**Alternative education schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel: Rationale and characteristics**

**Abstract**

The past two decades have witnessed the emergence of alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. Drawing on interview data with various schools' stakeholders and observations in classrooms, we examine the rationale for establishing alternative education schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel and their characteristics based on a study of two prominent alternative education schools in the Arab-Palestinian society. The analysis reveals that discontent with the state dictated curriculum, the lack of autonomy and the excessive focus on academic achievement in mainstream schools were the main reasons for establishing alternative education schools. The analysis identified six major themes that distinguish these schools from mainstream schools: interpersonal relationships; alternative teaching practices; alternative subjects and extra-curricular activities; strengthening students’ sense of Palestinian national and cultural identity; active parents’ engagement; and committed and motivated teachers. The findings are discussed in relationto mainstream schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel.

**Keywords**: Alternative education, mainstream education, Arab-Palestinian society in Israel; Israeli education system.

**Alternative education schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel: Rationale and Characteristics**

1. **Introduction**

**Education is entwined with politics everywhere, particularly in divided societies and especially during periods of political transitions (Gallagher, 2004) - be it from colonial rule to independence, from dictatorship to democracy, from one state to another or from one ideological regime to another (Bray and Lee, 2001). This was the case in Palestine in the early 20th century when rule over Palestine transitioned from the Ottoman Empire to the British Mandate and the subsequent creation of the state of Israel. Since its founding in 1948, Israel has utilized strategies of control against Palestinians who remained in the country, and became known as Israeli Arabs. As for education, the state of Israel has tightly controlled the education system of its Arab-Palestinian citizens (Al-Haj, 1996; Makkawi, 2002), and has been using formal education in order to repress national and cultural awareness among Arab students (Jabareen and Agbaria, 2011; Makkawi, 1999).**

The Arab education system in Israel functions as a separate, subordinated and marginalized body within the state education system (Agbaria, 2015). It is devoid of autonomy and Arab-Palestinian cultural contents that meet the diverse national, cultural, and religious needs of the Arab-Palestinian society (Abu Saad, 2006; 2015; Al-Haj, 1996; Jabareen and Agbaria, 2010). This policy allows Israel to emphasize its own narrative, particularly in subject-matters such as civics, history, geography and literature, while ignoring, obscuring, or even eradicating the Arab-Palestinian narrative (Agbaria, 2015). Consequently, the state aims to create a type of Arab-Palestinian educational system that produces shallow citizens who are devoid of history, and lack independence and clear national and cultural identity (Al-Haj, 1996; Amara and Mar’i, 2002). Mar’i (1978) argued that the centralized education system was set ‘to instill feelings of self-disparagement and inferiority in Arab-Palestinian youth; to denationalize them, and particularly to de-Palestinize them; and to teach them to glorify the history, culture, and achievements of the Jewish majority’ (p. 37). Furthermore, the Arab-Palestinian education system in Israel features an excessive emphasis on academic excellence failing in the process to attend to the social, intellectual and emotional needs of the students (Abu Asbah, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996; Amara and Mar’i, 2002).

Against this backdrop, in recent years groups of parents, educators and social activists have taken actions to set up alternative educational frameworks that provide an alternative for the restrictive, narrow and uncreative curricula of state schools (Levy and Massalha, 2010). They planted the first seeds of alternative education frameworks in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel that, among other things, welcome the expression of Arab-Palestinian identity and bring Arab-Palestinian historical and cultural narratives to the fore (Amara et al. 2009; Massalha, 2009).

***1.1 Alternative education schools: a brief background***

Educational reassessment of traditional education in the early years of the 20th century in Europe by visionary educators and thinkers, such as Rudolf Steiner (Waldorf education), Maria Montessori, and Loris Malaguzzi (Reggio Emilia education) had led to the establishment of some of the best known alternative approaches to education (Edwards, 2002)*.* Alternative education echoes the form of learning found in most pre-industrial societies, where children are actively engaged in the life of a given society; they learn skills and knowledge by means of imitation, apprenticeship, modeling, and conversation rather than in any formal school setting (Bennis, 2006). Alternative education symbolizes a paradigm shift from the hierarchal and behaviorist model (structured and industrialist) of traditional education to the humanist model of education. In the view of humanist education, self-actualization rather than knowledge is the goal of education. Achieving self-actualization involves re-formulating the quality of interaction between pupils and teachers, involving students in planning and decision making, arranging for student-led activities, and, rather than assigning grades and normative evaluations, engaging in descriptive reporting (Doll, 1979).

