brother had discovered that a boy had been following her on the way to school and that she had been given a Jasmine flower.

Nonetheless, after British Mandate, with the establishment of the state of Israel, and the major population dislocations, Palestinian in general, as Hadad (1980) stresses, came to regard education as a form of portable commodity that could not be taken away, especially by alien, colonised forces. Thus, as stated in chapter 4, education became a primary means of economic success and an avenue of liberation from dependency and poverty. However, although this thinking allows a larger percentages of girls to enrol in schools, disadvantage persists. The job opportunities opening up in the Arab World at that time were predominantly for males, which led to strengthening the tradition of giving priority to the education of boys (interview 15).

After 1967 many factors gave a big push to female education and enrolment in formal schools and encouraged the Palestinians to focus more on education. These factors included; the increasing rates of educated parents, the changing social, political and employment condition. The lack of security and the oppression created by the occupier, the penetration of western liberal ideas and the character of the political struggle for Palestinian independence. As a result, the rate of female enrolment increased more than in any previous 20-year period (Educational Network 1993). Despite this progress, the gender bias in Palestinian formal education system were maintained. The

system itself does not offer much knowledge that could challenge the sexual division of labour and the social norms which relegates women to unskilled tasks and invisible work patterns inherent in their subordinate position (interview 30).

The first factor above (the increasing rates of educated parents) sheds the light on the relationship between school education and illiteracy. On the one hand, gender exclusion is likely to continue in adult age, thus it is hardly surprising that the illiteracy rate among Palestinian women is higher than that among men (see table 5.8).

Table 5.8

Inability to read and write by age and sex in Palestine

Age	Male	Female
15-19	4.5	2.6
20-24	3.3	4.4
25-34	3.9	7.9
35-44	5.1	17.8
45-54	11.3	51.8
55-64	31.5	82.3
65+	43.9	88.6
Total	8.8	23.6

Source: PCBS 1996: 87.

On the other hand, there is a positive correlation between education of Palestinian children and education of their parents. The last national survey indicates that the continuation of female education might be affected to a significant degree by the education of their parents (table 5.9). Literate parents are more likely to strive to ensure that their daughters will receive an appropriate education than parents who are illiterate.

Table 5.9

Parent's years of schooling completed by daughter's years
of schooling completed

Parents	Years of schooling completed by parents					Years of schooling completed by daughter
	0	1-6	7-9	10-12	13+	
Father	70.0	13.2	7.6	5.1	4.1	0
Mother	79.4	8.4	6.4	4.2	1.6	
Father	24.8	30.7	19.2	14.4	10.9	1-6
Mother	41.5	23.9	17.1	13.9	3.6	
Father	30.2	34.7	16.0	11.9	8.0	7-9
Mother	53.8	21.9	13.1	9.1	2.0	
Father	30.2	33.9	12.5	13.5	9.9	10-12
Mother	55.2	21.2	10.8	10.7	2.1	
Father	25.0	34.8	12.6	11.6	16.0	13+
Mother	52.0	22.6	10.7	10.4	4.4	

Source: PCBS 1996: 99-100.

5.2.2.2 Under-development of the legislation

About one-third of the informants mentioned that valid legislation is under-developed. The law of education particularly does not make any discrimination between the sexes. However, there is no legislation to protect women specifically. The problem is that the social norms and culture which create negative attitudes against female education are stronger than the valid legislation. These norms become legislation themselves, and as Velloso (1996) demonstrates, they prevent even those girls who gained education from making use of their education.

Some informants (interviews 9, 21 and 28), for instance, have stated that married girls were banned by law from attending schools, and, as a consequence, many females are prohibited from resuming their learning at schools after their marriage. However, the Deputy Minister of Education and many key personnel in the MOE (interviews 1, 2, 5 and 13) denied this issue, and refer to it as only a local practice exercised by some

headteachers, and inherited by their successors to prevent married girls from disturbing their school mates.

For some informants, neutrality of the laws is not enough any more, and a positive discrimination legislation in favour of women is required (interviews 15 and 25). However, it could be argued that setting affirmative action legislation is inadvisable. Analysis of legislation to promote gender equality in education in many countries like the USA and UK show that modest actual improvement has occurred in the status of women in education (Stromquist 1990), which indicates that even strong legislation is not a guarantee to bridge the gender gap in education.

Further, as the basic principle of laws is often equality of rights, it will not be easy to initiate and pass a law of positive discrimination. The Palestinian legislators (the overwhelming majority of them are men) might stand against such an attempt. Because of these two reasons, it might be more reasonable if precise affirmative action regulations, under specific condition and timetable, are produced by the MOE.

It is to be mentioned in this regard that the MOE has already adopted and implemented some new policy, procedures, and steps in order to enhance the situation of girls' education, such as:

1. Dedicating the majority of the new school buildings in the WB for girls particularly in rural areas, while in the cities the MOE tends to expand the existing schools by adding new classes or additional floors (interview 6).
2. Instead of sending girls to other areas to resume their studies after finishing the available upper class in their village or area, or asking for 15 people as a minimum number to open a new class on their village as it was before, the MOE decided to reduce the number required to open a class for girls to only eight pupils (interview 4).

3. Minimising the number of mixed schools as much as possible and separating the sexes in the mixed classes (interviews 4 and 1).
4. Allowing married girls to complete their schooling without any restrictions (MOE 1995).
5. Minimising the number of male teachers in females' schools by upgrading the level of schools' teachers, particularly females, and employing more female teachers. In order to do so, the MOE set up a comprehensive in-service training programme for teachers to upgrade their qualifications and activate their motivation. For instance, no teacher will have the chance to become a headteacher without a bachelor's degree. In addition to that, from 1995, the Ministry, in its new recruitment, decided to reduce the percentage of teachers who have less than a first university degree. In 1996/7 about 80 per cent of the new appointments were allocated to job seekers who have at least the bachelor degree (interview 7).
6. With co-operation between UNESCO and MOE and with financial support from the Italian government, an independent Palestinian Centre for Curriculum Development has been established in 1994 to produce the first Palestinian curricula. The Director of the Centre, stressed that the new curricula, which is supposed to be implemented in 1999, will adopt sexual neutrality and show gender sensitivity (interview 26).

5.2.2.3 Economic constraints

Poverty, unemployment, large family size and the shortage of resources encourage creation and perpetuation of educational exclusion. The economic factor has an important influence over the education of girls. For most people there is no problem in educating their daughters if the family does not face hardship; otherwise, the priority will go to male children (interviews 11, 12 and 31). Therefore, it is expected that the participation of girls who belong to rich families is higher than participation of those

from poor families, and that middle class girls have better education opportunities than girls of working-class; however, additional empirical research is needed to test and address these assumptions in more depth.

The fact that job opportunities are, as Abu Nahleh (1996) points out, more available for men than for women, that women receive lower pay than men and that their mobility is more constrained, reinforces the devaluing of girls' education. One of the consequences of low economic revenue for female education is that a significant proportion of the Palestinians, including women, assign low value to women's roles and jobs outside their houses. Palestinian society, as Hindiyeh-Mani et al (1994) emphasise, views women's primary role as that of a housewife. Olmsted (1995) also notes that economic roles are generally defined along gender lines in Palestinian society. To explain this argument further she (1995:25) adds:

'Under Palestinian patriarchy, men are generally seen as protectors while women are viewed as protected. Women are defined as homemakers and caretakers, while men are perceived as responsible for the public sphere. This view translates into a number of outcomes, which include three with decidedly economic consequences. First, men are defined as economic providers and women as economic dependants. Second, within this framework, women's primary responsibility is doing unpaid work in the household. Last, men are responsible for women's behaviour and breaches in behavioural norms by women are perceived as shameful to the family'.

So, it is hardly surprising that Palestinians consider education of boys as a necessity to provide further social and economic protection for the family (interview 9). One of the informants (interview 3) states that:

'Revenues from girl's education in Palestinian society are likely to go in the end to the husband and his family after her marriage, while revenues from boy's education are likely to benefit him and his family'.

This factor is crucial in societies like the Palestinian society, where there is a complete absence of governmental social security programmes on which parents can depend in crises' circumstances or old age. This 'protection' theme will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. Nevertheless the question to be answered now is, why does poverty prevent parents from sending their girls to school while Palestinian school education is almost free of charge for pupils? To answer this question it is to be noted that student's cost does not mean fees only, it is more than that. The very limited compulsory money contribution that has to be paid by a student at the beginning of every school year, the girl's uniform and clothes, athletic clothes and shoes, cost of the secondary level textbooks (textbooks at the basic stage is free), cost of extra-curricular activities like journeys, stationery costs (for example school bags, pens, pencils, papers.), and transportation expenses can also make free education very expensive, especially for big or poor families.

Further, one of the informants pointed out that a very important cost to families of girl's education is the irreplaceable loss of their labour in the household (interview 12). This seems to be a valid point especially as the mean size of Palestinian household family is big (7.06) (PCBS 1996: 31). This puts more emphasis upon the role of girls in domestic work.

5.2.2.4 The social structure

This factor was recognised by the informants as the most important element which creates and perpetuates girls' exclusion from Palestinian schools. Therefore, the remainder of this section will be dedicating to analysing it. This factor emphasises that girls receive a number of messages from home, community and the mass media, and even from the school which work to turn them off schooling and cause educational exclusion between the sexes, both children and adults.

Although Islam, the religion of the majority of the Palestinians, strongly supports education for both male and female (Qutob 1984), some patriarchal social norms (gender and age power hierarchy) attach maximal value to a male and minimal value to a female, who is believed to be inferior and subordinated to the male (interview 18). These norms determine the appropriate role of women, discouraging parents from investing significantly in the education of their daughters, lowering the aspirations of girls, dampening their enthusiasm to compete with males, and, in turn, keep the gap between the sexes (interview 2).

These norms even affected the policy makers who are observably mostly men and this leads to gender blindness and absence of women's perspective at all levels. For instance, since the existence of Palestinian Authority many plans and national studies have been announced but, as Kuttab (1995:51). notes: '*no development plan as yet has gender equality as a central objective*'. Nevertheless, according to many informants, these norms are reflected in many phenomena, such as: the male-dominated culture, the reluctance of parents to send their daughters to schools outside their areas or to mixed schools and for tertiary education or abroad.

(1) the male-dominated culture

The Palestinian society is a male-dominated society. Priorities of families in Palestinian society, as Haddad (1980) and Warnock (1990) state, go often to educate their male children as a source of family pride, prestige and identity, and as an investment in economic security later on. Parents believe that males are not only going to be the breadwinners of their own future family and the supporters of their ageing parents, but also the receiver and holder of the family name. As the family name is passed on through the males, *'preserving the continuity of lineage through the procreation of male children is the ultimate aspiration of both men and women'* (UNDP 1994: 9).

Boys usually have more freedom than girls to choose their future discipline and the preference is for them. Girls have to serve boys or stand-by, and even if they have the chance to continue their studies, their families will interfere in their choices and drive them toward particular discipline which are traditionally perceived as appropriate for women (like child care, teaching and nursing). An informant (interview 24) pointed out:

'Palestinian girls were encouraged by their families to choose low status, service-oriented subjects of study after their school education, which fitted in with expected future roles as housewives and mothers, or, in best circumstances, as caring for the needs of others, including teaching, midwifery, nursing, etc.'

Family intervention has huge influence over girls education. Such an influence determines their enrolment, attendance, type and duration of their education. This intervention is based on social themes which are aimed at protecting the female's, and in turn the family's honour and avoid shame, and is related to concern about the dilution and contamination of the culture's values and identity (interview 31).

These social views have great influence over the girl child. Girl's exposure to any kind of sexual harassment or abuse, or even to a rumour related to her sexuality would harm her (and her family), preclude her marriage and affect her future. The preoccupation with 'protection' is supported by the traditional belief that women's best place is inside home (interview 14) and that their ultimate fulfilment comes through marriage and children, not through educational and professional achievement (Haddad 1980: 154).

This process has social interpretations that seriously affect girls' education. Borrowing Moser's (1993) terminology, it seems that the Palestinian society perceives the reproductive work (child bearing /rearing responsibilities, and domestic unpaid work) as the main role of women and ignores the productive role (any paid work) and the community managing role (the voluntary public activities). As women are more confined to the private worlds while men have wider access to the public worlds, parents assign girls more domestic responsibilities than they give to boys (interview 18). Some informants (interviews 14, 22 and 28) have pointed out that this domestic role intensified under the Israeli occupation particularly during the *Intifada* period when girls were required to spend longer times inside their homes.

At the same time, Palestinians, in the absence of the state institutions, have relied heavily on the family institution to struggle against the occupation, so it is hardly surprising, as Taraki (1997: 15) points out, that *'political, literary and artistic discourse in Palestine has wittingly or unwittingly idealised the traditional division of labour and gender hierarchies'*. In such a situation, as Hadad (1980: 156) argues, *'the maintenance of traditions became necessary for the purpose of continuity and protection'*.

Pederson (1988) refers to the influence of conflict and war in emphasising the productive role of women and argues that this role supposes to strengthen and maintain

the collective memory, and the national and ethnic identity. Some informants (interviews 4, 14 and 28) point to the positive aspects of this male-oriented culture. One of the informants notes that the aim of this restrictive system around the female is to ‘protect’ her rather than to oppress her. She (interview 25) added:

‘No family looks to deprive some of its members or ignore them. Parents, particularly the males, feel that one of their main family and social responsibilities is to protect their daughters. One of the implementations of this protection idea is that women are not economically in charge of their family, they do not have to be the breadwinners and, have a paid-job, while males do’.

Another informant refers to another implication of this ‘protection theory’ and argues that the ‘system of protection’ releases girls from pressure to become involved in complex issues (interview 28). If girls destiny is to end in marriage, there is no need to be involved in science topics which they consider more complicated than literary subjects. As an informant (interviews 4) put it:

‘If girls have full protection, by their families before marriage and by their husbands after marriage, why, then, should they work very hard or compete with males?’.

This argument might explain why a high proportion of girls propose themselves, or are encouraged by their families to enrol in literary streams in the secondary schools instead of science stream which has a better image but demands hard work.

It is to be mentioned that feminist theories consider ‘protection’ argument as part of the patriarchal system (Jaggar 1988). However, such an argument has special implication in Palestinian society where the family is considered a source of ‘protection’, rather than of ‘oppression’ as feminist theories see it. The family, from Palestinian perspective, is the

core unit of the society rather than the individual as the western feminist theories stress (Jaggar 1988). The 'protection' here is a comprehensive one, it covers the female of course, and it also reaches the male, the family and the society. This comprehensiveness also means assuring a physical, psychological, social, political and economical security for the protected.

Fasheh (interview 8) views positively the influence of male-oriented culture on girls, and argues that girls are more productive than boys, they also are better than boys in terms of learning and knowledge acquisition. Fasheh (interview 8) said:

'A real learning process could take place every where. Our experience in our Institute after ten years of working with both girls and boys shows that the aptitude of females to learn in a participatory or collective way is higher than boys. Girls can express their personal experiences better than boys. Girls' visions are connected with the public values and public good, while boys' vision is united with control, competition and individual achievement. For instance, women are better equipped to participate in community work than men. This is not only because in this kind of work there is no money or control, but also, women's sense of community is ingrained in their experience and upbringing. Parents urge the males to compete in order to get excellent scores and show an accreditation progress while girls are free from these pressures. Girls have been urged by their parents to think about themselves in context of their current and expecting family life (taking care of their younger brothers and sisters, getting married, having kids and so on). As a result, women usually do not think only of themselves when they intend to do something, but also consider how their action affects their children, their family, and others. In other words, girls have to take care of a small society (family) and to think

about it, the big society constitutes of small societies not individuals, and the family is the cornerstone of any society. Moreover, women's marginalisation by dominant traditions makes them more willing to learn and accept change. This means that if we talk about learning as a collective process, girls, then, learn better and are more productive than boys'.

(2) Parental intimidations and reservations

The reluctance of Palestinian parents to send their daughters to schools outside their areas or to mixed schools or for tertiary education or abroad considers preventive protection measures against any unforeseen threat (interviews 2, 12 and 26). In areas without appropriate or sufficient schools, such as peripheral areas, some parents disapprove of their daughters leaving the village to schools in other areas or in the closest cities. This fear became stronger under the Israeli occupation particularly during the *Intifada* due to the widespread violence and lack of security. One of the informants (interview 11) summarises parents' intimidation:

'As their daughters would have to walk a long distance to reach the school, they are worried about their safety, especially in these insecure and unstable circumstances. Some of them are worried about the corruption of their daughters' moral if their school is outside their area. And some of them think that the daily trips could cost them losing their control over their girls and cause harm to family honour'.

Intimidation of this kind also explains why parents are reluctant to send their girls to mixed schools. It is to be noted that most formal schools in Palestine are single sex schools. Table 5.2 shows that percentage of mixed classes constitutes around 25 per cent of the total classes; however, most of these classes are at kindergarten levels and in the early primary grades.

Apart from the private mixed schools which were established by Christian missionaries, most of mixed schools have emerged in Palestinian society in abnormal conditions. For instance, some were created by the Israeli authority to save money. Instead of opening two schools (one for boys and one for girls), the Israeli authority used to open one mixed school, especially in villages and rural areas. Sometimes the low number of students, especially in peripheral areas, does not justify running two separate schools. Lastly, some of these schools have been established by the private sector with profit-driven mentality.

For religious reasons, the objection of some parents to send their girls to mixed schools is even stronger than to sending them to schools outside their areas (interview 21). Some parents refuse to send their children to mixed schools regardless of their sex. Other parents have no objection to sending their daughters to mixed school at the elementary stage, but they do object to sending them at the secondary level because of their fear that mixed secondary schools can lead teenagers *'to situations that might negatively affect the family honour'* (interview 27). Some parents are even reluctant to allow their daughters to be taught by male teachers in girls' schools (interviews 11 and 28).

So far, there is an absence of research which would explore comparatively the situation of mixed and single sex schools. However, there are indicators that the gap in terms of gender is bigger in these schools. The director of secondary education in the MOE supported this claim. She (interview 11) demonstrated that:

'The situation in mixed schools is worse and sometimes deplorable in terms of educational exclusion between the sexes. Girls' life in such schools is associated with more restrictive attitudes. The way they look, talk or behave has to be serious and respectable. In the class they have to sit in the back rows

even if some of them have vision problems. They have to keep silent and ask fewer questions to avoid embarrassment. They probably get less attention particularly from male teachers. Headteachers express no tolerance toward the girls' problems or mistakes. In labs, boys keep no room for girls. In P.E. sessions, boys usually play games and do exercises while girls watch them or have chit-chat under a tree. In the playground during the break, boys are very active and girls have to be quiet. Even in the school's canteen, girls have to be served after boys'.

This situation has had two implications. The first one single-sex schooling is still the preferred model in Palestine. It has been used to encourage parents sending their children to schools (interview 1).

The second implication is that the lack of formal provision in the deprived areas coupled with the insistence of many parents not to allow their daughters to attend mixed schools or schools located outside their local areas, opens an ample opportunity for NFE to focus on gender issues and extend its activity, especially for women, in the rural areas.

Likewise, some parents believe in school education for their girls, but they think there is no need to send them for post-school education (interview 18), while, some parents believe even in post-school education for their daughters and girls, but they do not agree to send them abroad or far away to study subjects that are unavailable locally (interviews 10, 13 and 18). This was one of the reasons that justified establishing a university and community colleges in every big city in Palestine (interview 13).

One of the informants stated that some people are not keen to send their daughters for post-secondary education because they want to avoid putting them under pressure from their expected husbands who could push them against their wills to join the work market outside the house. They believe that if their daughters got a diploma or a

university degree, their husbands in the future might ask them to get a job as well as do housekeeping and this will put more responsibilities on their daughters' shoulders (interview 5). These interpretations are in line with the 'protection theory' which has mentioned previously.

Having said that, advanced education for females is often viewed as an obstacle to marriage among Palestinian people (interview 26). In other words, too much education reduces a woman's attractiveness in the marriage market. Palestinian men are likely to marry women who are younger than themselves and who are either as educated as or less educated than themselves. The FAFO survey (Heiberg and Ovensen 1993) on living conditions in Palestinian society confirmed this attitude and concluded that education affects the marriageability of women. Table 5.10 which borrowed from that study indicates that more men than women have been married in all educational levels-except in secondary level. The largest gender gap exists in advanced education.

Table 5.10

Percentage of men and women who are or have been married and education level

Level of education	0 years	1-6 years	7-9 years	10-12 years	13 years or more
Men	97	84	74	80	80
Women	91	75	71	80	58

Source: Heiberg and Ovensen 1993: 153.

This relationship between marriage and girls' level of education draws attention to the interaction between the demand and supply factors. On the one hand, the groom wants a bride who is not illiterate and young. On the other hand, a girl looks for a reasonable level of school education (preferably the general secondary certificate) to enhance her desirability as a wife and mother and to secure a good husband, as well as

to keep the door open to continue her post-secondary education or join the labour market if her husband agrees or if her marriage breaks down in the future for any reason.

Therefore, the central point in Palestinian society which occurred from the cross point of this interaction between the demand and the supply is concentrated on secondary education. Thus, post school education is likely to narrow the connubial circle of girls. This discussion is in line with the last national statistics which indicates that the median age at marriage in Palestinian society is 23 for males and 18 for females (PCBS: 1996).

However, there is tendency among parents, particularly in villages and rural areas, to encourage females, and males, to get married at an earlier age because marriage is *'the ultimate and best destiny for girls'* (interview 28). The national statistics show that 23.4 per cent of the marriages occurred during the age 15-19 (PCBS: 1996). Early marriage was considered by a number of informants (interviews 4, 9, 14, 21 and 27) as the decisive reason for female drop-out from secondary school and for their low rate of completion of schooling, as it appeared in table 5.3 previously.

It should also be mentioned that in the last decade and due to the unemployment problem and the hardship of the living conditions in Palestinian society, the tendency for men to have graduate wives, who might join the work market, has increased. However, this development does not mean that the marriageable point will move to the tertiary level in the future, because if these economic hardships continue, the chances for girls to join tertiary education will decrease and less graduate girls will be available for marriage.

5.3 Other forms of exclusion

5.3.1 Urban - rural

The educational opportunities available in rural areas fall notably short of those provided in cities. This affects seriously the quality of education in rural areas. By comparison with urban areas, the majority of the informants note that rural areas have a greater shortage of school buildings, poorer conditions of schools, higher illiteracy rates and higher drop-out rates. Moreover, school curricula reflect the images and culture of the city.

This is in line with the finding of earlier research. For instance, a survey conducted by UNESCO in 1991 pointed out that 41 villages (11%) out of 379 villages in the WB did not have schools, and despite the compulsory education rule, 135 villages have only primary schools (UNICEF 1992). Nasru (1993) notes that while 60 per cent of the population in the WB are rural, no schools are developed to meet special educational needs in the rural areas.

The shortage is mainly in secondary schools, particularly girls' schools. If these schools are available, a lot of them are unlikely to have scientific secondary classes (interview 4). Conditions of schools (building, equipment and facilities) in rural areas are poorer than in the urban areas. Moreover, some informants emphasise that the current curricula neglect rural life and focus mainly on the life and style of the city and reflect its image (interviews 15, 17 and 24). It is not surprising, then, to find that illiteracy and drop-out ratios in rural areas are higher (MOE 1996a). Table 5.11 shows that the literacy ratio in any group age is lower in rural areas than urban areas.

Table 5.11

Inability to read and write by age and residence
in Palestine

Age	Urban %	Rural %
15-19	2.8	3.9
20-24	3.4	4.7
25-34	4.6	8.1
35-44	9.0	16.5
45-54	23.0	42.4
55-64	48.1	68.6
65+	57.5	69.1
Total	13.0	19.2

Source: PCBS 1996: 88.

The last national survey shows that urban populations enjoy on average longer education than rural populations (see table 5.12). Regarding the drop-out ratio, result of the national survey announced in 1996 showed that the drop-out rate is higher in rural areas than in urban areas (see table 5.13). This table also shows that the rate of girls' drop-out at secondary school age (15-17) in rural areas is twice the rate in urban areas. In 1995/96, the MOE statistics reveal that about 30000 students dropped out from schools (MOE 1996a), two-thirds of them were in rural areas.

Table 5.12

Highest education completed by age and residence

Highest education completed	Residence	Age						
		15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
0	Urban	1.1	1.7	2.8	7.1	21.5	49.1	59.9
	Rural	1.7	2.2	4.8	12.6	40.9	70.0	74.7
1-6	Urban	11.2	14.9	19.6	23.1	28.5	28.6	28.3
	Rural	14.1	18.2	24.0	35.6	31.3	22.3	22.5
7-9	Urban	40.7	22.9	23.6	25.5	15.2	7.8	6.5
	Rural	48.0	29.4	25.7	25.4	12.1	3.7	1.7
10-12	Urban	43.2	39.0	30.2	23.0	19.0	6.6	3.3
	Rural	34.8	36.3	26.8	14.4	8.4	2.4	0.8
13+	Urban	3.8	21.6	23.9	21.3	15.7	7.9	2.0
	Rural	1.5	13.9	18.6	12.0	7.4	1.5	0.3

Source: PCBS 1996: 92.

Table 5.13

Drop-out rates by age, sex and residence
in Palestine

Age	Urban		Rural	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
6-11	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
12-14	2.5	2.1	3.5	2.8
15-17	7.3	5.3	8.2	10.0
18+	0.7	0.6	1.1	0.8

Source: PCBS 1996: 98.

The question to be asked is why there is such a gap between rural and urban areas? Here the informants refer to five main reasons. These are: policy of the Israeli occupation; the establishment of formal education in the cities first; the services and the access in cities are better than that in villages; the internal migration from rural areas to urban areas; and social norms are more effective in rural areas.

There is no doubt that the Israeli policy, as it was illustrated in chapter 4, had a devastating impact on the Palestinian education and was considered one of the driving factors which caused this rural-urban gap (interview 14). Apart from this external reason, the rest of the factors above are internal. Four informants (interviews 1, 10, 16 and 26) argue that the fact that schools were established first in a city and the people who set up the textbooks came from the city as well, contributed considerably to this phenomenon. Since the establishment of the modern formal education system during the British mandate, the great divide in Palestinian society was between the urban and rural areas, especially in girls' education. For instance, by the end of the mandatory period, 60 per cent of the girls in cities went to elementary school, while the percentage in villages was only 7.5 per cent (Tibawi 1956 and Hadad 1980).

Although historical, this reason was and still is influential. Let us take the Palestinian teachers as an example. There is no doubt that the competence of teachers is a key variable for the quality of education. Teaching as a systematic process started in Palestine in the cities (interviews 4 and 28). Hence, the cities always gained better teachers than rural areas. At the same time, the early teachers in most Palestinian village schools came from cities (interviews 1 and 22), and so far every school in almost all villages has teachers from the nearest city.

Moreover, since the establishment of Palestinian formal education, schools in the villages have functioned as training centres for new teachers. The educational directorates, which are always located in cities, used to send the graduate teachers who have no experience in teaching yet to teach at the villages first, and after gaining experience through a couple of years, those teachers would be transferred to cities (interview 1). This approach of using schools in villages and rural areas as an experimental lab for in-service teacher training is still in operation. Further, one of the informants stated that if a school in any village has a good and sophisticated teacher, s/he is likely to be transferred to work in the cities' schools as a promotion (interview 22).

Historically speaking, cities present the centre and villages present the periphery, this is mainly the normal situation all over the world. In Palestine, cities have better infrastructure (communication, transportation, roads, electricity, etc.) and offer better job opportunities than rural areas. Besides, cities are more open, there is more room for various opinions, and the needs of different groups have the chance to be addressed.

Such an 'urban bias' (Lipton 1977), puts children of rural areas at a disadvantage, not because they are slow, but because they are conditioned by the situation in which they live. For instance, the drop-out phenomenon is likely to have additional reasons in rural areas than towns, such as: the communication difficulties, the distance between

home and school, the dispersion and isolation of the population, the poverty, malnutrition, sickness and lack of parental interest.

Internal migration from rural areas to urban areas is another factor contributing to the gap between the two areas (interviews 1 and 23). Both internal migration from rural areas to the urban and external immigration abroad was noticeable in the Palestinian society. This is a consequence of multiple factors, such as unemployment in rural areas, the confiscation of lands by the Israeli occupation, the Israeli control over water resources and the shift from agriculture as a major source of income in rural areas to paid work (interviews 1, 21 and 23).

This internal migration caused a brain drain from rural areas. Standards of education in rural areas have been negatively affected by well-educated people, skilled headteachers and teachers moving away to work in cities (interviews 1, 23 and 28). Some informants (interviews 10, 16 27 and 28) state that the social norms are more strict and influential in rural areas and they contribute to maintain the gap between rural and urban areas. Therefore, the negative correlation between some norms and education is stronger in rural areas in comparison with urban areas. Other informants (interviews 9 and 14) argue that the public awareness in rural areas is less than that in urban areas. However, those informants made their claim after they correlate positively between years of schooling and level of awareness which might be not the case in many settings. These, and other informants (interviews 5, 9, 14, 23 and 31) stressed that rural dwellers, unlike urban people, do not put a high expectation upon the role of education in their life. Although this claim might be considered as an elite stereotype against the rural poor, many signals might back this claim, especially as it is obvious that phenomena, such as early marriages, child labour, left-outs and drop-outs from schools, the objection of

mixed schools and the objection of sending girls to schools outside villages or to post school education, are common and more deeply-rooted in Palestinian rural areas.

In addition, the literature refers to another reason which might be relevant to the Palestinian case. Gould (1993: 85) presents the underdevelopment paradigm to explain the gap between rural and urban areas. According to this paradigm all parts of any country do not develop equally and there are systematic processes of underdevelopment that allow some areas to develop faster than, and often at the expense of, other areas. Regions where demand for schooling is higher are generally those where income is highest and which have greatest political weight.

Having said that, it might be worthwhile to refer to some policies already implemented by the MOE which intend to tackle educational problems of rural areas, such as:

1. Creating educational directorates for some rural areas. For instance, a new educational directorate to serve rural areas in southern Hebron was established in 1996/97 (interview 1).
2. Setting-up special agreements with transportation companies to guarantee cheap transportation fares for students in rural areas (interview 4).
3. Priority in building new schools in the WB was dedicated to build schools, particularly for girls, in rural areas (interview 6).
5. A Remedial Education Programme for repeaters and slow students was launched at the beginning of the school year (1995/96) by the MOE (interview 11).

5.3.2 The West Bank - the Gaza Strip

In comparison with the WB, the GS has the worst situation in terms of quality and quantity of education, school over-crowding, and vocational education. The majority of the informants believe that the quality of education in the GS is lower than that in the WB. However, there is no comparative research which can refer precisely to the quality of education in the two areas. Five informants have noticed also that the attainment of students in the GS is lower than their counterparts in the WB (interviews 4, 9, 23, 30 and 31). Therefore, some universities in the WB used to organise preparatory courses for GS's students who came to study in them (interview 9).

In comparison with the WB, the shortage in school buildings and classes is higher in the GS and, thus, there is a greater problem of overcrowding (see table 5.14). For instance, to provide education for pupils, a system of triple shifts has been implemented in the GS. In government schools, which hold less than half of the pupils enrolled in the GS, about 1760 classes were needed in order to reduce the number of student per class to 40 pupils and cancel the double and triple shifts in 1996/97 (interview 6).

Table 5.14

Disparities in education between the WB and the GS

Educational feature	West Bank	Gaza Strip
Class per school	8.2	18
Student per class	32.4	45
Teacher per student	1: 28.3	1: 36
Teachers having Ba / Bsc and above qualification	40.8 %	35.2 %

Source: MOE: 1996

The informants refer to two main reasons for this imbalance between the WB and the GS, one is educational while the another is economic. The former refers to the differences between the two educational systems. There are significant differences

between the Jordanian system implemented in the WB and the Egyptian system implemented in the GS (interviews 4, 6, 12, 26 and 30).

The main difference exists in the curricula. Standards required by the Jordanian curricula are higher than the standard of the Egyptian curricula. Some subjects in the GS were even without written curricula, and teachers used to dictate it during the classes (Interviews 4 and 29). A senior officer in the MOE mentioned that after its establishment, the MOE has set up a special internal committee to choose one of the two education systems in Palestine to be implemented temporarily in the two areas until the expected Palestinian curricula takes effect. After reviewing the two systems, the committee recommended to adopt the WB's curricula because it is more developed. However, because of the sensitivity of this issue and to avoid any political explanation, especially as such a movement could provoke Egypt, the MOE decided not to implement this recommendation and maintain the current *status quo* until preparation of the Palestinian national curricula is complete (interview 4).

The economic factor is important as well. As the economic situation in the GS is worse than that in the WB (Helberg and Ovensen 1993), the proportion of the population who are poor and needy is bigger in the GS, and the rate of jobless people is higher. The WB's infrastructure and public services are better. NGOs are less active in the GS (interviews 5, 6, 12, 18 and 29). Further, due to its geographic characteristics, the GS is considered a closed society and area, while the WB is more open. One of the informants (interview 30) pointed out that:

'The comparison between the WB and the GS is a comparison between two different societies regardless of the fact that people in the two areas belong to the same nation. Historically speaking, the GS was linked with Egypt and is still under the influence of the Egyptian culture. The education system there

follows the Egyptian system, the public administration styles in Gaza are Egyptian, and so on. Classes and feudalism are instilled in the Egyptian society and have been transferred to the GS as well. Therefore, social structure in the GS is more restricted and more stable than that in the WB. This means that social mobility in the GS is less than that in the WB and the stratification of social classes in the GS is invariable. There are social classes in the WB as well, but with less rigidity and stability. In the WB it is easier to move from any social class to another. Because of that it is expected to find that the class of underprivileged and deprived people is larger in the GS than in the WB'.

Finally, the separation between the WB and the GS is one of the PNA's main concerns, for political reasons. Therefore, many steps have been taken by the MOE to bridge the educational gap between the two areas, such as (interviews 2, 6 and 13):

1. Unifying the school ladder in the two areas, which is now based on two stages: the basic and the secondary.
2. Adopting unified procedures and regulation in some aspects in the two areas, such as: age of school entrance for new pupils; school ladder and stages; dates of final exams; and fees.
3. Giving the GS the priority in building new schools.
4. Producing a series of 'citizenship education' textbooks for the first six grades to be introduced in the two areas. The aim of these textbooks is to familiarise the pupils with their culture, environment, community and society.
5. Allowing any person who discontinued school education but finished grade six to attend a specific level exam. After passing this exam, s/ he will be eligible to attend the General Secondary Exam (GSE) and join higher education.

5.3.3 Academic education - vocational education

The imbalance between these two types of education is in favour of academic education. The informants considered the ambiguity of vocational education's objectives, paucity of its schools, poor quality of its students and graduates and outdated curricula as the main indicators of this phenomenon. Four informants noted the absence of a philosophy for vocational education, and pointed out that the present vocational education is fragmented and lacks relevance and efficiency (interviews 3, 12, 29 and 30).

Student of vocational education constitutes less than 3 per cent of the general education. Table 5.15 presents the distribution of the students in vocational education in Palestine. The low enrolment rate is combined by poor quality of students who usually enrol in this stream after becoming unable to continue in an academic stream because of their poor performance (interview 29). Therefore, graduates of vocational schools are characterised by their low level and out of date knowledge and information. As a result, their chances to get a job are very limited (interviews 7, 26 and 29). The limited capacity, poor facilities and management, and lack of diversity in vocational programmes prevents many students joining this kind of education (interview 7).

Table 5.15

Distribution of students in vocational secondary schools by gender in Palestine

	M	F	T
Grand total	1392	322	1714
West Bank	1331	272	1603
Gaza Strip	61	50	111

Source: MOE 1996.

The table indicates also the low percentage of female participation (19%). This rate may be expected to be higher because girls are expected to be enrolled in the less prestigious streams. So how can this contradiction be explained?

There is more than one reason which might explain this phenomenon, such as the male-orientation of most vocational education programmes, the unattractiveness of the available programmes, the narrow employment opportunity accessible to women and the social attitudes and the parental objection to stream their daughters into this kind of education because of their belief that vocational discipline will drive the girls to be involved in public life (interviews 2, 5, 7, 20, 25 and 29).

The informants identified three main reasons for the poor state of vocational education, which are: the Israeli neglect of this type of education, the limited employment opportunities after graduation and the people's negative images about it. To explain these reasons further, it is to be mentioned that vocational education during the occupation period was the poorest and the most neglected sector of the educational services. For instance, although Palestinian society is agricultural, the Israeli authority deliberately marginalised agricultural training in Palestine. Many agricultural schools, as Abu Nahleh (1996) notes, were closed (such as the Beit Hanoun Agriculture school in the GS which closed in the early year of the occupation) or phased out (such as the agricultural sections of Al-Aroub school and Khadoury school in the WB, which were phased out keeping only the academic streams) (interview 13).

Therefore, system, curricula, facilities, management and programmes of vocational education became out of date. As a result, present disciplines and programs lack relevance to social needs. The present curriculum is obsolete and does not meet with the speedy changes of technology. Institutions of vocational education have not been

properly developed in terms of facilities, staff and some have no proper workshops or labs (MOE 1995b).

The current vocational education is a closed system, students who committed themselves to this type of education have very limited chances to upgrade their qualifications in the future, the only option available for them in post secondary level is to get a lower Diploma at a community college (interview 7). The road to university education for them is shut. Even if they choose not to continue their higher education and join the labour market, they will face very limited job opportunities. Part of this problem is due to unemployment problems in the Palestinian society, and part of it is related to the disconnection between available programmes and the job opportunities. No links have been encouraged with employers in the fields of curriculum adjustment, staff development and enrolment planning. (interviews 23 and 29).

The poor image of vocational education is one of the decisive factors which has hindered it. Palestinians devalue the existed vocational education system and they never consider it seriously. As a result, Palestinian vocational education was always ranked a poor second after academic education. One of the informants (interview 30) illustrated this point:

'Historically speaking, manual work used to come second after intellectual work. This is almost a global phenomenon. The same scenario is repeated in our society, the only difference is that most of the world is adjusting this imbalance and reducing it, while it becomes deeper in our society. This is due to special factors instilled deeply in our society, such as our understanding and awareness to our role as individuals and to the state's role. Non-manual work in our culture is related to the white-collar job which is linked with power, interest and the influence of the state. Those people, who are often closer to the

decision-makers, become powerful and hold a huge influence while manual workers have nothing of that. Such situation gave merit to non-manual works which became part of our life, and while most of the world left it under the influence of sciences and technology, it still works in our society'.

Some informants (interviews 15 and 20) argue that the under-valuation of vocational education is originally because of its low prestige level, which, in turn, is due to the fact that, traditionally vocational education could never be a bridge to higher forms of training or employment. As a result, the labour market under values its diplomas which leads to low salary levels and limited advancement prospects. One of the informants (interview 17) states:

'Despite national rhetoric emphasising the importance of vocational education, opportunities for technical employment are very restricted and salary scales are relatively poor. Thus, such types of education are generally held in low esteem and do not attract many students'.

Nevertheless, in the wake of establishment of the PNA, and in an attempt to raise quality and scope of vocational education and to respond to social and economic development policies, a new system for vocational education has been proposed. Many ministries are involved with the new system, such as: the MOE, the MOHE, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Planning and International Co-operation and Chamber of Commerce and Industry (interview 29).

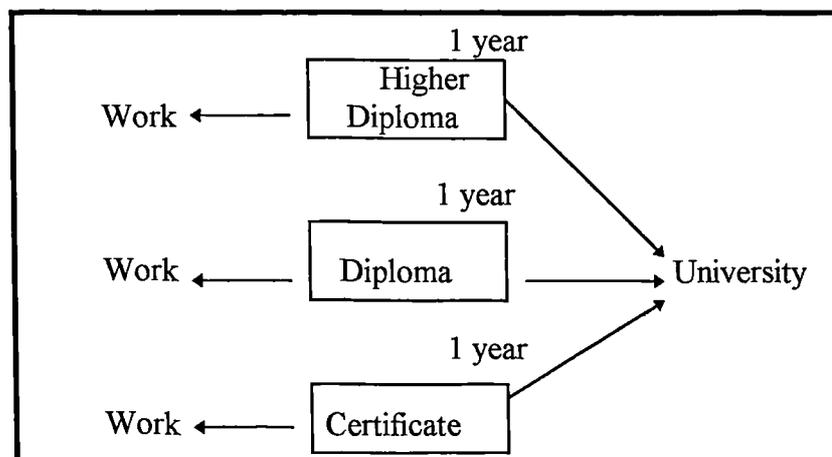
Education and training through both formal education and NFE are the main themes in this new system. It is designed to provide flexibility which allows vocational education to be optional for student, attracts new groups of student and leads the trainees to the labour market, and, in the same time, keeps the door of higher education open for the student (interview 29).

The main features of this new system are (MOE 1995b: 9-14):

- Modules approach: subjects will be taught as core modules which can be studied individually or grouped into a programme of study to form a degree in the field. The system will allow the introduction of additional modules to fulfil the requirements of the programme and will be selected upon students' or employers' preferences in a certain occupational area.
- A flexible entry and three main exit points in the three years of study in order to facilitate employment, progress and higher education for students (see diagram 5.1).

Diagram 5.1

Ladder of progression in secondary vocational level



Source: MOE 1995b: 20.

- The system will adopt the value of credit hours in a way that they will be accredited in universities inside and outside Palestine.
- Target groups will be students of secondary and post-secondary education, and the system will cater also for part-time students covering wide range of age groups. Upgrading programmes for previous graduates will also form part of the system.

- The proposed plan of action contains two parallel phases. The first phase is dealing with the existing system in terms of preparation for the transition to the new system. The second phase is working towards the development of the proposed system.

This proposed system might end the fragmentation in vocational education. However, It is not clear how it will ensure relevancy to meet with the national needs, and efficiency in the use of resources, especially in this transitional era where Palestinian society is under explicit economic and political pressures.

5.4 Evaluating the formal educational policies

Although the MOE did not focus on combating exclusion from schools as a priority target, the discussion in this chapter contained some formal education policies adopted by the MOE which might contribute to reduce exclusion from schools and rectify imbalances. It is too early to evaluate these policies, comprehensively, because combating educational exclusion needs a steady, gradual and long-term reform. Nevertheless, four comments might be raised in this regard:

Firstly, these steps and regulations are not enough and more pertinent formal education steps can be added. For instance, the majority of the informants stressed that the current formal steps which have been implemented by the MOE are not enough and when they have been asked what can formal education do to combat exclusion from schools, they gave the following responses (table 5.16).

Table 5.16

Formal steps recommended by the informants to reduce exclusion from formal education

No.	Content	Informants number
1.	Adopting a unified modern law, regulations and procedures to be implemented in both the WB and the GS.	25
2.	Unifying the curriculum in the WB and the GS.	22
3.	Enhancing the condition of teaching, teacher recruitment, and adopting an efficient motivation system for teacher	16
4.	Expanding the compulsory education to cover the secondary stage.	15
5.	Providing support to slow students.	12
6.	Setting up a community-based national plan for education.	10
7.	Adopting affirmative action policy favour girls, rural areas, vocational education and the GS for a short period.	9
8.	Providing the needed financial resources to the different areas	8
9.	Updating new/ additional measurement and evaluation methods.	7
10.	Encouraging more freedom at schools	5

Some of these points (1, 2 and 3) are afoot to be implemented by the MOE, as mentioned previously. Some of them are too general or even vague (6 and 10) and some of them are specific and target explicitly exclusion from schools. However, all of these steps need to be tied up within a context or framework to produce a comprehensive formal educational strategy to confront educational exclusion.

Secondly, with the exception of vocational education, these policies are based, mainly, on formal education perspectives and are to be implemented only by the MOE in limited co-operation with other pertinent bodies. So, for instance, the role of NFE has been ignored, and the possible contribution of NGOs and other community organisations has been neglected. Any in-depth review of table 5.16 would reveal the important role NFE and NGOs could play.

Thirdly, there is no reference to the role of adult education despite its importance, not only because of the direct relationship between the education of parents and the participation of their daughters, but also because the adults themselves, not the children, are mainly responsible for creating some forms of educational exclusion.

Fourthly, the MOE, with such policies, would be combating the exclusion problem inside schools only, while confronting educational exclusion requires more than just educational intervention and juggling resources. A comprehensive vision inside and outside schools is needed; education, both formal and non-formal, needs to be a part of this process. The role of other sectors (health, transportation and communication.) is very important in this transformation.

The first step to reduce educational exclusion is the recognition of exclusion as an issue by the whole society and to address it through master plans. Here we can point out a severe deficiency in the Palestinian's effort. Taking 'gender issue' as an example, it is noted that the *General Programme for National Economic Development, 1994-2000* which was set up as a master plan for the new PNA, determined the importance of achieving political and regional equality among citizens, but has mentioned nothing about gender equality (Giacaman, Jad, and Johnson 1995).