However, a commonly accepted definition of alternative education schools still does not exist, and the constantly evolving nature of alternative schools and the rules that govern them have made them something of a moving target and difficult to define (Lange and Sletten, 2002). Generally speaking, educators and researchers agree that the term refers to educational approaches that differ from traditional state-provided mainstream education (e.g. Carnie, 2003; Foley and Pang, 2006).

Alternative schools are characterized by commitment to constant self-examination and change, creation of democratic structures and processes, a cooperative learning process between students and teachers, and a learning community that acknowledges the student’s uniqueness based on the view that every person has the right to his/her own self-expression (Kizel, 2012). Common characteristics of alternative schools include; small classroom sizes; emphasis on one-on-one interaction between teachers and students; supportive environment that strengthen relationship between teachers and students; opportunities and curriculum relevant to students interests; structural flexibility and an emphasis on student decision-making (Lange and Sletten, 2002).

In the United States, the alternative movement gained steam with the civil rights movement. It served as a model for hundreds of Free schools in the 1960s and 1970s which were particularly popular among Afro-Americans in the American South (Stronach and Piper, 2008). Miller (2002) refers to free schools as small educational communities that were free from state control and the values of corporate capitalism, in which children and teachers were free to think and engage in interactions according to their own authentic needs and passions. The mission of free schools, therefore, was to "initiate a mental revolution by teaching reading, writing, and speaking skills through discussion of black history, the power structure, and building a movement to struggle against the latter" (Conley, 2002, p. 63).

***1.2 Alternative education schools in the Israeli context***

**Alternative education in Israel has been studied under the theme of parental entrepreneurship (Gofen et al. 2014; Eyal, 2008). Over the past two decades, there has been a growing trend in Israel, in which groups of dissatisfied parents in Jewish secular communities have been coming together to establish alternative school initiatives for their children that are customized to their pedagogical needs and preferences, while entirely lacking in professional guidance and governmental supervision (Gofen at al. 2014; Gofen and Blomqvist, 2014). Gofen and Blomqvist (2014) called such initiatives, *parental entrepreneurship* which "reflects a refusal to accept current public education arrangements, and undermines the authority and professional stance of administrators" (p.555). These entrepreneurial endeavors are often classified by the degree to which they stray from conventional educational practices (Eyal, 2008).**

**A number of factors have driven Israeli parents (primarily affluent and secular middle-class parents) to seek alternative options for their children, including dissatisfaction with the deteriorating levels of public education (Dahan and Yonah, 2007), and the motivation to improve the quality of their children's education by instituting a specific pedagogy, which they argue is not available in the public education system (Gofen at al. 2014). In particular, pedagogies that follow alternative educational philosophies such as Waldorf, Montessori, or Dewey. This growing phenomenon marks a power shift in the provision of education from the monopoly of governmental administration to parents (Gofen at al. 2014). It is important to note, however, that in Israel, there are no charter laws that allow parents to establish schools and no formal policy has been proposed to regulate these school initiatives. Therefore, the Ministry of Education has consistently objected to such parental initiatives, and only the court rulings in favor of these initiatives, enable their existence albeit as recognized but nonofficial schools – hence receiving up to 75 percent of their funding from the state (Gofen at al. 2014).**

***1.3 Alternative education schools in the Arab-Palestinian Society in Israel***

**Parental alternative school initiatives have also recently sprung up in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel, although not in the same rate as in the Jewish society and with varying degrees of success**. These are small alternative schools, intended at first for early childhood and elementary education (seeLevy and Massalha, 2010; 2012). The school initiatives aimed at offering alternative pedagogies and educational visions different from those prescribed by Israeli Ministry of Education, and as such can be seen as attempts by parents and educators to gain more control over the education of their children (Levy and Masalha, 2012). Furthermore, the schools strived to increase students’ awareness of their Arab-Palestinian heritage by integrating Arab-Palestinian historical, cultural and national narratives into their curricula (Massalha, 2009).