Similarly, the World Bank programme has the same problem. The Bank is a new actor in Palestine, its role there is not only as a donor, but also as a primary planner and administrator of international assistance to Palestine in the transitional period, pledged by state and international donors at \$ 2.1 billion. During the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, the Bank made preparations for a field mission, which visited Palestine in 1993, and produced a six volume study: *'Developing the Occupied Territories: An Investment in Peace'*. As Kuttab and associates note (1995), none of these six-volumes

gives a systematic consideration to Palestinian women, their status, actual and potential roles in socio-economic development, or their needs and interests.

Nevertheless, the discussion in this chapter refers to educational exclusion in the Palestinian context. It is within such a context, the context of traditional society in a situation of dependency, patriarchy, crisis and conflict, that the PNFE emerged as a national instrument to respond to community needs. This kind of education will be discussed fully in chapter 6.

Chapter Six

Non-Formal Education In Palestine

CHAPTER SIX

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

This chapter is an attempt to: (1) assemble information from written sources, reports, interviews, and personal experience about the PNFE; (2) present characteristics of the PNFE during the last three decades and the changing role of the PNFE after the Oslo Accord; (3) rehearse a classification of providers; and (4) discuss three different philosophies of the PNFE. The chapter concludes with a review of the relationship between NGOs and the PNFE institutions from one side and the PNA from the other side. The main argument in this chapter is that although the PNFE is being challenged by the newly established PNA, this kind of education still has a legitimate role to play in Palestine.

6.1 Development of Palestinian non-formal education

Non-formal education has been in existence in Palestine for a very long time. Religious institutions (mosques and churches) were the main providers. However, due to Israeli rigid control over Palestinian formal education, PNFE has been activated and spread widely during the occupation era. It is not a uniform or well-defined system. Rather, it is a name for a broad range of educational activities and programmes organised outside the formal education system. Unlike the formal education system where a single ministry is responsible for all activities, the PNFE programmes have emerged gradually, often without prior long-term planning, associated with and initiated by different

institutions and social forums. This pattern has been the rule in most countries, as was described in chapter 2.

The informants revealed that the PNFE under occupation was initiated to achieve three main goals; overcoming problems of formal education; promoting economic and social development; and arousing political awareness and resisting Israeli policy. These three aims, as five informants (interviews 2, 12, 14, 25 and 30) explained were in contradiction with Israeli policy in Palestine, which aimed at isolating the Palestinians, economically, politically and psychologically. The question to be answered then is, if the PNFE was at variance with the Israeli policies why, then, did Israel permit it?

It could be argued that this happened for multiple reasons. **Firstly**, the international pressure contributed effectively to the PNFE development because it was sponsored by foreign aid. International pressure was effective on many occasions. For instance, only after international pressure, did Israel agree to reopen the Palestinian schools and universities after years of closure during the *Intifada* (as stated in chapter 4). This reveals that the international aid is not neutral, but it has a standpoint about every issue in every setting. When international aid bypasses the 'state' and contacts the target groups directly, a specific message is being sent to the holders of state power. The Palestinian case also refers to the interface between the humanitarian dimension and political dimension of international aid. During the Israeli occupation, international aid ignored the Israeli authority, while after the establishment of the PNA there was a tendency to approach most of the international aid through the new PNA in order to strengthen it as it will appear in section 6.3.

Secondly, most of the PNFE activities appeared to be rescue and relief work, addressing the needs of the suffering people. Most of the PNFE institutions from the very beginning stressed their willingness to fulfil their 'non-political' stated aims. So,

there was no excuse to ban humanitarian activities which did not cause a threat to the Israeli interest. This analysis is in line with what has been mentioned in chapter 2, that authoritarian states may encourage or at least overlook some sort of NFE, such as programmes aimed at encouraging the development of skills which do not threaten the holders of the power.

It was only after the mid 1980s, particularly during the *Intifada*, that it became clear that local NGOs, including the PNFE institutions were striving to formulate a strategy that would build and reinforce an independent national infrastructure. Then, when things inside many of these institutions started to change to achieve this goal, many of them were closed by the Israeli authority.

Thirdly, Israel has not been willing to appear as a hangman. Such an image would have destroyed its reputation and caused a loss of international sympathy as a representative of the Jews who have suffered in this century. The Israeli attitudes were bound to be ambivalent, since they were providing NFE programmes to immigrant Jews and were viewed to be leaders in the field of NFE.

Fourthly, tracing the PNFE activities is a complicated mission. It needs a lot of time, financial and logistical resources which were not always available to Israel: on the one hand, because of the variation of the PNFE activities in terms of time, place, nature, duration, resources and participation; and, on the other hand, because NFE is not only a material infrastructure, but also a human activity. Besides, as mentioned in chapter 2, activities of NFE are uncontrollable in absolute term, because controlling some activities by an authoritarian state would lead to the emergence of new politicised activities out of the state control.

Fifthly, at the end of the day, the PNFE activities reduced the burden which Israel, as an occupier, should carry. According to international law Israel is supposed to meet

the needs of the Palestinians as an occupied nation. Israelis' policy to provide only the minimum basic needs to Palestinians was never enough, so NGOs have played a complementary role to enhance the quality and the quantity of the services provided to the Palestinians. Further, as the overall Israeli policy in Palestine was against the Palestinians, as illustrated in chapter 4, the Palestinians were suspicious about any Israeli attempts to provide them with any new services. Thus, many programmes implemented by the NGOs would not have had the chance to succeed or have the same impact if provided by the Israeli military authority.

Moreover, and **sixthly**, economically speaking, Israel was one of the beneficiaries of the PNFE because this kind of activity attracted external funds from international donors. This funding was spent in Palestine. Since Palestine is totally dependent on the Israeli economy, the hard currency from the external funds would land, in the end, in the Israeli treasury.

The above does not mean that the PNFE was welcomed by Israel. On the contrary, the whole the PNFE programmes were developed in opposition to the Israeli authority which tried to exercise strong restriction over it (interviews 2, 12, 14, 15, 25 and 30). There were continuing waves of confrontations and tension between the two sides over the years of the occupation. The PNFE was working in the presence of the tight circle of Israeli laws, regulation, and procedures. The rule was every thing is illegal and requires permission from the Israeli authority, even holding a health education session in a small village anywhere would require a permit (Barghouti 1989, Kandela 1989). As a consequence many initiatives were aborted and many organisations were closed down, and those institutions which held out have worked under a huge pressure and insecurity.

Despite all that, the PNFE played an important role in countering the neglect and disruption in Palestinian education and life under Israeli occupation. The majority of the

informants for this study (24 out of 31) appreciated highly the contribution of NFE in promoting political awareness among Palestinians during the occupation era, and strengthen their steadfastness in front of the Israeli continuous attempts to uproot them from their lands. This role was expected because it was originally one of the aims of those who adopted the Freirean approach in developing NFE programmes. The *Intifada* as a radical political approach which reflected a collective human response to an oppressive situation, was the most clear example of the PNFE's political dimension. As one of the informants (interview 20) put it '*the political values, goals and struggle gave meaning to the PNFE. Without this political dimension, the PNFE would lose its meaning and rationale*'.

The PNFE also contributed to promoting economic development and social mobilisation. 15 informants highlighted the facts that many NFE programmes were needs-responsive and development-oriented, and have focused on enhancing the mental and manual capabilities and productivity of the participants and improving the quality of their living conditions.

6. 2 Historical and continuing role

6. 2.1 Difference from formal education

The tension between the PNFE and the Israeli authority affected the relationship between formal education, which was under the direct control of the Israeli occupier, and NFE, which was under the control of the Palestinians themselves. Generally speaking, no satisfactory model of harmonious integration of formal education and NFE resources exists formally in Palestinian society. The co-existence of the two educational networks evolving independently was the rule in Palestine. As one of the informants (interview 17)

put it, '*under the Israeli occupation, formal education appeared as a symbol of oppression while NFE presented a tool for liberation*'.

As a result, neither co-operation nor co-ordination existed between the two sides. The channels of communication between the two sides were closed, and there was no chance for any reconciliation, or even any kind of positive co-operation between them. The Israeli authority never tried to do that, and such an idea was unacceptable to the Palestinians themselves who would view it as a collaboration with the occupier (interviews 1 and 14).

This disjunction even affected the foreign NGOs who were working with the Palestinians. Many of them (such as: Oxfam, Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), American Friends Services Committee - AFSC) made sure to avoid any contact or co-ordination with the Israeli authority regarding its programme of assistance to the Palestinians (Nakhleh 1989). By doing this, these agencies aimed to express their well-meaning toward the Palestinians and avoid any misreading of any contact with the Israelis, which could affect the continuity of their programmes.

Some informants mentioned that during the occupation, sometimes and at the informal level and in limited cases, NFE utilised the equipment, human resources (teachers, students and technicians) and facilities of formal education, especially those belonging to private schools (interviews 2, 10, 14 and 18). In addition, the boundaries between formal education and NFE were collapsed, sometimes, and all the educational activities became NFE. This happened, for instance, during the *Intifada* when the Israeli authority closed all formal schools, and the Palestinians, from their side, developed 'popular education' to maintain their education system, see box 6.1.

Box 6.1

Popular Education in Palestine

The Popular Education Programme began in March 1988 (during the Intifada) and lasted for about two years. It was organised through Popular Committees which began to organise neighbourhood schools. Classes were held in houses, mosques, churches, clubs and gardens, and were taught by anyone in the neighbourhood who was educated and able to volunteer time. In some cases, university or high school students taught younger pupils.

The aims were to keep alive the motivation for education among the people and to protect students, especially in the primary grades, from illiteracy. Although this kind of education has attracted approximately forty thousand participants, it faced several problems. The Israeli authority, for instance, suppressed it in May 1988 by outlawing the popular committees that organised it. Therefore, popular education had to continue under the ground. The Israeli army started raiding neighbourhood schools, partially sabotaging popular education and any Palestinian charged with membership of such a committee was subject to 10-15 years imprisonment.

Another problem related to the lack of an infrastructure. There were also questions regarding the nature of the curricula; should Popular Education establish a national curriculum far removed from the formal school curriculum or continue with the existing curriculum? Thirdly, reopening the schools at intervals for short periods broke up the pattern of this kind of education.

Popular education was a new experience. The students had the chance to experience new teaching methods in a different educational atmosphere. Many teachers were forced to improve and to become more creative. New topics were added, such as Palestinian drama and music. More time was spent talking about national and political issues.

Source: Al-zaroo 1989b, Mahshi and Bush 1989.

6.2.2 Programmes of Palestinian non-formal education

The contents of the PNFE programmes are enormously varied and cover a number of fields. These programmes provide many types of skills and knowledge, not usually provided by formal education. The PNFE programmes could be classified according to their subject as follows:

- [1] Educational programmes; like adult literacy, pre-school education, vocational education, teachers training, special education, political education, and summer camps.
- [2] Health programmes, which included health policy and awareness, nursing, midwifery, health care, preventive health, environmental awareness, professional update training for doctors, clinical supervisors rehabilitation, school health education and first aid training.
- [3] Development programmes, such as training the trainers, income generation projects, technical programmes, tourist industry, secretarial training and sewing and design.
- [4] Arts programmes, included painting, design, flower arrangement, ceramics, music, theatre, and photography.
- [5] Rural development, such as agriculture programmes, farming, food processing.
- [6] Business: management, financial management, marketing, accounting, journalism and media, counselling, statistics, executive secretary, communication.
- [7] Athletic programmes: sports activities and scouting.
- [8] Human rights and information.
- [9] Women's programmes; mainly focuses on gender consciousness.

The most important programmes in the field of education were:

- 1. Adult education** programmes devoted entirely for literacy learning. They are launched by the charitable societies under the supervision of independent, non-government and national body called: The Higher Committee for Literacy and Adult Education (established in 1978) with technical support from University of Birzeit Literacy Centre formed in 1976 (interviews 17, 27 and 28). There is incomplete data available on illiteracy and adult education in Palestine. The person in charge of Literacy Section in the MOE mentioned that in 1994 there were 24 centres (17 of them for women) for literacy in the GS which served around 700 participants. Approximately 50 centres exist in the WB.
- 2. Continuing Education** programmes tend to be primarily short-term training programmes aimed at providing community service, as well as means of income-generation. They were initiated at the very beginning by the privately-owned educational centres, and promoted in the last decades by community colleges and universities.
- 3. Special Education** programme offered to disabled people. There is lack of complete statistics about this programme; however, according to the PCBS (1995) statistics, 37 centres exist in Palestine which serve about 3000 people with disabilities.
- 4. Distance Education** programmes promoted by the establishment of the Palestinian Open University in 1991. Besides the academic programmes which focus on the Palestinian needs, there are non-academic (continuing) educational courses opened to all people regardless of their qualifications.

Some informants (interviews 5, 7, 23 and 26) stressed that whether in the field of education or in other fields, the PNFE programmes are fragmented and focus on specific objectives in limited fields without linkage between them. Most of these programmes are

only located in cities and urban areas and ignore the rural areas. The PNFE programmes differ in their duration, quality and quantity, as well as attractiveness to the providers and to the end-users. Some of them are supply-driven, while others are demand-driven (interview 22). Some informants (interviews 3, 10 and 17) stressed that most of the aforementioned programmes were initiated on a basis of estimation and feeling rather than adequate needs assessment.

Other informants (interviews 10, 14, 20 and 29) mentioned that NFE infrastructure and, in turn, its quality and quantity in the WB is better than that in the GS; and they argued that the WB's programmes have more diversity, better human and material resources, bigger providers and more beneficiaries.

6.2.3 Providers of Palestinian non-formal education

Three main bodies currently provide NFE in Palestine. These bodies are:

(1) The statutory bodies

These bodies are new and have involved in NFE more recently after the emerging of the PNA. They could be classified into two types: bodies created primarily for educational purposes, such as: the MOE which already started teacher training programmes (interview 7), the Ministry of Higher Education that set up a division to supervise the continuing education programmes in higher education institutions (interview 3), the Open University which has continuing education programmes which are not for credit (interview 21), and The National Committee for Science and Culture which tries to implement non-formal cultural and educational programmes in co-operation with international organisations e.g. UNESCO and regional organisations (interview 20).

The second type is bodies having NFE programmes as part of their activities, such as: the Ministry of Labour (vocational training programme), the Ministry of Culture, the

Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Health (hygiene, nursing, and family planning programmes), the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Social Affairs (rehabilitation of released political prisoners). These Ministries have set up special committees and bodies to address training and continuing education programmes in different aspects (interview 12). The Agency of Prisons, the police, the security organisations, and the military agencies are considered under this category.

(2) The political parties and movements

These bodies can be categorised under two main streams: the first is the national stream, including *Fatah* movement, the biggest Palestinian national movement and the holder of the power within the PNA, and other secular political and military movements which are under the umbrella of the PLO. The second stream is the Islamic movements, including the Muslim brotherhood, *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad* movements, as well as the *Hizbut-tahrir* party.

Although all these parties and movements were unlawful under the occupation, they exercised very influential NFE political programmes to their members in particular, and to the mass, in general (interviews 14, 17, 25 and 28). Two informants (interview 12 and 20) pointed out that the political educational programme for the Palestinian political prisoners in the Israeli prisons was the most sophisticated one which was carried out by those political parties and movements.

Taraki (1997) refers to the role political organisations played in social and political mobilisation of the Palestinian society when she stressed that the various political formations were successful in mobilising wide sections of the society for political action, and maintained almost complete hegemony over political life. She added (p15):

‘[this organisation] *began the process of unhinging politics from its narrow local base and creating an environment where individuals from different regions and social background could come together and forge a national-level movement*’.

(3) Non-government organisations (NGOs)

NGOs were spread widely in Palestine during the occupation era and were very active in providing services to the people due to the absence of a national state. In 1995 about 130 European and over 40 North American NGOs, in addition to international agencies, were working in Palestine (Farraj 1995), among about 756 local NGOs (see table 6.1). Both the local and the international NGOs are working in different sectors in addition to education, such as: health, social services, agriculture and so on.

Table 6.1
Distribution of NGOs services by sector and region

Sector	West Bank		Gaza Strip		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture	31	74	11	26	42	100
Health	56	74	20	26	76	100
Industry	6	86	1	14	7	100
Education	81	75	27	25	108	100
Rehabilitation	19	63	11	37	30	100
Social services	99	71	41	29	140	100
Women	119	82	26	18	145	100
Research	51	89	6	11	57	100
Training	10	67	5	33	15	100
Environment	3	50	3	50	6	100
Culture	49	71	20	29	69	100
Human Rights	17	94	1	6	18	100
Media	1	50	1	50	2	100
Loans and support	6	50	6	50	12	100
Development	2	50	2	50	4	100
Housing	3	75	1	25	4	100
Individual relief	10	83	2	17	12	100
Economic	1	50	1	50	2	100
Production	4	100		0	4	100
Counselling	2	67	1	33	3	100
Total	570	75	186	25%	756	100

Source: the table was derived from: Ayed 1998:33.

The NGOs, both local and foreign, were the main initiators of PNFE. The foreign institutions used to fund the local organisations to implement projects. More recently foreign institutions have developed a pattern to encourage a 'partnership' or 'co-operation' with local institutions (interview 25). During the occupation era, foreign NGOs provided funds for NFE, but they were not the only source of funds, other sources provided considerable funds, such as foreign and Arab states, United Nations agencies, the PLO, regional agencies and Palestinian society itself. The major funders in the new era are: international aid, including the United Nations funds, the PNA and the community itself (interview 20).

The remainder of this section will be devoted to classifying these NGOs and exploring their role in providing PNFE. The focus on NGOs only is because of the internal characteristics of each of the other providers. The government bodies, for instance, are in their infancy stage and their activities have not yet settled down. Some of these activities are in the planning phase and others have just started, so it is too early to evaluate them. The role of political parties and movements in promoting NFE needs an independent study.

Further, during the occupation era, the NGOs were the agencies which addressed the bulk of the civic services particularly NFE (Munro 1992), and despite the emergence of the PNA, they still hold a significant share. For instance, by the mid 1990s, NGOs provided up to 60 per cent of primary health care services, 50 per cent of hospital care, 100 per cent of disability care, nearly 100 per cent of all agriculture extension, training and research, and 30 per cent of education services (Sullivan 1996: 94).

Nevertheless, NGOs as providers of NFE are of two types: The first, NGOs which have educational programmes as part of their activities and goals or have some educational objectives. Those NGOs were categorised under the term 'indirect

institutions'. The second type is NGOs established primarily and explicitly to provide NFE, those institutions were categorised in this research under the term 'direct institutions'(Al-zaroo 1995).

6.2.3.1 The indirect institutions:

These institutions were not overtly established for NFE; however, their goals and activities imply NFE, or the special circumstances in Palestine push them to address explicitly NFE activities. These institutions are classified in five categories: educational institutions; women's institutions; religious institutions; athletic institutions; and charitable societies. The following pages will outline their activities.

(1) Educational institutions

These institutions included all universities, colleges, kindergartens, research centres and teachers' unions which launch a variation of NFE programme. Furthermore, since the beginning of the 1990s there was a tendency among the universities to establish continuing education departments for implementation of specific programmes for and within the community (interviews 9 and 25). According to the MOHE, 103 different university-based continuing education programmes were in existence in 1996/97 (MOHE 1997: 14). These programmes are provided by all the universities except Hebron University, which has no such a programme yet (see table 6.2). Not surprisingly, then, the Israeli authority made continuous attempts to isolate institutions of higher education, and obstruct their efforts to develop community education which could strengthen the links between the universities and the community as mentioned in chapter 4.

Table 6.2

University-based continuing education programmes

Name of the university	Birzeit Univ.	Al-Najah Univ.	Islamic Univ.	Al-Azhar Univ.	Bethlehem Univ.	Hebron polytechnic
Course list						
Computer	15	6	33	45	-	26
Languages	2	3	10	4	-	26
Management	41	7	2	3	-	6
Technical training	11	4	-	-	-	37
Counselling	1	2	-	-	-	-
Executive secretary	-	1	1	-	-	-
Special education	-	2	-	-	5	-
Teacher training	-	-	2	-	16	-
Journalism and mass communication	1	-	1	1	-	-
Miscellaneous	4	4	19	20	6	8
Total	75	29	68	73	27	103

Source: MOHE 1997.

Pre-school education is also a vital field of PNFE. As a result of the absence of this kind of education in the government (except in Jerusalem) and UNRWA schools, pre-school services were run by community institutions, such as Palestinian owned business, charitable societies, religious institutions, women's committees, municipalities and foreign NGOs (interview 25).

(2) Women's institutions

Women's institutions form about 30 per cent of all NGOs. They include charitable societies, women's committees, centres and clubs. After the WB and the GS fell under Israeli occupation in 1967, women's institutions began to adopt new roles based on the emerging needs of changing times. This was reflected in the adaptation of literacy programmes and vocational training programmes. However, these activities remained limited, fragmented and were mostly located in cities (interviews 24 and 25).

Another advanced step in the development of the women's activities occurred in 1978 when Women's Work Committees were created at Rammallah city to serve their

community socially and politically. They adopted a feminist perspective, rejecting for example, the strategy of recruiting women by offering them in-kind items (Mani 1991).

There are six such committees affiliated to particular political parties within the national movement (PLO) and they have branches in all cities, villages and refugee camps with thousands of women members involved in various programmes, such as income generating programme, health education, child care, literacy classes, employment rights, gender issues, counselling services and kindergarten activities (Giacaman 1989).

Through these branches, the women's committees not only own and run more than 60 per cent of the kindergartens in Palestine, but also play a crucial role in confronting the illiteracy, poverty, economic dependency, the limited interest of women that result from all this and their general low social status (interview 25).

Behind these committees lies, as Hammami (1995) notes, a systematic, elaborate, rational policy aimed at the creation of a mass women's movement that will mobilise women politically and direct them towards active participation in both the women's struggle and the national liberation.

(3) Religious institutions

Religious institutions are very active in Palestinian society. The mosque is the main institution for Muslim people who often receive advice and instructions about their daily life and problems. In the mosques people also receive education without restrictions or interference from any governing authority. Any Muslim can speak out in the mosque or give a lecture about religious issues and other subjects.

In addition to religious instructions, that have been always against the occupation, there have been many other forms of NFE within the mosque. For example, every mosque has its own wall magazine, to which anyone can contribute. There are courses in religious science, Arabic and foreign languages, women's issues, sports and social

activities held in the main mosques. Furthermore, every religious political group has its own groups, literature and activities inside the main mosques.