One of the earliest and prominent alternative school initiatives was the *Arab Democratic school of Yaffa* in the mixed locality of Jaffa, which comes under the jurisdiction of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The school was founded in 2004 by a group of Arab-Palestinian parents and political activists. The school advocated democratic pedagogy and placed a strong emphasis on the Arabic language and culture in the hope they would curb the deteriorating state of Arab education in Jaffa and offer children a type of education that State and Church affiliated schools would not or could not offer (Levy and Massalha, 2012). The founders of the school advocated for a curriculum that reflects an Arab-Palestinian narrative and links learning to students’ sense of Arab identity (Levy and Massalha, 2010). However, the school closed its doors in 2011 due to financial constraints and lack of funding.

Another initiative was *Deeritna: Al Nahda Al-Arabia School* (School of Arabic Reawakening). This post-elementary school was established in the Arab town of Kufr Qari’ in 2009 by a small group of educators and parents. The founders of the school envisioned an alternative educational environment for their children that “places the child at the center of the educational process in a relatively non-hierarchical educational space and infused with extra-curricular programs” (Levy and Massalha, 2012, p. 13). Extra-curricular programs that include learning about Palestinian history and going on excursions to the ruins of the Arab villages which were demolished by Zionist paramilitary groups during the 1948 war and military forces thereafter. The school however, faced numerous problems and eventually dropped its alternative vision, and was subsequently taken over by *Atid* - an Israeli for-profit network of schools. The network is known for its excessive focus on excellence and academic achievements (Levy and Massalha, 2012).

Although the aforementioned schools no longer exist, they however, signify the rise of grassroots movements in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel of that call for new educational spaces where Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel can have greater control over their education, and develop their national identity awareness and self-assurance by anchoring the pedagogical process and the learning experience in their cultural and historical contexts. However, there is a dearth of research and knowledge on these grassroots movements and the alternative education schools they strive to establish in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. Therefore, this study aims to expand on our understanding of this phenomenon by addressing the following research questions:

1. *What is the rationale for establishing alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian Society in Israel?*

2. *What are the characteristics of two prominent alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian Society in Israel?*

***1.3 Research context***

The current study focuses on two prominent alternative Arab-Palestinian schools that have not received attention in the literature. The first school is called *Masar (Process)* and is basedin the city of Nazareth. The second school is called *Hewar* (*Dialogue*) and is based in the Jewish-Arab mixed city of Haifa. **The two schools were selected for a number of reasons. First the two schools are fully-fledged and firmly established alternative schools that serve a student population from primary to post-primary education. They are regional schools that admit students from both cities and the surrounding localities. Second, the schools are openly secular (in the context of religiously divided communities in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel) and admit students irrespective of their religious affiliations (hence there are Muslim, Christian and Druze students). Third, the schools were established from the outset by groups of parents as alternative school initiatives, as opposed to transforming existing conventional schools to alternative ones. Unlike the schools reviewed earlier in the study, which all now have been closed, *Masar* and *Hewar* have persisted in the face adversity and numerous bureaucratic challenges in their journey of recognition. Indeed, despite the difficulties parents face in obtaining recognition for their schools, they are often highly motivated and draw their strength from the fact that their initiatives are bottom-up initiatives developed by and for the community (Eyal, 2008).**

*Masar* was established in 1998 in Nazareth by a group of social activists and parents, who with the support of the Department of Education in the city opened the school’s first pilot Kindergarten consisting only of 11 children. The school has expanded in size and levels since then and was officially recognized in 2006 by the Ministry of Education as a fully independent alternative school. Today the school is firmly established as a regional comprehensive school with over 250 Christian and Muslim students and receives up to 75% of its funding from the Ministry of Education and the rest supplements from tuition fees. **The current tuition fees stand at 5000 NIS (~ $1355) per annum. The school is open to all on a first come basis, and there are no academically based selection criteria for admissions. Each class has a total enrolment capacity of 25 students, and registration ends once enrollment capacity has been reached. The school however, has devised a point-based registration process to select parents based on their interest and commitment to the school alternative ethos that include; the attendance of parents at an open day and a tour of the school, the attendance of learning workshops intended for a deeper understanding of the school's alternative philosophy, and a personal interview with new parents if needed. Parents with existing children in the school are given priority. To ensure socio-economic diversity the school allocates a purposive annual budget to assist students from low-income families, and offers reductions in tuition fees for parents with two or more siblings enrolled at the school, and single parents.**