The church played a similar role, for instance, after the break out of the Intifada, when the Israeli authority closed all Palestinian education institutions, the Palestinians started looking for other alternatives to resume the schooling and learning process and many times mosques and churches were schools and education centres (interview 2).

(4) Athletics institutions

More than 300 sports clubs exist in Palestine. After the outbreak of the Intifada, these clubs developed educational and cultural activities in co-operation with local institutions and municipalities. Summer camps for youth were one of their distinguishing activities. These camps were funded by foreign and local institutions, such as UNICEF, YMCA, women's committees and the clubs themselves (interviews 2, 15 and 24). By taking part in these camps the youth have had an opportunity to obtain learning for a national identity, information about their land, nation, history, culture and the most important national figures in the past and present (interview 24).

(5) Charitable societies and unions

Charitable societies and labour unions played a crucial role in fulfilling the basic needs of the population living under occupation. These institutions provided public services, so their activities covered all aspects of social life: health, child care, special education, nutrition, family and gender issues, agriculture, co-operative labour and many other services (interview 14). Launching literacy programmes were other NFE programmes made by these institutions. There are 130 literacy centres belonging to these institutions in Palestine (interview 28).

6.2.3.2 The direct institutions:

These institutions were established specifically to provide NFE activities for a different group of the population both adults and children. Table 6.3 presents the most popular of these institutions.

Table 6.3

The main direct PNFE institutions in the field of education

No.	Title	Date of Establishment	Location	Activity
1	University Graduates Union	1953	Hebron	Culture and Education
2	Arabic Studies Society	1975	Jerusalem	Research and Culture
3	Early Childhood Resource Centre	1985	Jerusalem	Resource Development
4	Tamer Institute	1989	Rammallah	Research and Education
5	Continuing Education Dep.	1989	Hebron	Education and Development
6	Continuing Education Dep.	1991	Rammallah	Education and Development
7	Care and Learning Centre	1988	Jenin	Child Development
8	Centre for Applied Research	1990	Jerusalem	Education and Research
9	The Educational Network	1989	Rammallah	Networking and Resource
10	Early Childhood Programmes	1993	Gaza	Educational Resource
11	Leisure and Remedial Activities Centre	1992	Khan Yunis	Education Development
12	Teacher Development Centre	1991	Rammallah	Networking and Resource

Source: Al-zaroo 1995.

Two facts appear clearly from the table. The first is that all but three of these institutions were established after the breakout of the *Intifada* in 1987. The second is that they are located in the middle of the WB (Jerusalem and Rammallah). These two phenomena were because the international solidarity with the Palestinians during the *Intifada* was translated into financial support which encouraged establishing new institutions. The new establishment of these institutions represented part of the effort to solving the major educational problems that arose during the *Intifada* and the Israeli oppression against formal education (interview 15).

In addition, instead of the military rules that apply in the rest of Palestine, the Israeli civil law is the valid one in Jerusalem and it is more flexible in dealing with NGOs than the rigid military rules (interview 3). Some of these institutions intended to be located in Jerusalem which represents the centre of the events because they were initiated by political groups who want to draw attention to their activities. Therefore, in 1995, it was estimated that 40 percent of the total NGOs are concentrated in the middle of the WB (Rammallah - Jerusalem) which is considered the most advantaged Palestinian district in terms of living standard and infrastructure, while only 18.5 per cent of them are in the GS which is the worst Palestinian area in terms of living conditions (Sullivan 1996).

6.2.3.3 Comparisons

Looking at the direct and indirect institutions in comparative perspective, it could be argued that the latter represented the message of the PNFE better than the direct institutions. Many reasons might explain this phenomenon. Most of the direct institutions emerged to face the shortcomings of formal education. However, by focusing on resolving educational problems, some of these institutions' activities became similar to the formal education system rather than NFE. Further, programmes of the direct institutions seem to be oriented towards individuals with some formal educational background. The main target groups for them were students, teachers and women, while indirect institutions served both the literate and the illiterates.

Besides, programmes of the direct institutions reflect a narrow outlook. They focus, mainly, on the education sector while other sectors (population, health and agriculture) have been neglected. By contrast, the NFE activities in the indirect institutions reach many social sectors and are not limited to the education sector only. Moreover, a lot of the direct institutions were top-down, initiated by policy makers and reflect special interests or policies. Thus, their relationship with the socio-economic and cultural

context in which they are situated is not always clearly perceived. By contrast, most of the indirect institutions were bottom-up, emerged from popular activity.

Finally, neither 'direct institutions' nor 'indirect institutions' have tried to tackle, directly and seriously, the problem of exclusion from formal school education. The informants pointed to some reasons for this phenomenon:

- (1) this problem did not appear clearly on the surface because its size and dimensions have not been noted adequately (interview 5);
- (2) tackling this problem needs national and comprehensive efforts and resources which were beyond the capacity of NFE's institutions (interviews 3 and 10);
- (3) the separation and isolation between the sexes, the WB and the GS, the rural and the urban areas, contribute to this phenomenon, because each side of those does not know what exactly is going on in the other side (interview 27). The weakness of the research movement in Palestine contributes to this lack of proper information and communication (interview 9).

6.2.4 Approaches

An examination of the PNFE institutions, programmes and practices indicates that the PNFE education was under the influence of three different ideological approaches: the traditional, the human capital and the Freirean approach. Neither the traditional nor the human capital approach has been theorised yet in the Palestinian context, while the Freirean approach has a clearer theoretical base. It is difficult to talk about thinkers in both of the first two approaches, because the traditional approach emerged from practices and programmes of NFE, while the human capital approach has emerged under the influence of the donor agencies. The next pages are an attempt to present theoretical clarification to these three approaches.

6.2.4.1 The traditional approach

Most 'indirect institutions' have been influenced by the traditional approach which is synonymous to the liberal pragmatic approach outlined in chapter 2. The traditional approach emerged from the grassroots of the indigenous culture and tradition. Palestinians value education highly. The deep feeling of the importance of education did not only come from their miserable circumstances in this century, and their will to promote social and economical development, but also from their traditions and beliefs (interviews 1, 12 and 13). The majority of Palestinians observe the Islamic faith, and Islam, as Al-rawi (1993) points out, encourages education and knowledge. Therefore, the roots of this approach go back to the pre-occupation era.

The PNFE in this approach aims at achieving 'personal' change and 'modernisation' through education. This approach accepts the existing socio-economic structure and poses no challenge to the *status quo*. The focus is on the transmission of skills and not the structure of the society, thus, the traditional oriented institutes believe in reform rather than radical change. This 'unrevolutionary' piecemeal strategy might be one of the reasons which explain why the majority of traditional institutions resumed their work under the occupation (interview 31).

This approach did not threaten formal education. On the contrary, it views the PNFE as complementary and supplementary to formal education, and sees formal education as a crucial and inevitable instrument for learning. This approach has tried to reform and back formal education through two main instruments: human resource development and infrastructure development. Although this approach confirms the linkage between the expanding of education and social mobilisation, it views education as a right of the people rather than a tool for economic growth, which could be justified

on the basis of economic return, hence the person-oriented change is addressed in this approach as the primary focus of change.

As the traditional oriented institutions depend heavily on voluntary participants and charity work (interview 28), the lack of professionalism is considered one of the main problems of this approach (interview 21). Ignoring the economic feasibility of education constitutes another problem. The over-emphasise on developing educational infrastructure, such as schools and centres is a third problem. This focus, as an informant (interview 2) put it, *'led many people to believe that physical structure was all that they needed to promote education and modernisation'*.

6.2.4.2 The human capital approach

Many local NGOs were influenced by this approach which flourished in the last two decades (interview 16). This approach has been supported by foreign NGOs and international agencies that were under the influence of the World Bank and Coombs' writings about education and development. The aim of the PNFE here is to promote economic and social development, enhancing the labour productivity and building institutional capacities which could be achieved through human resource development. Training is perceived as the main instrument to achieve the 'vocationalisation' needed to increase individuals' income and, in turn, national economic growth.

Like the traditional approach, this approach perceives the PNFE as complementary and supplementary to formal education. It gave important progress to the PNFE by pushing it from popular, disorganised activities toward institutionalisation and professionalism. Some charity-based activities are the best examples that match this change. These activities were launched through volunteer people or in the best circumstances through popular committees. However, later on and under the influence of

this approach, these activities have been institutionalised and become subject to regulations and specific policies (interview 17).

Moreover, this approach draws the Palestinians' attention to the relationship between education and economic variables. Palestinians had not given attention to this relationship in the past. Although it is true that they focused on education in the 1960s and the 1970s as a result of the huge demand for employees in the Gulf States, they also pursued education in the 1980s and the 1990s in spite of the high rate of unemployment because they have nothing to lose, or, as one of the informants (interview 4) put it, *'they realised that keeping their children busy in education is better than leaving them hanging around in the streets'*.

Obviously, the relationship between education and economics exists in all societies and Palestinian society is no exception, but Palestinians ignored or overlooked this relationship. They invested resources in education voluntarily and without expecting any direct economic return. This might happen because Palestinians value education highly. For them education is a 'good' thing *per se* (interview 13). Another explanation is that Palestinians have never fully funded their own education system. Usually, the contribution of local funds is very little. The governmental education is often funded by the dominant authority. The UNRWA education is funded by the United Nations. Even private and higher education depends heavily on external aid.

The main funding for the PNA comes from multilateral and international aid, particularly from the World Bank whose operation accounts for about a quarter of all post-Oslo donor assistance (interview 12). No wonder, then, that the human capital approach has flourished after the emergence of the PNA. Through this approach, the international aid system maintains its role as one of the main determinants of the nature of the Palestinian plans for reconstruction and development. This creates a dependency

relationship on the donors (interviews 17 and 31), and is considered one of the problems of this approach.

This approach emphasises the content-centred methods in which specific knowledge is identified by specialists and transferred to learners so as to facilitate the adaptation of new practices. However, this top-down communication constitutes another problem of this approach because such an authoritarian interaction narrows the participation and the role of the beneficiaries (Nakhleh 1989). Bureaucracy is a third problem, it is embedded overtly in this approach because of the variety of those with a stake in different aspects of the process, such as the donors, the brokers, the providers, and the intended beneficiaries. This multi-polarity makes the procedures complicated and too long and affects the credibility of both the donors and the local NGOs. Box 6.2 presents a case from my own experience as an example to support this claim.

Box 6. 2

Hebron training centre for shoe-making

After six months of preparation, a proposal to establish a training centre for shoe-making was submitted to the European Union by a local NGO called *Nafid* in East Jerusalem. Fifteen months later, the proposal was accepted. As the project prepared to be implemented in Hebron district and for many other reasons, a co-operation agreement regarding implementation stage has been signed between *Nafid* and my organisation in Hebron (the University Graduates Union: UGU) in 1994. As a consequence, I became one of UGU representatives on the executive committee which supervised the project. The Committee fulfilled all the requirements stated in the terms of reference to start the project (renting a suitable building, buying furniture, hiring staff, and even choosing the students). This took another six months. The only missing element was the equipment which was supposed to arrive from Italy in the summer of 1994. In this expectation the Committee decided to start the project formally in September 1994. However, I left Hebron before that date. When I went to do my field work, I revisited the centre in September 1996. I found that the equipment, for bureaucratic reasons, had not yet arrived.

6.2.4.3 The Freirean approach

This approach is encouraged by Palestinian politicians, political parties and movements, more than by educators. It is influenced by revolutionary and national resistance themes and movements in Africa and Latin America, including the works of Freire (1970, 1985 and 1987). It focuses on the politicisation of the Palestinian society and education for liberation. Through this approach new ways for defying rather than accepting the *status quo* emerged. For this approach, the real change can emerge only by changing the socio-economic and political oppressive structure, including the formal education system which maintains the interest of the dominant powers.

The aim of the PNFE here is to develop individual and collective awareness so as to achieve emancipation by using educational resources and activities for organising and mobilising the population to challenge the occupier and confront its policies. The Palestinian Women's Committees, the political education provided by the political movements and parties and the education in prisons (see box 6.3) are the best instances of this approach.

This approach makes a distinction between learning and schooling and argues that learning takes place outside schools as well, and, thus, emphasises the importance of popular NFE activity. This argument gave this approach flexibility to adjust and to continue its activities even in emergency situations, for instance, this approach was influential in launching and supporting 'Popular Education' which spread widely when Israel closed all the Palestinian schools during the *Intifada* for many years (see box 6.1).

Box 6.3

Non-formal education for Palestinians in Israeli prisons

This programme was implemented in spite of the strong Israeli objection. Israel in the early years of occupation banned Palestinian prisoners from use of the pencil and paper. Only after very long, hard and deadly hunger strikes did the prisoners win the battle and became gradually able to have pen, pencils, papers, books and newspapers as well as receive a certain amount of carefully censored radio broadcasting.

As a consequence, the prisoners established a library in every prison and used to organise literacy classes, languages' courses, awareness-raising sessions, political discourse and orientation workshops, as well as classes for the young prisoners to prepare them for Secondary General Examination. Furthermore, the prisoners succeeded in building a manual information system network to exchange information between the rooms and between prisons and their families and political leadership outside the prisons and in exile (interviews 10, 12, 18 and 28).

According to this approach, the PNFE could be a rational alternative to formal education. For its advocates, there is no need even to waste time on formal education because it is unreformable; even if formal education has no problem, it is still useless and hopeless because it reflects the views of the elite. While Freire is considered the most popular philosopher who advocates this approach, *Munir Fasheh* in Palestine is the only thinker who has tried to theorise it in accordance with the Palestinian context. Therefore, to obtain a better understanding of this approach, it is important to outline Fasheh's main themes as he expressed them during the interview, as well as in his published works.

By profession, Fasheh is a Palestinian educator who has worked for more than three decades in both formal education and NFE. He has been a maths and science teacher at elementary, secondary and college levels. He was dean of students at Birzeit University,

head supervisor of maths instruction in WB's schools. Today (1997) he is the co-director of Tamer Institute for Community Education. This long experience convinced him that formal education provides no 'learning', he(1995: 68) writes:

'In my thirty years of experience in various Palestinian educational settings, I have often seen superficial and symbolic improvement that disguises real deterioration underneath. Palestinian students acquire diplomas but no learning abilities. They learn textbook theories but not the ability to construct their own explanations of experiences and phenomena. Schools encourage ready-made solutions and discourage experimentation and innovative ideas. Palestinians build universities that lack good libraries and that impede students' development of the abilities to express, organise, and produce knowledge; and they build structures and organisations that lack community bonding and community spirit. Enacting visible, but often merely symbolic, improvement without deeper and long lasting change deceive people and blind them from seeing the opportunities that are being lost, as well as what could and should be done instead. Palestinians need to create alternatives in their minds and in their practice to deal with current challenges and the increasing demand on formal education'.

As a result, Fasheh realises that Palestinian formal education is hopeless and wasteful. When he was asked during the interview what are the most important five problems confronting formal education at the present, he replied: *'the formal education itself is the problem'*(interview 8). He insists that schools severely limit the people's imagination and sense of possibilities in the field of education and learning. Schools almost completely monopolise the resources allotted to education and learning. Moreover, as he adds:

'Many, under the drug of schooling, have forgotten that conversation, walking, reading, writing, playing, and doing are some of the most wonderful ways of learning. Most of us cannot think of an alternative to an extremely horrible, wasteful, rigid, and ineffective twelve year system in school'.

The main theme in his arguments that there is no real learning environment (means to learn) in formal education. But, what does learning environment mean? According to him, it means the interaction of six elements, which are: (1) acquiring the ability to express personal experiences and observed phenomena; (2) expressing and working within groups or teams; (3) building within such teams an understanding of what is happening: in other words, seeing the whole picture; (4) having access to relevant information and developing the ability to generate, acquire, and manage information; (5) formulating a common vision; (6) becoming aware of thinking patterns that control our behaviour and our perceptions; patterns which often hinder learning.

Like Freire, Fasheh believes that education can do one of two things: it can either introduce hegemony into the community, or it can reclaim and develop what has been made invisible by hegemony through NFE, or in 'community education' as he prefers to call it. So, a real learning environment (means to learn) exists in community education, rather than in formal education.

Palestinian formal education in Fasheh's thinking is linked with a plethora of negative adjectives. It is horrible, rigid, dry, alien, fixed, standardised, centralised, wasteful, ineffective, irrelevant to both students and teachers, pre-packaged, stressed rote learning, and is an expression of laziness. He argues that formal education neglects the 'means to learn' because they are less visible than those skills traditionally taught in schools. In addition, they require more time, patience, efforts, and creativity, as well as a different perception and a different set of skills, and none of these elements are available

in formal education, which considers people as problems, receivers, and stresses results and tackles the visible (Fasheh 1990:20-21).

Moreover, formal education is part of the colonial hegemonic context. It is a hegemonic education and reflects the manners and interests of the invaders and their culture. This alienates the indigenous population from their own culture, history and people. Such an education produces intellectuals who have lost their power base in their own culture and society and who have been provided with a foreign culture and ideology, but without a power base in the hegemonic society. These intellectuals tend to sharply overvalue symbolic power and tokens, such as titles, degrees, access to prestigious institutions, and awards associated with the dominant culture (Fasheh 1990).

'There are serious flaws in the design of formal education. It is like having serious flaws in the design of a bridge and it could collapse any minute. In some places, it is already collapsing. Why don't we learn from the errors and try to build a different design, a different vision?'

For him the 'different design' means community education which links expression to thought and action with the aim of building a viable community. Community education has special characteristics. For instance, it takes place at the visible and the invisible levels. The theme 'visible-invisible' is one of the strong arguments that Fasheh used to justify the necessity of community education in lieu of formal education. He argues that education takes place at two levels: the visible (schools, teacher, curricula, etc.) and the invisible which is the process of learning itself.

He notes that much of the efforts to reform Palestinian education have focused on the visible level (building schools , recruiting teachers), all of these efforts are important, but it will not work without investing in the more fundamental invisible level (the human and cultural level). This is precisely what he means when he considered 'having a vision'

as the sixth elements of the learning process, *'being a visionary does not mean seeing something in the distant future but, rather, seeing something that is there but made invisible'*.

In community education, people are the solution and not the problem. Under the present conditions, where Palestinians are denied control over their natural resources and offered only loans for survival from the World Bank, Fasheh believes that the only hope for Palestinian people lies in the investment in the invisible, that is the human treasure (mainly children and youth) and the cultural treasure:

'cultural products and cultural producers should and could be the basis of our economy. We have almost all the ingredients necessary to excel in this type of production: a common language, common history and culture, common land, common needs and realities and a common destiny. Such products and producers are much harder to destroy, they are built on what we have, and they do not produce a spiral increase of debt. Moreover, they are a natural accompaniment of learning environments'.

He stresses that Palestinians have not only to end the occupation of their land, but also the occupation of their minds through their daily practices: in their conversations, dialogues, activities, cultural expression, and cultural product. If Palestinians do not produce culturally, they will end up being dependants and disintegrated:

'Ending the occupation of our minds means rediscovering ourselves, our voices, and the internal strength in our people and our communities. It means seeing the value of our experiences and our culture. It means ending fragmentation, factionalism, culture dependency, and competing with one another over small and symbolic gains. It means to feel happy and proud of being Arabs, disregarding the racist and poisonous messages that the Western

TV, journalists, academicians, and experts try to spread around the world against Arabs and Muslims. It also means defining ourselves as Palestinians, as Arabs, and not as underdeveloped or as developing’.

However, Fasheh notes that a crucial ingredient is missing from Palestinian society and it is essential to community building, that is learning, or in other words, acquiring the means to learn, communicate, build, and produce which cannot be achieved without exercising the six elements of ‘means of learning’ which was mentioned previously. Thus, developing the human resource should be the main concern and focus of the Palestinian thought and action. The foundation for developing this resource lies in community building, and the foundation of community building lies in community education which cannot take place without community action (Fasheh 1995: 69).

As in education, community building takes place at both visible (building physical organisation and bringing in technology) and invisible levels (human level and institutional development level). Institutional development in Fasheh’s thinking refers to developing an environment that is conducive to learning, commitment, and taking initiative, and it includes the development of participants’ ability to deal with interpersonal problems.

‘As educators, we have to look at ourselves as visionaries, designers and builders rather than only as planners, implementators, and analysers. We have to introduce words like wisdom, spirituality, love and care rather than only measurements, assessment, evaluation, and curricula. We have a big role and responsibility, but we can only do it collectively’.

Building at ‘invisible levels’ is only possible by providing the learning environment with its six elements as it is explained above. And as these elements are strongly connected to language, thought, social organisation, and values, the centrality of culture

and cultural production in community building are both obvious and crucial (Fasheh 1995).

In community education, people are creators and not receivers. Community building means developing an institution's environment and individuals' capacities. An integral part of community building at the invisible level is the 'cultural product' which serves as a source of economic return and can also inspire feeling of self-worth, both at the individual and national levels. Such products may take the form of articles, books, drawings, songs or plays, ideas, methodologies or theories; reading club or discussion groups (Fasheh 1995).

In community education the focus on the 'means of learning' rather than on 'rights' or the 'results' of acquiring the means to learn, is much more basic than acquiring ready-made knowledge and technical know-how. The first belongs to the invisible level, the second to the visible level. In other words, acquiring the means to learn is more important and more fundamental than acquiring the right to education. If people have the right to express themselves, that does not necessarily mean that they have the ability to do so. But, people with the ability to express themselves will find a way to communicate their ideas (Fasheh 1995).

Those are the basic characteristics of 'Fasheh's theory'. Before ending the discussion about it, it might be worthwhile to refer to two problematic issues in Fasheh's theme. By focusing on the invisible side, Fasheh's argument emphasises the necessity of a specific level of awareness which could not be available or obtainable to the mass of the people who are supposed to be involved in the community building.

Even Fasheh himself fell spontaneously in this contradiction, twice: once in his personal life and another in his work experience. A Palestinian himself, he was a product of 'aristocratic' and 'prestigious' formal education. He attended private Christian schools

in Palestine, and went to the American University in Beirut (one of the best in the region at that time), before going to Harvard University for his doctorate research.

To put his ideas into practice, in his work experience, Fasheh created the Tamir Institute for Community Education. Within just a couple of years, Fasheh witnessed his institution fall into the hands of external fund agencies to avoid imminent closing. On the other hand, Fasheh's 'revolutionary' approach is utopian. It is ignoring the role and the reaction of the state and the hegemonic powers inside and outside the community. Fasheh's perspective needs to be implemented on a free landscape without restriction. He assumes that people can do whatever, wherever, and whenever they want to do without any interference or interruption from the state.

This assumption is neither true in the Palestinian case, nor in the most of the world, nor. Palestinian people, nowadays, live at least under triple solid control systems. They live under the control of the PNA who might have dissenting views from those of the mass of the people. They live under Israeli control which still holds more than 97 per cent of the Palestinian land and dislikes seeing the people become independent. Overall, there is the World Bank authority and the Western hegemonic policies which also stand against any trends towards real independence. In all, Fasheh presents a strong theoretical approach and a vision of a 'learning society'. However, in practice this approach, using Fasheh expressions, does not see 'the whole picture' or the whole 'invisible reality' at least in the case of Palestine.

6. 2.4.4 Comparisons

While making comparisons between these three approaches, it should be mentioned that the traditional approach is the oldest, the most popular and the most influential. It existed in the period before the Israeli occupation. The other approaches became influential during the occupation. The traditional and Freirean oriented projects are

‘bottom-up’, initiated by grass-root activities and then institutionalised. The human capital approach is generally ‘top-down’, initiated by institutions under the influence of external aid and the private sector. The main difference between the traditional approach and the Freirean approach is that the former is reformist and focuses on the development of the individual. The latter is revolutionary and focuses on collective work.

Most of the traditionally oriented projects did not reflect any factionalism, nor did they reflect any kind of sectarianism. Although there were many religious institutions, they only focused on charity works to serve the community. While in the last two decades, under the influence of the human capital approach, a wave of national and factional institutions have been established.

The traditionally oriented institutions depended, mainly, on local resources. Therefore, they are financially more secure than other types of institution. In contrast, the human capital oriented institutions are less secure in the long term than the institutions using other approaches. Such institutions have been always under the pressure of political developments and the changing of the donors' policies, as well as short-term funding,

Six informants (interviews 3,10, 16, 17, 25 and 30) emphasised that activities of most traditional institutions, despite the lack of funds, were more sustainable and influential than activities of most ‘direct institutions’ (the human capital oriented institutions) despite the huge amount of funds these institutions received. Furthermore, some institutions which are oriented to the human capital approach lack sensitivity to the indigenous culture and demand. They are driven by donor policies rather than by the community needs and changes in policy can lead to large-scale shifts in support, with severe results. The following are two examples: one from my experience in the education sector (box 6.4), while the another is drawn from the health sector (box 6.5).

Box 6.4

Continuing education in the West Bank

In mid 1991 I was in charge of the Continuing Education Department (CED) in the Hebron district. As a Director of the Department, I received informal positive signs from the AMIDST [an American broker based in Jerusalem and working in Education since 1980 with funds from the United State Agency for International Development (USAID)] which encouraged me to submit a proposal asking for aid to back the Department and its activities.

I spent six months in preparing the proposal and only after an additional eight months, was I informed that USAID decided to send three consultants in August 1992 to assess *'the need for and feasibility of establishing a programme in continuing education in the West Bank'*. After the visit of the consultants, I was informed that USAID had allocated five million dollars for the next three years to support three continuing education departments. One in the north, one in the centre, and my CED at the southern end of the WB. Tentative budgets (\$250,000 each) had been allocated for infrastructure and capacity building in the short-term.

After signing the agreement, the programme formally started in my CED in 1993. It included: moving the Department to a new and bigger building, refurbishment, employing additional staff, purchasing new equipment and computers, receiving additional expatriate consultants twice, training for trainers, and providing books and written materials. USAID paid the cost of all these activities which exceeded \$120,000.

However, in 1994 (about a year after starting the programme and without any previous notice) I was informed through the Director of AMIDST that due to the current political changes in Palestine, USAID had decided to cancel the project totally and shift the rest of the funds to support the municipalities' sector.

Box 6.5

Rehabilitation of the health care system in Palestine

In 1994 USAID allotted \$23 million towards the rehabilitation of the health care system in Palestine. This project was welcomed by people, but suddenly, in 1995 USAID decided unilaterally to cancel the project and channel its grant towards building industrial border zones. These zones are not yet on the Palestinian agenda. They will just allow Israel to continue employing Palestinian wage labour under subhuman conditions for low rates of pay.

Source: Giacaman 1995: 56.

Such donor-led and mis-applied policies, as well as other operational factors, were the main reasons for the failure of some projects and programmes which were influenced by the human capital approach, (see box 6.6).

Box 6.6

Income generating projects for Palestinian women

One of the main activities of women's organisations has revolved around income generating projects. These projects have been supported in order to integrate Palestinian women into economic development. After evaluating 15 of these programmes in the north WB, it is discovered that over 80 per cent of these projects have failed to survive and closed down after a short period of their establishment because they ignored the gender, social and political contexts.

Source: Hamdan 1993.

The relationship between the Freirean oriented institutions and other institutions which were oriented towards the other two approaches, was strong during the occupation era. This might have happened owing to the PLO's policies which supported the Freirean approach, because it had the potential to promote nationalism and liberation, and, at the same time, encouraged foreign NGOs and international funding to support

local institutions. This relationship might be changed during the new era. However, this depends on the PNA -PNFE relationship.

The relationship between the traditional oriented institutions and the human capital oriented institutions was generally cold. The traditionally oriented institutions were suspicious about the real goals of the foreign funding agencies. They thought that these agencies had other political agendas, and notes that they just paid lip service to the promotion of educational development. In practice, the three approaches work separately in some cases and co-operatively in others. Many institutions were at the same time under the influence of these three approaches to varying degrees. Few institutions have succeeded in striking a balance among them.

Finally, after the emergence of the PNA, and as the Palestinian society becomes more and more dependent on external aid, the influence of the human capital oriented institutions has increased, while the influence of the traditional approach has declined because of lack of funds and the shift of some of its programmes to the PNA responsibility. Similarly, schemes to assist on the Freirean approach declined as a result of the increasing focus on the 'visible' components as an excuse to build a 'proper infrastructure for development'.

6.2.5 Problems

The PNFE has experienced many difficulties and problems. This section will explore some of them. For instance, the fact that some of the PNFE institutions depend on part-time, unpaid, volunteer instructors without formal qualifications, was recognised as one of the great advantages of the PNFE (interviews 1, 22 and 23). However, it must be admitted that the use of this resource was not without problems. There were questions not only about the reliability of the providers in terms of their commitment, eligibility,

and standard of professionalism, but also about the nature of the programmes themselves in terms of their quality, relevance and cost-effectiveness (interviews 2 and 12).

Even before programmes begin, there is a problem of identifying the needs of the target population. A certain number of programmes are organised mainly on the basis of informal estimation rather than of a survey of needs. This is, particularly, in the case of projects implemented or funded by foreign NGOs (interviews 3, 10 and 17). The design phase of most of these programmes is carried without input from the people themselves (interview 24) and sometimes against their wishes (see box 6.7).

Box 6.7

Women's business centre in Askar camp

In a workshop sponsored by UNRWA to study the possibility of a women's business centre in Askar Refugee Camp (north of the WB), camp women were adamantly against such a project. They questioned the UNRWA's motives in shifting emphasis from 'aiding' camp refugees to being involved in commercial centres outside the camp. For this and other reasons, Askar women responded negatively to establishing such a centre and decided not to vote or to take part in any preparatory committee to oversee it. Ironically; however, the organisers, instead of respecting the women's decision, decided to go ahead with a pre designed project, despite the fact that the majority of women voted that there shouldn't be a centre. In a move to justify their decision, the organisers wrote: *'It was pointed out to the meeting that they [the women] had simply voted on their own involvement/ representation in the centre and that the centre would be progressing in any event'*.

Source: Abdo 1995: 41.

The 'direct institutions' have additional problems. Few of them are able to expand their activities to the rural areas or to the GS where more than one million Palestinians live in miserable conditions. Some of these institutions were untouched by the needs of the population at large, and in term of education, they only paid a lip service to them.

Most of these institutions have focused on preparing project proposals, and running after funding. This, as Arthur and Preston (1996) point out, seems to be a universal phenomenon for most donor-led institutions. Instead of asking what do people need? They ask according to what criteria do funding agencies make awards? Then, they adjust their priorities so as to be eligible for the funding.

It is no wonder then that some of the funding agencies have had great influence over some PNFE institutions. In this way, such agencies interfered in the basic policy of local institutions. Through their charity mentality, they contribute directly to the dominance of dependency culture in Palestine, which comes to expect such agencies to finance local institutions. Therefore, people became watchers, receivers and consumers, rather than builders, actors and participants (interview 8).

Many other problems hindered the PNFE activities. Several informants, for instance, pointed out many current constraints, as indicated below in table 7.2 in chapter 7. This has led to fragmentation and duplication of many programmes. For instance, a recent unpublished study conducted by the MOHE (1997: 27) noted that:

'Continuing education programmes initiated by universities and colleges seem to manifest a very high degree of duplication, and they do not fit with any co-ordinated plan, with clear and measurable objectives. They tend to be funder-driven; and they reflect what the administrators of these programme perceive to be the market demand for the proposed training. As of yet, no comprehensive assessment of the impact of these programmes exists'.

Evaluations of the long term impact of the PNFE programmes are rarely carried out. Clearly, the lack of evaluation as well as critical reassessment of these programmes hinder their improvement and lead to a constant repetition of the same errors. It might be

useful to know why so few evaluations are undertaken. It seems that trainers are not prepared to do evaluations, sponsors have no interest in long-term evaluation and some times the evaluation stage is not perceived as an integral part of the programmes (Al-zaroo 1995). Finally, the programmes themselves are designed for meeting short-term objectives and are provided by a large number of institutions which makes it very difficult for them to be supervised.

Nevertheless, it could be argued on the one hand that the Israeli control and restrictions and, the absence of formal recognition for the PNFE programmes on the other hand, were the two biggest problems and challenges besetting the PNFE institutions during the occupation era. So far, these two problems are still influential despite the political changes. Apart from the negative influence of the Israeli occupation, most of the problems were not the fault of a particular person, organisation, or policy. Rather, it was an inescapable outcome of work without plans, under pressure in a conflict situation, and sometimes under extraordinarily unstable circumstances, as it was during the *Intifada*. In such circumstances, it is unrealistic to expect the PNFE to be ideal or perfect and to work without mistakes or constraints.

6.3 Changing role of Palestinian non-formal education

Since the creation of the PNA, most of the efforts have been devoted to handling problems of formal education. No serious attempt has been made by the PNA to deal with NFE or examine the relationship between formal education and NFE. The separation between these two approaches continues as before. However, there is a new development. On the one hand, the PNA expressed its willingness to take over some activities which used to be run by NFE institutions (interviews 2, 4 and 13). On the other hand, the PNFE institutions no longer object to co-ordinating and co-operating with the

governmental authority after it came into Palestinian hands (interviews 17 and 25). This development, in effect, presented NGOs working in Palestine, including the PNFE institutions, with a new opportunity as well as a new challenge.

There is a new opportunity because the historical separation between the PNFE and the state has ended. NGOs, both local and external no longer need to by-pass the state, as they did during the occupation era. A direct communication, and a clear mechanism for co-ordination and co-operation between the two sides has become possible.

As a consequence, the PNFE institutions expressed willingness to conduct a dialogue with the PNA. In May 1995, a series of meetings was started between the MOE and the Co-ordinating Committee for Palestinian Educational NGOs, a linking organisation established in 1994 precisely in anticipation of the changes that would be occur in the post - Oslo period (interview 2). During that meeting the PNFE institutions presented suggestions for a possible co-ordination between the two parties. According to a member who attend these meetings, the NGOs viewed their role in the field of education in the future as follows (interview 15):

- to take up roles and tasks not usually addressed by government.
- to utilise their flexibility and connections to address fields unattended by the Authority, to link education with the community and to provide a rapid response to changing grass-roots needs by means of educational development.
- to develop a pluralistic, rich educational philosophy through continuous dialogue.
- to develop and try out new educational methods so as to provide educational models for emulation and diffusion.
- to support and enrich the educational process within a comprehensive common educational vision.

The above tasks ensure a leading role for formal education, and perceive the role of NFE as complementary to formal education. This tendency is hardly surprising since the majority of the NFE institutions which are affiliated with the co-ordinating committee are under the influence of the human capital approach which provoke no or little tension with the state. However, this dialogue has stopped without any significant achievement. An informant who attended these meetings hints at the reason for this discontinuity when he stressed '*the need for essential work to move beyond the mutual suspicion and mistrust between the two parties*' (interview 15).

So, there is still tension between the PNFE institutions on the one side, and the PNA and formal education on the other side. This strain has been confirmed by the majority of the informants. The interviews revealed that 25 out of 31 informants (80.6 %) see that the relationship between formal education and NFE as at a minimal level. Those informants used various terms to describe this relationship. For instance, 15 of them refer to the lack of co-ordination, and 11 stated that there is a lack of trust. However, some contradiction was noted in their responses. For example, five of them described the relationship between formal education and NFE as competitive and argue that this competitiveness will not exist if the relationship between the two sides is normalised, while another three informants described this relationship as uncompetitive and see that it ought to be competitive.

The rest of the informants (6 people) held different views, for instance, three informants (interviews 6, 7 and 10) argued that the current relationship is satisfactory and cannot be better. Two informants (interviews 8 and 15) argued that a relationship does not exist in any real way between the two sides, while one informant (interview 4) did not give an 'answer' and stressed that, at this stage, he cannot judge this relationship.

These responses indicate that the relationship between formal education and NFE lacks clarity. I have noted from analysis of the interviews that a distrust exists between the informants who were working in formal education and those who were working in NFE. Each side made allegations and accusations against the other side. Each side blames the another side for the vagaries of the relationship. However, it was also obvious that the informants who worked in the NFE sector were desperate to set up a warm relationship and to integrate some aspects of their programmes with those of the new Authority. Those who worked in formal education were less interested.

Although it could be minimised, the tension will continue between (i) the PNFE and (ii) formal education and the PNA in this transitional and unstable period, despite all the good will which might be expressed by the two sides. This tension is not limited to Palestine, it is a global phenomenon, as stated in chapter 2, because of the contradictions in the perspectives and policies. In addition, the geo-political change after the Oslo Accord and the emergence of the PNA, confronts the PNFE institutions with a new challenge and places them in state of uncertainty. This new challenge seems related to four main factors: the changing role of the state, the changing policy of the donors, the 'brain drain' from the NGOs and the shift from 'relief' to 'development'.

6.3.1 The changing role of the state

The new Authority acts as a state, although the Oslo Accord emphasised the word 'authority' rather than 'state'. It presents itself as a legitimate national representative of the Palestinian people, and expresses its willingness to lead the people to fulfil their spiritual, cultural and economic goals, and to serve them directly. However, one of the early consequences of this change is that the range of responsibility and services of the new authority has replaced that of the NGOs in some fields, such as health, early childhood education, relief and rehabilitation sectors. Further, a significant proportion of

what were considered Palestinian NGOs have been altered into government institutions or have come under direct governmental control (interviews 12 and 13).

The emergence of the PNA means also that NGOs have to consult and liaise with the new authority because they are no longer able to launch programmes independently and by-pass the state as the PNA will not allow this to happen. The PNA is already trying to implement restrictions on NGOs through serious attempts to set up a new law for NGOs. At the beginning there was ministerial debate about the role of NGOs and which governmental body will deal with them. In 1996 the Ministry of Social Affairs emerged as the primary agency in charge of NGOs (interview 12).

Meanwhile, many draft laws have been set up by different governmental bodies. The last proposed draft, for instance, emphasised new restrictions. It requires NGOs to register with the Ministry of Social Affairs and to obtain a separate licence from whatever ministry has jurisdiction over their field of activity (Health for clinics, Education for schools and so on). They are also required to obtain the Ministry of Social Affairs' permission to accept foreign financial assistance. Another provision prohibits NGOs from receiving local or foreign contributions without prior approval of the ministry; from holding bank deposits in excess of one month's expenditures; and restricts co-operation with organisations outside the jurisdiction of the PNA. The draft law also grants the PNA the right to dissolve any NGOs, cancel permits and initiate any type of regulation (Sullivan 1996).

6.3.2 The changing policy of the donors

Most foreign aid to Palestinian NGOs is threatened, and some of it was already stopped after the establishment of the PNA owing to the donors shifting resources to the new PNA. It is estimated that the foreign aid assistance has fallen from \$170-240 million in the early 1990s to about \$100-120 million in the post-Oslo period (Sullivan 1996).

This change in donor policy led many Palestinian NGOs, including NFE institutions, to not only freeze plans for expansion, but also to cut back or eliminate services and dismiss employees. Furthermore, donor criteria and the mechanisms for allocating and managing funds have become more complicated (interviews 12 and 15). It seems that this changing policy of the donors is not limited to Palestine, but, as Arthur and Preston (1996) demonstrate, it is a global trend as well.

Subsequently, two informants noted that many donors have reconsidered NGOs, and are once again channelling funds through them rather than through the PNA. This change was explained as intended to exercise political pressure on the PNA with respect to the peace process (interview 15), and / or due to the poor performance of the PNA and its bureaucracy (interviews 26 and 31). Another development related to the NFE funds is that the PNA itself became one of the main funders. During the occupation the PNFE used to receive funds from local resources (fees, donations) and / or from external bilateral and multilateral donors. The Israeli authority never funded the PNFE. After the Oslo Accord, the PNA became another source of funding for the PNFE, which implies that for many NFE institutions, in order to receive state funds they have to comply with the state regulations and policies.

6.3.3 The 'brain drain' from the NGOs

During the occupation era NGOs attracted highly skilled people who were looking for personal and career development. After the creation of the PNA, government jobs became more prestigious. This development caused a severe 'brain drain' from the NGOs sector and has moved the academic and professional cadre toward the governmental bodies. This might affect the readiness and standard of some NGOs (see box 6. 8).

Box 6.8

The 'brain drain' from the University Graduates Union (UGU)

In the pre-Oslo era the UGU (one of the biggest NFE institutions in Palestine) had over 300 employees, 30 per cent of them with a masters degree or above. After the establishment of the PNA, about a third of this cadre left UGU and joined governmental bodies. For instance, two became deputy ministers, three participated in the general election and became members of the Palestinian Legitimacy Council, one became governor, two became directors of governmental community technical colleges, twelve became general directors in different ministries and the rest achieved positions as managers, head teachers, police officers and teachers.

6.3.4 The shift from relief to development

The emergence of the PNA gave priority to development-based projects that could contribute to the nation-building, rather than to relief-based programmes. Ayed (1998: 9) states that:

'Prior to the PNA establishment, all NGOs regardless of their political inclinations, sector or type of service provided, were motivated by a mission to resist occupation, after the establishment of the PNA, new needs emerged relating to nation building, which include policy formulation, democratisation and institutionalisation'.

This change placed the NGOs under pressure to become more professional, efficient and accountable, and to develop relevant, flexible and sustainable programmes.

6.4 Importance for continuity

Four years have already passed since the establishment of the PNA and it is clear that the new authority has not succeeded in replacing NGOs. It seems that most of the

local NGOs, including the PNFE institutions, have absorbed the change and resumed most of their activities (interview 1).

Regardless of this ebb and flow, it seems that the PNFE institutions have much to offer and are needed by the Palestinian society. Community needs in Palestine did not change nor did the priorities for services; on the contrary, as Ayed (1998) notes, the deteriorating economic situation increased the demand for services and the demand often times exceeds the supply. So, the PNFE institutions can pursue national development; they have the ability to complement and enrich the goals and work of the government through their varied experience in the field and their diversity. They have the ability to link education with the community and cover areas that government cannot reach. Therefore, NFE and formal education are not competitors, they must be seen as reinforcing partners, each essential to the other, each part of a total education system, because in the end neither formal education nor NFE can cope on its own with the variety and complexity of demands made on them by modern society.

There are a lot of mutual interests between formal education and NFE which could be considered as a cornerstone in building linkages and tied up effective communication between them to ensure lifelong education, of which the following points, which were highlighted by the informants, are only examples:

1. By providing opportunities for continued learning, NFE enlarges the benefits derived from formal education. It preserves literacy and extends other disciplines of schools and universities. It may also provide practical experience after theoretical knowledge gained in formal schooling (interview 5).
2. NFE could make it possible for some pupils (early dropouts, for example) to re-enter formal schools or, at least, promote a higher payoff from the formal education they have received (interview 11).

3. NFE could develop innovations and experiment with innovative teaching methods to serve as models, and successful innovations within NFE processes could be taken up within formal schooling (interview 30).
4. NFE can share facilities of schools (for example: literacy classes for adults using buildings and equipment during off-school hours) (interviews 16 and 20).
5. NFE may contribute directly to school lessons (for example: agricultural extension officers giving instruction on local farming practices; health officers giving talks on special topics) (interview 19).
6. As part of their degree requirements, university students may participate with government field officers in bringing extension services to rural producers (interview 26).
7. There is considerable potential, specially in rural areas, for mobilising educated persons (voluntary or paid, part-time) to link education with the community, cover areas that government can not reach, and bring NFE to a large number of people at low cost (for example: literacy campaigns) (interviews 6, 17 and 25).

All in all, in order to maximise the benefit of the PNFE and utilise it effectively to reduce educational exclusion, there is a need to re-build a new PNFE system in accordance with the requirements of the new geo-political changes. Such a new system should provide a very clear mechanism to guide the mutual relationship and organise the communication between the PNFE and the PNA. Suggestions to renew the PNFE system, including strategies to overcome exclusion from formal education, have been identified by the informants and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

Non-Formal Education System and Strategies To Reduce

Exclusion

CHAPTER SEVEN

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM AND STRATEGIES TO REDUCE EXCLUSION

This chapter builds on the lessons drawn from the information and analysis in chapters 5 and 6. It identifies a number of factors which could constitute a framework to re-build more effective PNFE suitable to the current and expected future and social development in Palestine. It also draws a plethora of NFE strategies which would contribute to tackling problems of exclusion from formal education. As there is no panacea, or peculiar steps which, if taken, could immediately reduce exclusion from formal education, the emphasis in this chapter is mainly on generating ideas that might be worth exploration. However, the chapter also includes some specific suggestions raised by the informants.

7.1 The current Palestinian non-formal education system and educational exclusion

The majority of the informants (29 out of 31) stressed that the formal education system cannot cope alone with the problem of educational exclusion due to nine reasons, presented in table 7.1. The informant responses reflect four main different views:

1. Formal education *per se* is able alone to cope with problem of exclusion from schools.

The two informants who adopt this view are excluded from table 7.1 because they argued that NFE has no role to play.

2. Formal education has the potential to combat exclusion. However, it cannot do that at present due to either (a) the different priorities formal education has at this stage (point 4); or (b) lack of resources (point 1); or / and (c) alienation of formal education (points 3 and 5). The advocates of this view argue that NFE does have a role to play. However, this role is supposed to be complementary and supplementary to formal education.

Table 7.1

Informant explanations of inability of formal education to cope alone with exclusion

No	Content	No. Of informants*
1.	Lack of material resources and poor quality of human resources.	25
2.	Formal education is not realising its social task and neglects community-based learning.	20
3.	The institutional culture in the formal system is unlikely to be changed. The MOE inherited practices from the Israeli authority and it still exercises them.	20
4.	The MOE has priorities which excluding educational exclusion at this stage.	17
5.	Formal education is a highly centralised and bureaucratic system restrained by out of date laws and regulations.	16
6.	Educational exclusion occurs for educational and non-educational reasons and formal education cannot handle them alone.	14
7.	Absence of initiatives and innovative in formal education.	7
8.	Formal education reflects themes of the state rather than views of the people, and ,thus, focuses on maintaining the social structure rather than changing it.	4
9.	Formal education has poor capacity to motivate people because it emphasises indoctrination not learning.	3

* the total number of the informants is 31.

3. Formal system cannot combat exclusion alone even if it is reformed, received the appropriate resources and even prioritise exclusion (points 2, 6 and 7). Therefore, the proponents of this view believe that overcoming exclusion from formal education will not be feasible without efficient integration between formal education and NFE.

4. Formal education is a useless system and cannot do anything to overcome exclusion.

The advocates of this view present NFE as a capable alternative (points 8 and 9).

So, the majority of the informants believe that NFE may have a role to play to combat exclusion from formal education. However, 77 per cent of the informants stress that current PNFE cannot do a lot to confront exclusion from formal education. When they were asked why, they gave a variety of reasons, which are classified in table 7.2.

Table 7.2

Informant responses to the question: why cannot current NFE contribute effectively to reducing exclusion from formal education?

No.	Current NFE cannot address properly problem of educational exclusion due to:	No. Of informants*
1.	Shortage of human resources and trained personnel in some fields.	23
2.	Lack of follow-up and evaluation to NFE activities.	20
3.	Absence of NFE legislation and measurement system.	18
4.	Limitation of funds.	17
5.	Lack of appropriate formal education support.	16
6.	Absence of NFE's philosophy.	14
7.	The competition and lack of co-operation and co-ordination between NFE providers.	12
8.	Absence of central administration.	11
9.	Duplication of some programmes.	10
10.	Lack of motivations.	10
11.	Some programmes do not address people's needs.	10
12.	Paucity of NFE institutions.	9
13.	Programmes supply do not fit with the programme demand.	9
14.	The donor-driven mentality.	7
15.	The profit-driven mentality.	7
16.	Poor communications between formal education and NFE.	7
17.	Maldistribution of NFE institutions.	5
18.	Some NFE institutions have no credibility.	5

* the total number of informants is 31.

The reasons given in table 7.2 are related to three main resources: (a) reasons related to the characteristics of the Palestinian education system in general (points 5 and 16); (b) reasons related to the nature of the PNFE programmes themselves (points 2,7,

9,11 and 13) and; (c) the rest of the reasons on the table are related to the features of the PNFE system as a whole.

This classification indicates that overcoming these crippling reasons implies action to be taken by the PNFE itself (points 2, 7, 9, 14, 15, 17 and 18) and reforming the education system as a whole (points 5, 10, 11 and 16). However, this would be incomplete without inputs from the society and / or the state (points 1,3, 4, 6 and 12).

After all, the above table reveals that for the majority of the informants, the current PNFE is insufficient, and if its activities are intended to contribute to reducing exclusion, the first step to be taken is to re-build the PNFE itself to be ready for this task. '*NFE cannot help to solve problems of other sectors, and promote development and modernisation without solving its own problems first*' (interview 31). The following pages try to draw a preliminary framework to rebuild the PNFE in line with the informants' responses and comments.

7.2 A framework for a Palestinian non-formal education system

This framework contains three basic elements necessary to establish an effective NFE system, which are (see diagram 7.1 at the end of this section): (1) formal legitimacy; (2) re-organisation of the PNFE; and (3) effective communication with the state.

7.2.1 Formal legitimacy

As many ministries pursue NFE programmes in Palestine, it seems that NFE has been accepted as an important element for nation building. However, this role is taken for granted and still implicit. The PNA does not recognise it overtly, so at present the PNFE is like '*a mistress rather than a legitimate wife*' (interview 17). This role is not appropriate any more, or as one of the informants put it (interview 19):

'A full recognition to the PNFE should be declared immediately by the PNA. The neglect of PNFE by formal education must be replaced by consideration and understanding. Formal education needs to change itself as a system, and to explore its relationship with NFE'.

Giving the PNFE legitimacy not only means recognising NFE formally, and setting up legislation to organise and protect it, but also taking further steps to support and promote it. For instance, NFE programmes should be supported by national and local financial resources (interviews 2, 12 and 30).

One of the effective means to give NFE direct legitimacy and formal support is to set up a National Qualifications Framework to measure NFE activities and programmes (interview 9). Such a framework could be instrumental in the development of the PNFE by reducing the fragmentation in its programmes; serving the variations in its activities, objectives, providers, and beneficiaries; providing pathways to enable individuals to access the formal education system and giving a motivation for the learners / participants to involve in its activities. Further, this proposed framework might not only be a quantitative tool to measure participation in NFE activities and a requirement for the documentation experiences, but also a device to develop educational and training criteria by which the quality of learning activities are judged.

Developing a valid, reliable and national system of credentials is not an easy task. Nevertheless, Palestinians might get benefit from the systems implemented in other countries. One example is the Manchester Open College Federation in the United Kingdom which does not offer courses itself, but it accredits courses submitted to it and gives credits to those participants who completed accredited programmes successfully (Harford and Redhead 1989). Another example is the CEU system in the USA (see box 7.1).

Box 7.1

Continuing education unit system

The Continuing Education Unit (CEU) is a system to measure and record participation in continuing education activities, as well as developing educational and training criteria which serve as a model of effective practices. The system was created and used in the USA by the International Association for Continuing Education and Training (IACET) since 1970, and became a uniform and a nationally recognised standard unit of measure used by thousands of different organisations in North and South America, as well as other parts of the world. Every one CEU is 'ten contact hours of participation in an organised continuing education experience under responsible sponsorship, capable direction, and qualified instruction'. A course should not be less than one hour in length to be calculated for CEU. Any organisation in any field which offers educational programmes can potentially award CEU. Adaptation and use of the CEU are voluntary.

Ten criteria were set up as minimum requirements for providers awarding CEU. Each of them contains guidelines to assist providers in the interpretation of the criteria. These criteria are: (1) each activity is planned in response to educational needs which have been identified for a target audience; (2) each activity has clear and concise written statements of intended learning outcomes; (3) qualified instructional personnel are involved in planning and conducting each activity; (4) content and instructional methods are appropriate for the intended learning outcomes of each activity; (5) participants must demonstrate their attainment of the learning outcomes; (6) each learning activities is evaluated by the participants; (7) the provider has an identifiable unit, group, or individual with clearly defined responsibilities for developing and administering learning activities; (8) the provider has a review process in operation that ensures the CEU criteria are met; (9) the provider maintains a complete record of each individual's participation and can provide a copy of that record upon request for a period of at least seven years; (10) the provider provides an appropriate learning environment and support services.

The system contains clarification of the activities which are not included when calculating CEU, such as breaks, meals, socials, introduction, welcoming speeches, etc., as well as the activities which are not intended to receive CEU, such as academic credit courses, committee meetings, entertainment, mass media programmes, travels, unsupervised study.

Source: IACET 1993.

7.2.2 Re-organisation of the Palestinian non-formal education

Many steps are needed to achieve this task and end the fragmentation in NFE activities. One of these steps is to set up a clear philosophy for NFE in the present and future to identify its boundaries, dimensions, priorities and objectives. One of the informants (interview 20) noted that:

'The formulation of a strategy for NFE is not an easy task. An initial step would be to identify the principal beneficiaries, to specify the actual and possible roles of both formal education and NFE in their development, to evaluate alternatives, and to select fulcrum where more concentrated efforts would have the highest payoffs'.

Identifying characteristics of NFE personnel, including specification of their job description, qualifications, selection criteria, selected procedures, and necessary suitable training is another important area (interview 17). Traditional styles of educational administration are no longer useful. Androgogical approaches should replace school models, especially among teachers of adults who trained originally as school teachers (interview 27). The third suggestion to achieve this task, is to establish a well-organised Statutory Board or Department to supervise NFE activities and to be a competent authority for all NFE providers (interviews 5, 11, 16 18, 25, 27 and 29).

To justify this suggestion, the informants who supported it stressed that such a department would terminate the diffusion of NFE message, the duplication of activities, the contradictions between NFE programmes and among their providers, the excessive influence by foreign NGOs, as well as maximising the use of available local resources. Giving the circumstances of Palestine nowadays, this suggestion seems realistic, especially if the PNFE is going to be implemented broadly as a tool for nation building.

However, such a suggestion might limit the chances of the Freirean approach in Palestine.

It is to be noted that some countries created such a department within one of the ministries, as mentioned in chapter 2. In the case of Palestine; however, it would be more practical to create an independent department, rather than locate it in one of the ministries. It is too difficult to assign the NFE function to one ministry, since the MOE, the MOHE, the Ministry of health and other ministries and other NGOs have or are planning to have their own NFE programmes (interviews 12, 13, 29). This trend would create problems in management of NFE because if each of these bodies is allowed to go on its own way (as happening now), actions on behalf of people will not find a clear focus and more resources will be spent to achieve less.

I would argue that such a department should be directly funded and supported by the state or even president of the PNA like many other forums which already exist, because experience elsewhere has shown that such departments are weak and helpless against big ministries unless they have some power-base. This is by no means a call for a top-down approach in the PNFE. Philosophy, policy, procedures and implementation of the PNFE should be bottom-up, resting on people-oriented approach, and conducted on the basis of mutual sharing of ideas and experiences with all stakeholders, including the funders, the government and statutory bodies, the NGOs, the community leaders and representatives, the providers, the facilitators and the practitioners and the end-users.

Only the management of the PNFE is recommended to be top-down and only at medium run due to special circumstances surrounding the Palestinians in the current transitional period and are likely to continue until the beginning of the next century at least. In such a conflict situation, the state-centre approach seems to be necessary because dealing with nation building, social and educational exclusion might require decisions that

could touch every individual and family in the society. Further, although devolution, decentralisation and even privatisation of education are currently fashionable in many parts of the world (see Whitty, Power and Halpin 1998), the PNA at this stage cannot and should not leave NFE to market forces or succumb blindly to changeable unstable priorities of external funders because in conditions like those facing the Palestinians, NFE is not a commodity for leisure time, rather, it is a sharp weapon, a building instrument, which should be used effectively.

The top-down management; however, does not mean alienating the beneficiaries from the administrative process of the project. People should be given a say in their education and future, and their views and needs should be considered seriously. Therefore, their participation at every stage of any programmes, such as needs assessment, programme planning and design, implementation stage and evaluation, is important. Without giving the beneficiaries the chance to critically reflect on their reality, without their co-operation and participation, the PNFE activities will become sketchy and meaningless.

The question to be asked here, if such a statutory body has been created, does not that formalise NFE? Clearly, there is something paradoxical here, especially for those who want to see NFE free of state control and intervention, and who believe that NFE should be totally decentralised and initiated from the bottom.

In this analysis; however, there is no contradiction because: firstly, the 'state', as stated in chapter 2, is likely to intervene in NFE. Besides, not all the programmes which are launched by the state could be considered formal education. Secondly, the suggested statutory body is to supervise and facilitate NFE only and not monopolise action or take initiative and action away from the various providers of NFE. Bhola (1983) calls this kind of department 'enabling organisations' which do not necessarily implement actions

themselves but enable others to implement them by undertaking a variety of actions within a generally agreed framework. The enabling organisation exerts influence merely through providing a vision, a general direction and not by direct day-to-day overseeing or monitoring of planning, action and evaluation of programmes. Therefore, to avoid confusion, the main tasks for this suggested Statutory Board or Department would be to:

- contribute to initiating and implementing a philosophy for NFE.
- formulate policies and a national plan outlining goals and priorities and setting out guidelines for provision, co-ordination among levels of government and providers, funding and research.
- create an accreditation system for NFE activities as mentioned above.
- produce procedures and rules for NFE stakeholders.
- monitor and evaluate NFE activities to ensure quality of programming and accountability.
- develop an effective and efficient delivery system to provide NFE to new clients.
- develop and maintaining an adequate data base and disseminating national data and good practices in NFE.
- Identify needs and priorities for research and training and providing support for these activities.
- Encourage new initiatives in adult and NFE, especially those which might engage people not currently involved.
- Ensure adequate support for international co-operation in NFE and lifelong education.

7.2.3 Effective communication with the state

The informants, as stated in chapter 6 (table 6.1), stressed that at present the relationship between the PNFE and the PNA is still at a minimum level, lacking clarification and trust, without criteria or clear mechanism for communication. As the PNFE does not exist in a vacuum, and the PNA is the upper power in society, it is necessary for the PNFE to establish a clear mechanism and develop a structure to communicate, co-ordinate and co-operate with the PNA. The overwhelming majority of the informants referred overtly to positive relationships when they were asked: how should the relationship be between formal education and NFE? (see table 7.3)

Table 7.3

Informant response to the question:
How should the relationship be between formal education and NFE?

No.	The relationship should be	No. Of informants*
1.	Complementary	17
2.	Co-ordinated	14
3.	Co-operative	10
4.	Integrated	5
5.	No chance for productive relationship	2

* the total number of informants is 31.

But, what can be done to achieve that? Here we have two answers; one is drawn from the literature of NFE and the other is from the informants themselves. Townsend - Coles (1982: 259) in his attempt to explore the relationship between formal education and NFE in Botswana, identifies four conditions to achieve a détente and grow fruitful lines of co-operation. These are:

1. A positive climate of opinion towards NFE which must be accepted as an essential sector of education.
2. An institution or a department to carry out the tasks of NFE.

3. NFE activities should have focus and purpose and must be of a kind which win universal support
4. A continuing dialogue between formal education and NFE in a spirit of mutual assistance, the one for the other.

The interviewees, from their side, gave similar answers, but stressed a repertoire of more specific suggestions as it appears in table 7.4.

Table 7.4

Informant responses to the question: What can be done to achieve a satisfactory relationship between formal education and NFE?

No.	Suggestions	No. Of informants*
1.	NFE has to be recognised and be supported overtly by formal education	14
2.	Setting up a clear mechanism based on specific criteria and flexible standards to improve formal education-NFE relationship.	12
3.	Adopting national accreditation system for NFE.	7
4.	Views of local community in education have to be respected.	7
5.	Formal media has to express enthusiasm toward NFE	5
6.	NFE has to be flexible and caters more closely for people needs.	4
7.	The community contribution to funding education has to be expanded.	4

* the total number of the informants is 31.

The above suggestions indicate that there is a belief that not only NFE has to be changed, but also formal education. They also imply that the obligation of the state in rebuilding and re-shaping the relationship with NFE might be bigger than the NFE obligation. Therefore, it could be argued that the three conditions which were stressed above to re-shape NFE, are not reachable properly in the Palestinian case without direct 'state interference'. The PNA is supposed to take the initiative to back and promote NFE, through setting up the needed legislation and bodies, amending the structure of NFE, and opening the doors of the governmental institutions, including the MOE to NFE.

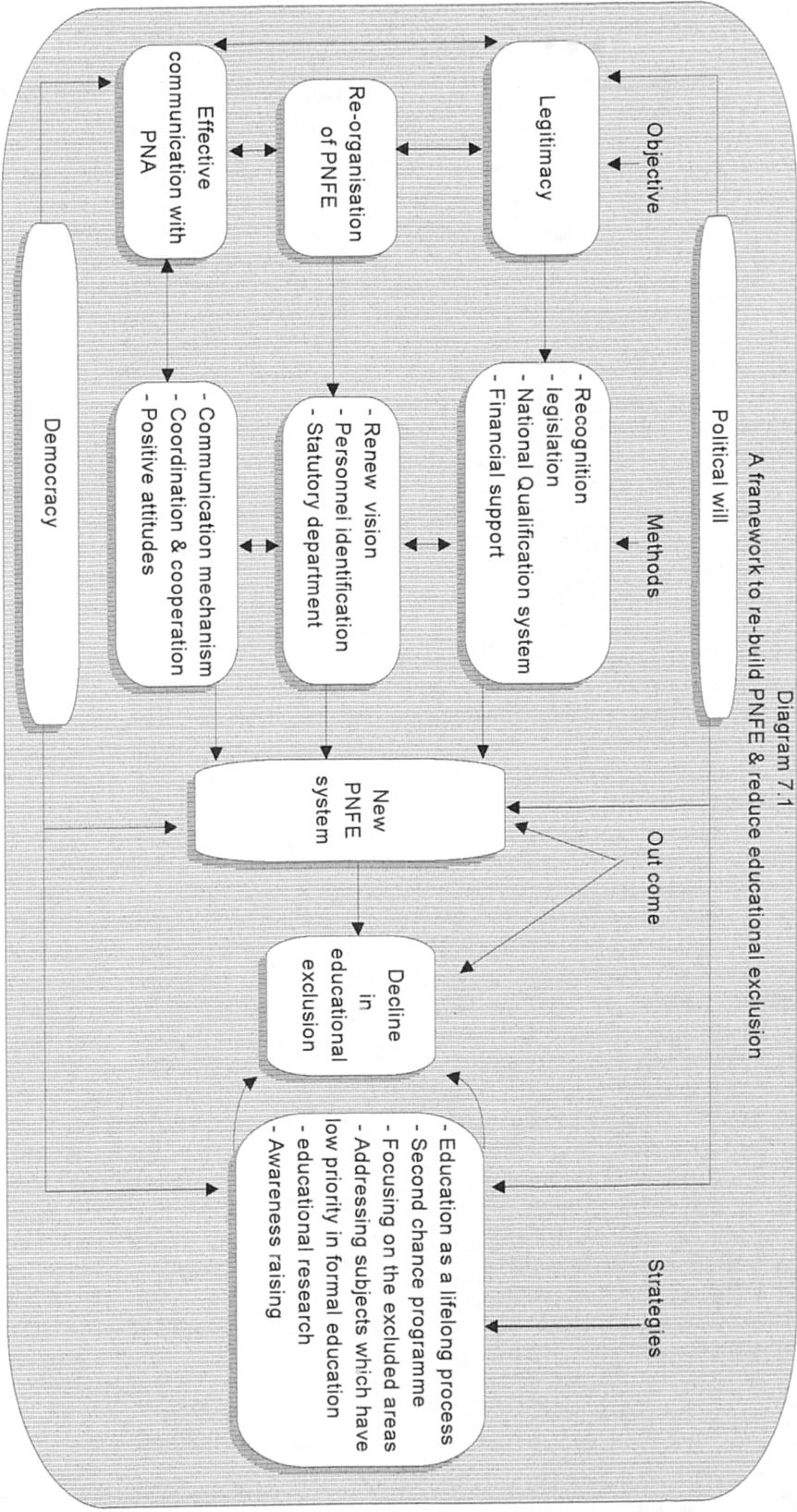
Clearly, this is not an easy task for the state. As Furter (quoted in Hamadache 1994) notes it is no doubt difficult to co-ordinate two subsystems (formal education and NFE) of which one is unified, homogeneous, centralised and hierarchical, while the other is, or supposed to be, multi-purpose, diversified, decentralised and self-supporting. This change needs a political will and a state's determination. The question to be answered here is: does the PNA want this change? This question will remain without answer in the short run at least. Such an answer depends on factors and conditions beyond the educational discourse. It depends on how the PNA views NFE and estimates its role as an element of the political and social life. It also depends on the level of freedom and democracy the PNA intends to give people.

On the one hand, the PNA could value the benefits of NFE. It might look at it as an important strategy of education and emphasise its institutions as a means of providing useful and meaningful learning experiences for a much larger proportion of the population. On the other hand, the PNA understands very well the political role of NFE, because, as stated in chapter 6, the PNA itself utilised NFE as a political tool to struggle against the Israeli occupation. The PNA already knows that NFE can be an excellent tool for activating the political responsibility of the citizens and that it can help effectively in qualifying the people for a continuing engagement in the political institutions.

But, the PNA also knows that NFE can strengthen the political independence and maturity of the people, enabling and encouraging them for a critical observation and reviewing of the political decisions, as well as discussing ideas for reforming or even changing the state as a whole. The decisive role of the Palestinian NGOs, including NFE institutions in making and sustaining the *Intifada* is unquestionable and unforgettable, hence, the PNA knows perfectly how NFE could play a crucial role in encouraging civil

disobedience on the one hand, or social mobilisation for a shared vision on the other hand.

In chapter 2, it is argued that there is a positive correlation between the expansion of NFE and the level of democracy and freedom. Thus, the more the PNA is keen to be democratic and respect freedom and human rights, the more the PNFE has the chance to be promoted and expanded. In other words, two steps are needed to minimise the contradiction between NFE and the state: democracy, and mutual interaction through open channels. Considering these two factors would end the distrust between the PNFE and the PNA and open chances for co-ordination and co-operation between formal education and NFE.



7.3 Non-formal education strategies to reduce exclusion

The PNFE, if reconstructed in light of the above, seems to have a significant role in combating exclusion inside and outside the education system. This section discusses NFE strategies identified by the informants that might be adopted and implemented, independently or in co-operation and co-ordination with other sectors particularly formal education, to confront exclusion from formal education. Diagram 7.1 demonstrates the following strategies:

- 1. Conceiving education as a lifelong process.**
- 2. Launching a national second chance programme.**
- 3. Providing educational services for under-served areas.**
- 4. Focusing on neglected fields.**
- 5. Encouraging educational research.**
- 6. Raising awareness of the mass of the people.**

7.3.1 Education as a lifelong process

NFE can contribute to presenting education as a lifelong process and encouraging the Palestinians to adopt 'lifelong education' as a cornerstone in their educational policy (interview 28). Lifelong education implies that '*education is a way of life and there is no age limit for education*' (interview 28).

Adopting this principle means that the concepts of failure or success in attainment should be changed, '*the current system cuts off those who succeed in formal education from those who do not, which leads to dividing the society into two groups*' (interview 9). People should engage in a continuous process of learning and understanding something new constantly. If a person does not succeed in a particular field, many other

opportunities will still be open to this person in which s/he can test his / her abilities (interview 16). So, the aim is to increase each individual's possibilities of expressing himself or herself and build self-confidence. There are many situations in which people may succeed or fail, but the important thing is that they should have a positive approach to these situations, they should not be passive observers (interview 8).

Adopting 'lifelong education' as one of the basic principles in educational policy and introducing the philosophy of NFE in the concept of life-long education would affect both formal education and NFE. On one hand, it would enable the Palestinians to define the objectives of NFE with the scope of their learning needs and their cultural socio-economic development, as well as encourage NFE to enhance the quality and quantity of its programmes. On the other hand, it would change completely the role of school. Instead of being essentially a process of acquiring knowledge, basic education becomes a kind of introduction, rather than simply offering courses in different subjects. Schools in this case would be able to provide future generations with the means of expressing themselves and communicating with others.

In order to reach 'lifelong education', vertical and horizontal co-ordination, co-operation and even integration between formal education and NFE is needed. Table 7.3 showed that the majority of the informants were in favour of co-ordination, co-operation and integration between formal education and NFE. The framework which is presented previously in this chapter could be a base for this process. Although in some cases NFE performs unique functions that lie completely beyond the reach of formal education, formal education and NFE, as was illustrated in chapter 2, are much more likely to be complementary and reinforcing. The benefits accruing from effective integration of both of them could be greater than the sum of the individual returns to each.

Such an integration between formal education and NFE would contribute to bring to an end the duplication of some NFE programmes, maximising the efficiency and feasibility of both formal education and NFE, encouraging dialogue between the people and energising their mental and manual capabilities and providing rational utilisation to the available resources. In other words, it would support the process of nation building and reduce exclusion comprehensively. Achieving such an integration needs not only developing the PNFE, but formal education as well. Both systems are in need of urgent reforms. They both need vision, strategy, modern policies and flexible procedures, as well as mechanism to create effective linkage and integration between them. However, without appropriate resources and political will and solid determination, this desired change is unlikely to take place.

7.3.2 National second chance programme

Some informants stress the importance of strengthening the existing NFE programmes and the introduction of well-designed new programmes (interviews 12, 18, 25 and 27). These programmes should be designed to bring new knowledge, skills, and awareness to masses of young people and adults and make a direct contribution to development and nation building (interview 27). This view is a call for NFE to maintain its role as adult education and keep providing a 'second educational chance' for those who lost the first chance or did not complete it, or their grasp was low. An informant argues for the need to keep adult education programmes and literacy which already exist, but with a new start (interview 25). The role of adults whether they are parents, teachers, administrators, or policy makers in creating exclusion from formal education is obvious. Another informant (interview 27) refers to the impact of the education of adults on children:

'The educated parents are as much a benefit as are schools; indeed without educated parents the work of the schools is less effective and influential than it could be. Children are often powerless and voiceless in terms of identifying their educational needs, and they fully rely on their parents. Therefore, to promote school education and serve the excluded children, attention should be given to educate their adult parents, and to develop educational environment outside formal education as well'.

Second chance programmes have to be reorganised and situated in the national context to fit the national demand (interview 13). New programmes to address new tasks are needed, such as remedial programmes for the repeaters and the drop outs, and for those who are slow and have low attainments (interview 1). Summer camp, evening classes and summer classes were suggested (interview 3). Such programmes could promote education of the disadvantaged in formal education: for example, girls and rural students.

One of the informants stressed that the second chance programme should be combined with post-literacy programme (interview 23). This suggestion seems reasonable to respond to the individual and national developmental needs in the new era. Clearly, to launch a second chance programme effectively, a special system, regulations and methods which suit the Palestinian society and resources need to be set up and be implemented. One of the interviewees (interview 15) emphasises that:

'In order to develop and expand effective NFE programmes and to generate significant outcomes from them, they should be made an integral part of national development plans, be carefully planned as a national service, and be an integral programme of the national education system with increased resource support. Moreover, educators, development planners, policy makers and

administrators should be actively involved in promoting NFE. Preparation of trained personnel for programme implementation is another important issue'.

7.3.3 Educational services for under-served areas

The skills needed for survival in rural areas are different from those needed in cities. NFE is associated with development programmes in rural areas. The basic educational needs for the Palestinian rural population are literacy, numeracy, health education, community-development education and technical skills (interview 27). In the best condition, only the first two of these needs are or can be provided by formal education, while the rest could be provided by NFE.

Further, more access to formal education should become available for remote areas and less privileged groups which have no formal education. A number of informants (interviews 4, 10,11, 14 and 28) stress that NFE has to be responsive to specific and immediate needs of selected groups of learners, and has to back formal education and contribute to establishing educational infrastructure in the excluded areas. This could be done by leading efforts and encouraging people to participate and deploy resources, both local and external, to build new schools, learning centres, libraries or community reading centres, as well as providing the necessary equipment and furniture (interview 24).

Some informants (interviews 10, 11, and 31) were wondering why NFE could not even run these schools in rural areas, and urged for the establishment of mechanisms to allow NFE to do that. This idea, as Lone (1996) and Khawaja and Brennan (1990) point out and as stated in chapter 2, is already implemented in many countries, and addressed both girls, and rural areas.

However, I would argue against such an idea. Providing school education directly by NFE would reduce enthusiasm and commitment of the PNA and the MOE to expand education services to reach the whole population. Besides, so far the PNFE is provided mainly by NGOs and private institutions and allowing these institutions to provide school education in a large scale could lead to privatisation of Palestinian formal education. Such ideas would not be welcomed either by the Palestinian people in this transitional stage, or by the PNFE institutions, which are probably not interested in showing long-term commitment to school education.

7.3.4 Focusing on neglected fields

Six informants urged NFE providers to focus on and develop subjects which have no or low priority in formal education, such as computing programmes, early pre-school education, art education (theatre, drama and so on), and sport education and vocational education (interviews 1, 7, 10, 18, 25 and 27).

Five informants saw that no single formal education system can cope efficiently with the daily changes in our life's value and style due to the political, economic and technological changes. Therefore, one of the main tasks of NFE is to respond to these rapid changes and link education with community needs through encouraging new educational initiatives and programmes designed to target specific purposes, such as environment education, rehabilitation centre for ex-prisoners, peace education, education for democracy, education for human rights, citizenship education (interviews 3, 5, 14, 15 and 22).

Another interviewee referred to the potential role of NFE in implementing positive discrimination policy to overcome exclusion from formal education, especially as such a policy target specific groups at particular times, which fit with the NFE traditional role

(interview 21). These suggested initiatives and programmes might not be implemented effectively if not combined with pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes to prepare teachers for this task, and enhancement of the quality of human resources (interviews 5, 15 and 27).

7.3.5 Educational research

Seven informants refer to the weakness of the research movement in Palestine generally, and particularly in education, and pointed out that NFE institutions could play a crucial role in promoting research and make information freely accessible to interested parties, which in turn could help in producing needs assessment, identifying and analysing problems of education and suggesting solutions (interviews 1, 3, 5, 7, 23, 26 and 31).

Clearly, providing accurate information and knowledge, improving the statistical reporting and analytical systems and developing appropriate dissemination strategies to research findings are other outcomes of promoting educational research. These elements are very important to the policy-maker, researcher and funders. Palestinians are eager to improve their educational system, but, in addition to severe resource shortages, they lack sufficient information and knowledge about alternative policies and programmes. The dissemination of information and diffusion of knowledge through out society which NFE can bring about means the development of an educational environment, from which children as well as adults benefit.

Moreover, activating the research movement would encourage building a national data-base, educational media, and communication educational networks, as well as providing access to information through electronic information (interview 5). This, if combined with effective dissemination of the research findings and willingness of the policy makers to take knowledge-based decisions, will bring most of the problems,

including educational exclusion to the surface and draw the attention of the stakeholders to these problems.

Not only NFE could be used to promote research, but also research can back NFE programmes. For instance, research can help to identify target groups of NFE in different areas and socio-economic environment, in order to promote diversified NFE programmes catering for diverse needs of different groups of people. An informant (interview 5) explained how research can be used by NFE to combat educational exclusion:

'NFE have to undertake analytical assessment of the social and educational situation of girls and less fortunate groups with the active participation of women's organisations, political and community leaders and representative of various population groups'.

Further, methods and approaches suitable for adult learners require exploring new innovative forms, means and educational structure that transcend formal schooling, self instruction systems and distance education programmes. Research of this respect is invited to examine the effectiveness of reading circles, watching clubs, individualised learning approaches. Therefore, well-designed experimental researches, case studies and evaluative studies are required.

7.3.6 Awareness raising

It could be argued that the major challenge which faces the PNFE is not only to cope with targeted groups and reach specific objectives but to address the population in general, raise their awareness and the standard of their thinking, and support the process of democratisation. As Brookfield (1987) points out, the people's interest will only be

considered seriously if they are critically aware of their political and social conditions, as well as are able to express their own interest.

Many informants pointed out that the ultimate aim of NFE is to raise awareness of the mass of the people about different issues, including education, as well as drawing their attention to issues which concern them and encouraging dialogue between them. This would maximise public support and sympathy with education by bridging the gaps between state's themes and people's views regarding education. (interviews 15 and 26).

NFE might explore and highlight people's role and commitments, and stress that *'education is not only the government's responsibility, but also the population as well'* (interview 13). So it is *'the people's right and obligation to play a role in planning, implementing, running, monitoring and evaluating the educational process, and to ensure that the 'state' expresses reasonable attention, and allocates proper resources to education'* (interview 16).

Even within formal education system, NFE might *'encouraging learners in formal education to be active participants and maximise formal education capacity to motivate people towards change and development'* (interview 31). For instance, one of the informants (interview 24) identified the role of NFE in raising gender awareness:

'NFE is in a good position to launch campaigns about the importance of girls' education to raise gender-awareness for both women and men and set up appropriate legislation or amend the existing one to ensure equal opportunity in education. From my personal point of view, it seems that the focus on women alone is inadequate to understand the opportunities for women, , NFE has a key role to encourage women to have access to and control over productive resources (employment, training, credit), basic goods and services (household needs, education, health, child care services) as the most important

sources of power and well-being,, The greater share women have in economic power, the greater their self-esteem and control over their own life options'.

Like gender awareness, NFE can raise awareness about enormous issues, including those issues which create exclusion from formal education, and explore them from different angles in order to make real change more feasible. One of the primary goals in the future for the PNFE is to sustain the energy and commitment that the struggle for liberation had released and to turn these resources to more long-term tasks of economic growth and nation building. There is a big need for community organisations in the rural context through co-operatives or community enterprises and NFE has a crucial role to play in this field.

An additional, decisive task that the NFE can carry is to lend a sharper ear to the needs and suffering of people and become their 'voice' and 'conscience'. NFE organisations have the potential to present the 'other', the 'non-formal' opinion in all fields, including education, and the ability to keep the debate about educational issues alive in the heat of the battle to ensure diversity in education and avoid indoctrination. By doing this job, NFE would effectively contribute to the efforts of establishing a real civic society.

It could be argued that Palestinian society in general, particularly the education system, is in urgent need of new thinking which could accelerate mobilisation and contribute to the nation building. Since the emergence of the Jewish Zionism Movement a hundred years ago right up to the present day, the Palestinian society has been living in a conflict situation and exceptional conditions. This situation is unlikely to be changed in the foreseeable future, despite the Oslo Accord between Israel and the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, peace is still far away from that area, and regrettably, I have a strong feeling that peace in this generation is not at hand.

None the less, after presenting the strategies aforementioned, it might be important before concluding this discussion to refer to several comments. First of all, implementing a combination of the above strategies might be useful and more effective than implementing each strategy separately especially as these strategies influence and depend on each other. However, before targeting exclusion, the national goals need to be prioritised adequately, because equality issues might not be considered a national priority or the supreme or unique social values in conflict and crisis situations, such as in Palestine.

Even overcoming educational exclusion itself needs to be prioritised carefully. For instance, chapter 5 has shown that vocational education for females in rural areas has the lower status, followed by the vocational education for females in urban areas, academic education for females in rural areas, and academic education for females in the GS respectively. However, in order to utilise available resources in the best and most effective way for Palestinian society, the priority might go first to the last two options because of their size and expected revenues, rather than to the first two options. In the end, the prioritisation of any option will depend on the concrete economic, historical and political situation and cannot be defined in a universally valid way.

At the same time, experiences of many countries show that it might be unrealistic for educational policies to aim at equalisation without transformation of the social and economic structure of society because educational exclusion tends to be a response to a series of factors that lie primarily outside the education system. Social change, as Jackson and Lovett (1971) point out, is a legitimate and central aim of NFE. However, if such a change is going to occur in the Palestinian society, it has to be done gradually and

by reform rather than revolution or violence due to the sensitivity and complexity of the situation in Palestine.

Therefore, combating educational exclusion in the Palestinian case does not mean proposing a radical alternative to an essentially biased social system because this aim is unrealistic. Rather, it means enabling certain under-represented groups to attain their rightful place in the existing education system and, in turn, in social, economic and political order.

Nevertheless, the proposed strategies above are not only suited to solving problems of disadvantaged groups; they have transformative potential and can contribute to a reduction of social exclusion. Therefore, it is expected that the positive effect of these strategies will go far beyond the education system, and play a key role in developing civic society, promoting development and democracy, and strengthening the nation building process.

Some of these strategies could, if implemented adequately, not only combat exclusion from the Palestinian formal education, but also provide integration among different PNFE's approaches and enliven the role of NFE politically, economically and socially, including contributing to the solution of problems facing the formal education system. Such a contribution would give formal education a chance to prioritise and tackle the problem of educational exclusion.

The emphasis on NFE does not imply the de-emphasis of formal education. Formal education in the Palestinian case is considerably cheaper than NFE for the end users, and still the best-suited instrument for extending basic knowledge for the young. It simply indicates that NFE would complement and supplement formal education.

After all, developing the Palestinian formal education and NFE to a satisfactory level of efficiency, cost-effectiveness, quality and equity requires a special focus on human

resource development, especially as Palestinian people do not have full control over their natural resources, yet, and lack financial resources, which are expected to obstruct the national planning and policy formulation. In the end, reducing exclusion from formal education is a long and gradual process. As Coombs (1985) points out, all solutions with concerted efforts and accelerated time schedule, and with all the best will in the world, will not produce sweeping changes overnight.

7.4 Particular suggestions to reduce exclusion from formal education

Whether the macro strategies suggested above are adopted or not, many informants argued for specific steps and activities to be taken by NFE institutions to combat exclusion from formal education. These suggested steps are:

- Launching a campaign to encourage setting-up, adopting and implementing equal opportunities policy (interviews 18 and 25).
- Organising educational and learning activities, such as compulsory education to out-of-school children, and special courses to the drop-out and the repeaters in order to re-approach them toward main stream education and help them to catch up with their colleagues (interviews 24 and 13).
- Providing pre-service and in-service training for teachers (interview 10).
- Designing awareness-raising courses about exclusion for teachers and parents (interview 18).
- Launching campaigns against phenomena, such as child labour, early marriage, sex discrimination and school drop-out. (interviews 1, 2 and 17).
- Conducting celebration activities to support the positive phenomena such as, girls' achievement in tertiary education and vocational studies. (interviews 2, 12 and 27).

- Analysing curricula and classroom materials for stereotyping and supporting the development of new curricula and bias-free materials (interviews 20 and 26).
- Supporting and participating in community-based campaigns to raise funds for building schools for girls and deprived areas (interview 14).
- Maintaining the nursery school network already supervised by NFE and expanding it to a national level (interviews 1 and 19).
- Expanding information system through the establishment of public libraries in the main areas, reading centres or learning resource centres in every village (interviews 8, 17 and 24).

Many informants stress that such steps could be part of a national programme to reduce exclusion through targeting the mass of the people in Palestine who are involved in or affected by educational exclusion, including students, drop-outs, parents and teachers in every possible forum, such as schools, universities, NGOs, mosques, churches, clubs, charitable societies and women's organisations (interviews 2, 17, 19 and 24). The methods which might be involved in such a programme include direct communication (conferences, workshops, seminars, lectures, meeting, classes) and indirect communication through mass media and other printing materials (booklets, leaflets, folders, newsletters, cards and posters) (interviews 2, 8 and 20).

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter begins with a statement of purpose and research strategies followed by a summary of results. The summary section is based on responses to the research objectives that related to the concept of NFE and exclusion from formal education. The chapter also contains a section on implications focusing on development of the concept, impact of perpetuating the current situation, and considers further research in NFE.

8.1 Purpose and research strategies

The main purpose of the study was to investigate the past relationship between Palestinian formal education and NFE in Palestine as a basis for considering what form the relationship might take in the future. The study was based on the initial understanding that within the field of study and practice of continuing education, NFE has been conceptualised as having a particular role to play in producing a more equitable society.

This research may provide a catalyst for further thought and action on the role of the PNFE in nation building and for more equitable society in Palestine. Five objectives guided the general development of this research:

1. to provide theoretical clarification for NFE and its development.
2. to explore the exclusion from formal education in Palestine.
3. to conceptualise NFE in Palestine and review its nature critically.
4. to develop a framework for a new NFE system in Palestine which would respond effectively to the demands of the new era.

5. to generate strategies which would contribute to reducing exclusion from formal education.

The study progressed through a number of distinct phases, each of which involved a particular research strategy. In the first phase, relevant literature on NFE in general and on the relationship between NFE and the state in particular was reviewed and explored. The review provided a model to understand the role and purpose of NFE in different political contexts. The second phase comprised field work conducted in Palestine to probe the present status of the PNFE and explore dimensions of exclusion from formal education. Data were collected through analysis of documentary materials, as well as through interviews with policy makers and providers of formal education and NFE in Palestine.

8.2 Summary of the results

The outcomes of the study consist of ideas, concepts and perspective that relate to the main objectives of the study. These outcomes are summarised as follow:

8.2.1 Theory of non-formal education and the Palestinian non-formal education

NFE refers to any organised educational activity outside the established formal education system that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives. Chapter 2 revealed that the nature, objectives and characteristics of NFE and its relationship with formal education are related to three different approaches: the liberal pragmatic approach which focuses on the individual development, the human capital approach that emphasises promoting individual skills and training, and the Freirean approach which stresses the importance of raising awareness of the mass of the people. However, adopting one or more of these approaches is related to, and coupled with the philosophy of the state and the nature of its political system.

Chapter 6 showed that three comparable approaches for NFE exist in Palestine. These approaches are: (a) the traditional approach (equivalent to the liberal pragmatic approach) which is reformist, poses no challenge to the *status quo* and represented the indigenous efforts to promote self-realisation and self-development; (b) the human capital approach that has flourished in Palestine under the influence of the international aid agencies and aimed at enhancing labour productivity and promoting economic and social development; (c) the Freirean approach which is focused on the politicisation of the Palestinian society and education for liberation. The similarity between the global approaches and the Palestinian approaches of NFE might be due to the fact that the last two approaches in Palestine (the human capital and the Freirean approaches) were imported from outside. The traditional approach in Palestine was analogous to the liberal pragmatic approach globally because both of them reflect spontaneous individual effort for self-development which could be found in many settings.

The discussion in chapter 2 emphasised that NFE, including the PNFE, is an organic, community response to the limitations of state education system and it seeks to compensate for the inadequacies of formal education. It shows that NFE caters to both children and adults, and is likely to target different groups in the society. It also caters to a wide range of interests, from the professional to the liberal to compensatory basic education.

This research highlighted many points with respect to the theory of NFE that would be considered the contribution of this study to the general understanding and international literature of NFE. These points are:

Firstly: what is often written about as ‘Adult education’ is mostly NFE. However, in crisis and conflict situations, as stated in chapter 2, power holders try to impose some sort of formality over adult education and control it, such an attempt

would split adult education into two parts: one remaining under the state control and called adult education, while the second part would come out of state control and be called NFE.

Chapter 6 displayed how the contemporary PNFE emerged in a conflict situation, and how it developed by the effort of the NGOs despite the Israeli opposition to this kind of education. It also indicated how the Israeli oppression against the PNFE has not succeeded in uprooting it, rather this oppression politicised the PNFE, and led to separation and tension between formal education and NFE.

Further, a primary attempt by the PNA to put restrictions on the PNFE institutions was observed in chapter 6. The aim of these restrictions is not yet clear. The above discussion implies that such an attempt would be useless and inadvisable if it aimed at controlling the PNFE. If the intention is to give a hint to the PNFE institutions not to by-pass the new authority and to consider it as a partner, such an attempt would open a new chapter for co-operation. It would also be understandable in light of the next point.

Secondly: chapter 2 showed that there is no NFE free of state influence. Such an influence, overtly or by indirection, over NFE is unquestionable. NFE does not and cannot work in vacuum, so if the state does not influence NFE, other stakeholders will take this role, and, as a result NFE might end up under the influence of many 'states' instead of one 'state'. Legitimacy and funding are the two main instruments which are likely to be used by the state to influence NFE; if they are combined with statutory management structure for NFE, direct state influence on NFE would be inevitable.

However, the objective(s) of state's influence on NFE in democratic liberal

regimes, if it happened, are likely to differ from that in authoritarian regimes. The aim in the former would be to assist the people to express their interest, while the ultimate goal for the latter would be to maintain and enhance the state's goals in order to protect and strengthen the power holders.

This conclusion implies that the intervention of the PNA in the PNFE is inevitable, as stated in chapters 6 and 7, not only because the PNFE needs both funds and legitimacy, but also due to the intention of the PNA to protect and strengthen its authority and to present itself as the main provider of services.

Thirdly: during and after a crisis, NFE providers are more likely to be approached to achieve national objectives, rather than focusing on the development of the individuals or specific group, as it often does in pre-crisis situations. The main difference would occur in the role of NFE in crisis and post-crisis stage. In the former, NFE is more likely to be focused on general mobilisation and / or relief activities based on short run emergency plans to face humane needs, while in the post-crisis stage, NFE is likely to adopt a longer plan to launch developmental activities and focus on institutional and nation building.

This is in line with the Palestinian case. Chapter 6 shows how the PNFE developed as a reaction to the Israeli policies against Palestinian formal education and society, and focused on achieving collective objectives, rather than individual objectives, and how the PNFE has focused on both relief and development activities; which, presumably, contributed to promoting economic development, social mobilisation and political awareness among the participants.

Fourthly: chapter 2 revealed that most of the NFE literature indicates, explicitly and implicitly, that NFE programmes are intended mainly for those who have adverse living conditions and in developing poor countries. Those people are described as

less fortunate, powerless, disadvantaged, unprivileged, excluded, isolated, marginalised, and so on. However, NFE practices in many settings, including the Palestinian one, showed that NFE could be for both the disadvantaged and the most advantaged. Whether in Palestine or elsewhere, the most advantaged have better access to education provision, both formal or non-formal.

Fifthly: there is a positive correlation between expansion of NFE and the level of democracy and freedom as chapter 2 has shown. The more democratic the state is, the more chance NFE has to be promoted and expanded, and vice versa. Therefore, the pre-condition factor to promote NFE is to adopt a democratic approach and provide stability. This does not mean that NFE in the authoritarian regimes or crisis and conflict situations will vanish: the Palestinian experience, examined in chapter 6, showed that such an oppressive situation could hinder NFE; but, conversely it may push NFE to take a Freirean approach and becomes of greater political significance than in democratic society.

The Palestinian case, as presented in chapter 6, is an example of how the mass of the people are the heart and the spirit of NFE. Without enthusiasm and commitment of the people, effective NFE is unobtainable. Therefore, as stated in chapter 7, NFE policies and programmes would be more effective and relevant if a participatory approach has been adopted from the very beginning to the end. The Palestinian experience also indicated that NFE is one of the most important elements in the process of development, modernisation and liberation; that, where formal education is suppressed, NFE will emerge strongly, even within the most formal educational institutions, and that education will continue whether in a formal or non-formal manner. No force can stop it, and people in the most deplorable situation will find a way if they have a will.

Sixthly: in most societies, and despite the variation in their political, social and economic systems, NFE, as chapter 2 showed, is unlikely to succeed as an alternative to formal education, and neither formal education nor NFE can work alone efficiently; the two systems are complementary and necessary for each other. However, the relationship between formal education and NFE depends on the relationship between NFE and the state. If the formal is good the latter is expected to be good as well, and vice versa.

In Palestine, although the PNFE tried to perform as an alternative to formal education many times, particularly during the *Intifada*, practices of the PNFE so far do not support this ambition, as chapter six showed; the majority of the PNFE worked as complementary and supplementary to formal education.

Given the recent situation and foreseeable future, it is doubtful that NFE could ever be a full alternative to formal education in the Palestinian society. School in this society was, and is, likely to remain a major institution for the transmission of national and international perspectives and goals. Despite that, the PNFE as complementary and supplementary to formal education still has a very important role to play at present and in the future, as stated in chapters 6 and 7.

Seventhly: the discussion in chapter 2 suggested that expanding formal education will not reduce the need for NFE and vice versa. This indicates that the relationship between formal education and NFE is likely to be a direct relationship rather than an inverse one. The implication of this point in the Palestinian case is that formal education and the PNFE are not rivals, and a partnership has the chance to exist to ensure effective use of both, formal education and NFE.

Eighthly: the literature of NFE, as reviewed in chapter 2, emphasises the role of external aid in promoting and expanding NFE programmes. The Palestinian case; however,

showed that local funding, although it was little, did a lot and has always the potential to do that. This strongly indicates that the developing countries would do better to depend mainly on their own national resources even if it is little.

8.2.2 Future of the Palestinian non-formal education

The PNFE evolved during the Israeli occupation in the absence of a Palestinian governmental sector. The tension between the PNFE and the Israeli authority was great. Despite the important role the PNFE played during the occupation era in the field of education, and its effort to compensate for the shortage of formal education, there was an absence of a satisfactory relationship between the formal education and the PNFE because the former was under Israeli direct control, while the latter was under Palestinian control. The predominant disjunction between formal education and NFE during the occupation era minimised NFE chances to participate in tackling problems that faced or existed in formal education.

The chance for PNFE to contribute to the process of development and nation building, including combating exclusion, became wider and possible after the establishment of the PNA. However, this role depends on the trends the relationship between the PNFE and the PNA will take in the future. The conceptual clarification of NFE provided in chapter 2, helped in analysing the Palestinian case and anticipating the future trend of the PNFE. The most important lesson which can be drawn from the literature of NFE and that has implications for the Palestinian case is that the nature of the PNA and the PNA-NFE relationship would shape the PNFE and its role and relationship with formal education, and here there are three possible options:

- (a) If the PNA is liberal democratic, the PNFE will take a liberal pragmatic approach (traditional approach in the context of Palestine) aimed at self-realisation and self-development. In this case, the PNA is unlikely to intervene directly in the PNFE. As

a consequence, minimum tension is expected between the PNFE and the PNA. The relationship between formal education and NFE is likely to be complementary and supplementary.

- (b) If the PNA is authoritarian, the PNFE will take a revolutionist (Freirean) approach aimed at raising awareness of the Palestinian people. In this case, the PNA is very likely to intervene directly in the PNFE, especially in the crisis situation the Palestinians face. Therefore, maximum tension is expected between the PNA and the PNFE, and the PNFE is likely to be in opposition to formal education.
- (c) The PNFE could take the human capital approach aimed at increasing productivity of the Palestinians. This approach would be encouraged by the PNA regardless of its political nature (liberal democratic or authoritarian). In this case, minimum tension is expected between the PNFE and the PNA. The relationship between formal education and NFE is likely to be complementary and supplementary as well.

8.2.3 Educational exclusion in Palestine

The study showed that both, the deterioration of formal education and the economic and social exclusions have created and enlarged exclusion from Palestinian formal education. Chapter 5 explored four aspects of educational exclusion in Palestine. Whether in Palestinian society or elsewhere, educational exclusion is not an educational problem only. The heart of the question of educational exclusion, as it was explained in chapters 2, 5 and 7, is closely tied up to the structure of the society and the unequal distribution of income, cultural assets and power among the various social groups. However, eradicating educational exclusion and achieving a full and absolute balance is almost impossible and even if it happened, it would be for a very short period, because once the targeted exclusion is eradicated other new aspects of exclusion might emerge.

Combating educational exclusion in an effective way requires, as chapters 5 and 7 indicated, educational and non-educational policy and measures inside as well as outside the education sector. Formal education, due to its characteristics and limitations, is unlikely to be able, alone, to combat educational exclusion. Although the MOE, so far, has not prioritised explicitly the elimination of educational exclusion as one of its top targets, many steps, as chapter 5 showed, have been already taken by the Ministry which could make a positive contribution in reducing exclusion. However, as the main focus of these steps was inside schools and emphasises only the role of formal education, and owing to the absence of a comprehensive national policy and enough resources, these steps are more likely to remain fragmented and incomplete.

Palestinian formal education could not, alone, resolve educational problems, including the problems of exclusion. The MOE has to recognise the learning that is taking place outside the formal education. Education is no longer the exclusive responsibility of national education bodies but that of other services and institutions as well. The MOE can do little alone and the efforts of other bodies, including the NGOs, are essential. Future Palestinian educational policies have to encapsulate all educational activities as part of a national, overall learning system to meet the increasing educational demands being made on limited resources. The task is to determine the characteristics and the potential of each type of education to contribute to particular goals and to use these particular strengths as elements of a unified, national educational system.

The discussion in chapters 6 and 7 suggested that the PNFE has a high potential to contribute to reducing exclusion from formal education and chase its causes through community-based activities. The responsibilities the PNFE took-up, the trust it received from the people during the occupation, its multi-faceted approach and its ability to reach almost all sectors, as chapters 2 and 7 showed, and the fact that some areas of educational

provision may be more effectively located in NFE sector rather than in formal sector, all these merits place the PNFE in a good situation to contribute to reduce exclusion from formal education.

The discussion in chapter 7 emphasised that conceiving education in Palestine as a lifelong process with an emphasis on the PNFE as an affective approach to reducing exclusion implies integration between formal education and NFE inside and outside schools. There are numerous indications that such an integration is needed, and should be considered as a national priority if the potential of the PNFE in reducing social exclusion, including exclusion from formal education, is to be realised in the future.

However, without appropriate resources, political will and solid determination, this integration is unlikely to take place. Therefore, there is a need for co-operation between the PNFE institutions and the new PNA to ensure complementarity and to avoid duplication. This discussion implies that all these institutions might engage in a full discussion as to their future role and their real contribution to further social mobilisation through education.

To prepare the PNFE for its future role, including combating exclusion from formal education, the PNFE, as demonstrated in chapter 7, has to be reformed and expanded qualitatively and quantitatively. Chapter 7 provided a preliminary framework to re-build a new PNFE system able to respond to the Palestinian needs in the present and foreseen future. The proposed framework would change the PNFE from that of fragmented programmes to that of a coherent system with clear boundaries. It would also provide clarity to the relationship between the PNFE and the PNA, and alter the latter's unavoidable intervention in the PNFE so as to work as a partner and catalyst rather than as controller and oppressor.

The proposed framework implies that the PNA should give an appropriate recognition to the value of the national contribution which can be made by the PNFE to insure the most effective use of available resources to improve education. One of the required steps in this recognition, as proposed in chapter 7, would be to formulate legislation which recognises the diversity of formal and non-formal education provision, and ensure, as far as possible, a balanced provision of education in Palestinian society. Another step is to formulate a Statutory Board or National Commission to supervise the PNFE system.

These two steps will reflect positively if they are associated with developing a National Qualifications System for accreditation of different forms of NFE. Such a system would enable the Palestinians to have access to lifelong education and training, and perform as an integration instrument between formal education and NFE. The proposed framework depends on many steps and strategies which emphasised the role of a central administration and the intervention of the 'state'. However, the management of the PNFE is recommended to be top-down and for the medium term only because of the special circumstances surrounding Palestinian society in the current transitional period.

8.3 Implications

A number of implications are suggested by the outcomes of this research. The major ones relate to: the further development of the theory of NFE; to the impact of perpetuating the current situation in Palestine and in similar contexts; and to further research.

8.3.1 Development of the theory of non-formal education

Although the emphasis in this century has been on formal education, NFE existed before formal education. For many reasons, which were discussed in chapter 2, NFE has been reconsidered since the late 1960s. Today, as it was in the past, there is no society or community without NFE programmes. A huge literature has been accumulated about the concept of NFE and its development. As a consequence, the potential contribution of NFE to enhancing people's skills, raising their productivity and increasing their awareness is being realised. However, in order to make NFE more effective for people as individuals and nations, a shift in theory and practice is required. NFE must not be left to the mercy of international aid agencies and must not be perceived as an inferior approach lagging behind formal education or loose programmes without context or continuity.

8.3.2 Impact of perpetuating the current situation

Perpetuating the current situation of formal education, NFE and educational exclusion in Palestine, which were examined in chapters 4, 5 and 6 respectively, would have many negative impacts on various aspects:

- i) educationally, this situation would increase the educational wastage due to unpleasant phenomena, such as school drop-outs, left-outs, and repeaters, inefficiency of the education system, brain drain, the separation between the education systems (formal and non-formal), poor quality of teachers, lack of proper resources and the decrease in the quality of education. Further, exclusion can lead to unbalanced policies and political instability, which, in turn, could lead to a slower rate of increase in educational services;
- ii) economically, as education is widely associated with increasing individuals' and national productivity, maintaining the current situation would cause economic loss and hinder development due to the low productivity of women, rural and excluded

areas, the narrow contribution of NFE in development and the inefficiency in utilising the available human and material resources, including the school building and resources. The national expenses would be increased as well, due to the duplication and repetition of some programmes, shortage in exchanging experiences, unfeasibility and poor quality of programmes, allocation of additional resources for illiteracy programmes and campaigns, and the increase in the expenses of other sectors. For instance, health expenses would increase due to the expected increase in fertility rate and malnutrition.

- iii) socially, education has been perceived by many international conventions and forums as one of the basic human rights: every one has the right to be educated. However, the current situation in Palestine is far from 'social justice', because neither the formal education, as shown in chapters 4 and 5, nor the PNFE, as appeared in chapters 6 and 7, is able to reach the whole society and provide services to the people and groups in equal manner. Maintaining this situation would deepen the social stratification, increasing sexism and culture of silence against women, broadening racism and stereotyping among different areas and groups, widening the gap between the WB and the GS, expanding dependency culture, and amplifying the culture of tribalism, retrocession, isolationism and patriarchy.
- iv) politically, perpetuating the current situation would encourage the status quo and lack of democracy to persist and prevent people from participating in decision making and playing a crucial role in constructing a just, democratic society.

8.3.3 Suggestions for further research

As it appeared in the last section of chapter 2, Palestinian society in terms of research is still a 'raw' society, and both micro and macro, qualitative and quantitative research is needed. The shortage in educational research, in particular, is obvious and numerous

issues need to be explored. However, to raise issues for further research pertinent to this study, light will be shed on some under-researched aspects related to formal education, NFE, and educational exclusion. This research, for instance, presents only the perception of policy makers in both formal education and NFE and providers of NFE. Views of those people may or may not be influenced by or reflective of the participants' views (beneficiaries or end-users) and demands. Therefore, to complete the circle, another piece of research focusing on the participants' perceptions is needed.

A micro review of the development of NFE in different fields and sectors and evaluation of the existing programmes is required. A practical step in this regard might be to conduct sectoral analysis and evaluation of the PNFE programmes, such as health NFE, agriculture NFE, religious NFE, political education. Moreover, research about specific issues pertinent to the PNFE is required, such as management of the PNFE, marketing of the PNFE, the PNFE personnel and cadre, programme design, NFE finance, needs assessments and tracing studies.

As little systematic research has been conducted in the field of NFE to assess the effectiveness and potential sustainability of international interventions in Palestine, particularly in the field of education and training, there is a need to evaluate aid-funded interventions and the role of NGOs in Palestine. Improving and disseminating information concerning the relevant costs of different forms of education in Palestine would make an important contribution to monitoring the efficiency and effectiveness of external NGOs, United Nations agencies and local institutions.

In the field of formal education and exclusion from formal education, it is to be borne in mind that the informants, as shown in chapter 5, have identified ten aspects, while the study examined only four of them at the macro level. So further macro research about the remaining aspects of exclusion from formal education is required.

Further, more micro research about all aspects of exclusion is needed, for instance, it is important to know to what extent, if any, the sexual stereotype in curriculum affects the girls' achievement in schools. It is also important to know precisely, through empirical research, how big the gap is between different aspects of exclusion. Moreover, the discussion of formal education in chapter 4 drew attention to some particular phenomena which needs to be addressed, such as the left-outs who are supposed to be in school and never attended it; schools' drop-outs; double and triple-shifts schools; crowdedness and class size, and so on.

The political and socio-economic aspects of education, both formal and non-formal, need to be examined. For instance, what is the impact of the Israeli occupation, the *Intifada* and the sieges around population centres on the educational attainment of the current generation, especially those who are still in schools? What is the real cost of school education? How could formal education cater more closely for the needs of the mass of the people and become more community-based? And the big, last, question is, what do the Palestinians want to teach their children in the post-Oslo stage whilst they are at the precincts of the twenty - first century?

In the global arena, numerous issues need to be pursued by research, such as reviewing the attempts to link formal education and NFE; exploring the relationship between NFE and the state in different political contexts; examining the influence of external funds over local programmes; and tracing the influence of high technology in delivering and administrating NFE.

Appendices

APPENDIX (1)

Interview Guideline

I. Introduction

Q1. What are the five most important problems that confronting the Palestinian formal education at present?

II. Exclusion from formal education

Q2. Do you think there is exclusion from formal education? If so, in which field/s?

Q3. What are the indications and the causes of this exclusion?

Q4. What can formal education do in this regard?

Q5. Can formal education cope alone with problem of exclusion? Why? How?

III. Non-formal Education

Q6. What are the objectives of NFE in Palestine?

Q7. Is the PNFE able to achieve these objectives ? If not, Why? What can be done?

Q8. In which field/s can NFE serve Palestinian society effectively?

IV. The role of NFE in combating exclusion from formal education

Q9. Can NFE contribute to reducing exclusion from formal education? If so, How? If not, why?

Q10. Do you think the current PNFE can contribute effectively to reducing exclusion from formal education? If so how? If not why?

V. The relationship between the Palestinian formal education and the PNFE

Q11. How do you see the relationship between the formal and NFE at present?

Q12. How should this relationship be? What can be done to achieve that?

Q13. Are there any further points that you would like to make about the topic, or any areas I have not covered that you might like to comment on?

APPENDIX (2)
The Interviewees' Names & Characteristics

No. Of the interview	Name	Current Position	Level of Education / field	worked in formal education	worked in NFE	Previous Experiences
1.	Dr. Tyseer Maswadeh	Head of Hebron Directorate of Education	Ph.D. in Statistics	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher Continuing Education Manager
2.	Mr. Khalil Mahshi	Director-General of Public Relations and Cultural Affairs Department / Ministry of Education (MOE) / Palestine	BA	yes	yes	Teacher Headteacher Researcher Popular education facilitator
3.	Dr. Mofeed Al-Shami	Director General of Accreditation and Licensing/ Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) / Palestine	Ph.D. in Business Administration	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher Research co-ordinator
4.	Mr. Walid Al-Zagha	Director-General of General Education / MOE	BA	yes	no	Teacher Educational administrator
5.	Dr. Ibtisam Dahho	Director-General of Planning, Research and educational Development / MOE	Ph.D. in Educational Planning	yes	no	Lecturer Researcher
6.	Mr. Fawwaz Mojahid	Director-General of Building and Projects/ MOE	MA in engineering	yes	yes	Lecturer Planning manager
7.	Dr. Sa'ed A'ssaf	Director-General of Supervision, Training and Qualifications / MOE	Ph.D. in Mathematics	yes	yes	Lecturer Trainer Continuing education instructor
8.	Dr. Muneer Fashah	Director of Tamir Institute for Community Education / Rammallah	Ph.D. in Community education	yes	yes	Teacher & Lecturer Trainer & Researcher Community-education worker & administrator

Appendix (2) - continued

No. Of the interview	Name	Current Position	Level of Education / field	worked in formal education	worked in NFE	Previous Experiences
9.	Mrs. Haifa' Baramki	Director of Continuing Education Department / the University of Berzeit / Palestine	MA in educational Administration	no	yes	Educational administrator
10.	Mr. Khalil Abu Libdeh	Illiteracy & Adult Education Division / MOE	BA	yes	yes	Community-education worker
11.	Mrs. Jouman Karaman	Director of Secondary Education Division / MOE	BA	yes	no	Teacher Headteacher
12.	Dr. Dyab A' yosh	Deputy Minister of Social Affairs / Palestine	Ph.D. in sociology	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher
13.	Dr. Na'em abul Humos	Deputy Minister of Education / Palestine	ED. D in curriculum & Instruction	yes	no	Lecturer Researcher Educational Administrator
14.	Mr. Ahmad Al-Tamimi	Chairman of The University Graduates Union / Hebron / Palestine	BA in finance	no	yes	Educational administrator
15.	Mr. Wasim Kurdi	The Educational Network / Rammallah / Palestine	BA in Arabic language	yes	yes	Teacher Researcher Co-ordinator of NFE activities
16.	Mr Isma'el Nujoom	Director of Almwred teacher Development Centre	BA	yes	yes	Teacher

Appendix (2) - continued

No. Of the interview	Name	Current Position	Level of Education / field	worked in formal education	worked in NFE	Previous Experiences
17.	Mr. Ghassan Abdallah	Director / Centre for Applied research	BA	yes	yes	Teacher Researcher
18.	Mrs. Muntha Jarrar	Director of Student Activities / MOE	BA	yes	no	Teacher
19.	Mr. Muhammad Khalifeh	Studies and Information Division / Palestinian National Committee for Education & Science (PNCES)	BA	no	yes	Researcher
20.	Mr. Jihad Karashile	Deputy Minister/ Director-General of (PNCES)	BA	yes	yes	Educational administrator
21.	Dr. Younes Amir	Director Of Hebron Open University Branch	Ph.D. in Arabic Language	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher Educational administrator
22.	Mr. Ahmad Mansour	Teacher in Yatta Centre for Education (NFE Institution)	BA in Education	yes	yes	Teacher NFE facilitator
23.	Dr. Maher Hashwi	Chairman of Psychology and education Department / University of Berzeit	Ph.D. in science Education	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher NFE Trainer
24.	Mrs. Fadwa Khader	Member of the Steering Committee for Non-formal Education Programme / West Bank	BA in education	yes	yes	Teacher NFE trainer & co-ordinator

Appendix (2) - continued

No. Of the interview	Name	Current Position	Level of Education / field	worked in formal education	worked in NFE	Previous Experiences
25.	Mrs. Asia Habash	Director of Early Childhood Research Centre / Palestine	MA in Education	yes	yes	Researcher Trainer NFE administrator
26.	Prof. Ibrahim Abu Loghed	Director of Palestinian Curricula Development Centre / Rammallah	Ph.D. in political science	yes	yes	Teacher Lecturer Researcher & trainer NFE instructor
27.	Ms. Hiam Abu Ghazalah	Director of Literacy & Adult Education Centre / University of Berzeit	MA	no	yes	Researcher Adult Education Trainer
28.	Mr. Fahmi Shalaldeh	President of Higher Committee for Illiteracy & Adult Education In Palestine	BA in Law	no	yes	Adult Education Administrator
29.	Mr. Hisham Kuhail	Deputy Minister of Higher Education & Director-General of technical Education and Colleges	MA in engineering	yes	yes	Lecturer NFE trainer Vocational Education Administrator
30.	Dr. Ribhi Abu Senenah	Director-General of University Education / MOHE	Ph.D. in Physics Education	yes	yes	Teacher Lecturer Researcher NFE Trainer Continuing Education Manager
31.	Dr. Jaklin Sfier	Dean of Education Department / Bethlehem University	Ph.D. in Education	yes	yes	Lecturer Researcher NFE Trainer & Administrator

Letter from the Minister of Education: To Whom It May Concern

Palestinian National Authority
Ministry of Education



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
السلطة الوطنية الفلسطينية
وزارة التربية والتعليم

الرقم: وت / ٢٦٦ / ٤ / ٤٦١١

التاريخ: ١٢ / ٨ / ١٩٩٦ م

الموافق: ٢٤ / ٣ / ١٤١٧ هـ

السادة مديري التربية والتعليم المحترمين

تحية طيبة وبعد ،،،

الموضوع: البحوث التربوية.

أرجو مساعدة السيد صلاح الزرو التميمي في إستيضاح البيانات والمعلومات التربوية المتعلقة بجوانب محدد من التعليم الفلسطيني والواردة ضمن رسالة دكتوراه يعدها بهذا الشأن ، وسيقوم بزيارات لمكاتبتكم لإتمام هذه المهمة

مع الاحترام ،،،

وزير التربية والتعليم

أ. ياسر عم

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