*Hewar* is based in the mixed Jewish-Arab City of Haifa, and as the name in Arabic implies, *dialogue* is one of the guiding principles of the school. Its philosophy is guided by the principles of democracy, dialogue, creativity and critical thinking. The school was first established in 2001 by a group of parents, educators and social activists. In contrast to *Masar* however, *Hewar’s* journey for recognition was long and was met with fierce resistance from the Department of Education in the city of Haifa and the Ministry of Education. It is only in 2012 and after a number of petitions to the Supreme Court that the school was finally granted a license to operate as an independent alternative school. However, the school receives no state funding and relies on full tuition fees. **The current tuition fees stand at 13000 NIS (~ $3500) per annum. The school is open to all on a first come basis, and there are no academically based selection criteria for admissions. Parents however, have to agree to the school's principles and accept the alternative character and philosophy of the school. The substantial tuition fees may naturally attract the highly educated and affluent of parents, many of whom moved to Haifa from other Arab-Palestinian localities in search of job opportunities or in search of progressive education opportunities for their children. However, to ensure socio-economic diversity the school provides a fund (from donations) to assist students from low income families and offers 10% reduction in tuition fees for parents with two or more siblings enrolled at the school.** The school caters for pupils in the primary and secondary school (up to the 8th grade) levels. There are currently 120 pupils and 55 preschool children aged three to five.

1. **Methodology: Data collection and data analysis**

In this study, we adopted a qualitative approach, employing semi-structured interviews and observations. The data was collected over a one-year period (From February 2016 to March 2017). In total 44 semi-structured interviews were carried out (23 in *Masar* and 21 in *Hewar).* The participants interviewed included; the general directors of the organizations that run the schools, school principals, teachers, students in secondary and high school levels, parents and graduates. The interviews with the general directors and school principals were conducted first to gather factual information about the schools, determine the rationale for establishing the schools, and explore their visions and philosophies as well as their characteristics. The interviews were conducted in Arabic and lasted between 40 and 80 minutes. All interviews were digitally tape-recorded, transcribed verbatim and translated from Arabic into English. Depending on their role, (principal, teacher, student, etc.) participants were asked open questions about the characteristics of the schools and the key features that deem the schools alternative.

As to observations, 7 observations were conducted in *Masar* of different classes including: mathematics, the Arabic language, Dance, Music, critical thinking class, and debating (or Student’s platform). In *Hewar*, 5 observations were conducted in the following classes: mathematics, geography, history, and the morning talk (an activity each class carries out in the morning for 30 minutes before teaching commences, where they discuss a range of topics), and one observation in the kindergarten. In each observation, the researcher made notes concerning the learning atmosphere in the classroom, student-teacher interaction, teaching contents, and teaching styles.

The transcripts of the interviews and observation notes were analyzed using the ‘thematic analysis’ method, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). In this analysis, we followed a systematic process to find patterned responses or themes within a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). We followed the 6 stage-analysis provided by Braun & Clarke: (1) *Familiarizing yourself with the data*: all data were read repeatedly by the researchers to obtain a sense of the breadth and depth of the data. The researchers met on several occasions to discuss their initial impressions of the data. (2) *Generating initial codes*: all relevant phrases, sentences, or paragraphs (text units) that related to the research question were extracted and given a code, which is a brief label that captures the essence of the text unit. The team discussed, refined, and verified all the codes. (3) *Searching for themes*: the researchers divided the codes into broad overarching themes based on code similarities. (4) *Reviewing themes*: the themes were reviewed and revised by the researchers and organized into a coherent pattern.[[1]](#footnote-1) The researchers then reexamined the data set as a whole to ensure that all relevant data were captured by one of the themes. (5) *Defining and naming themes*: each theme was identified by a statement that captured a distinct characteristic of both schools.

(6) *Producing the report*: The researchers prepared a final report that provided a detailed account of each theme. The report was then crosschecked with the general directors of the non-profit organizations that run both schools for validation.

1. **Findings and discussion**

**The following section is organized into two main parts. The first part focuses on the rationale for establishing alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel, and the second part focuses on characteristics of alternative education in *Masar* and *Hewar*.**

***3.1 Rationale for establishing alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel***

**In line with the parental entrepreneurship literature (e.g. Gofen and Blomqvist, 2014; Eyal, 2008), the interviews with the general directors and the school principals of both schools revealed that the schools' founding was the joint efforts of groups of parents who came together because they were discontent with the mainstream education arrangements and the state of public education in their cities. They deemed the state dictated curriculum in Arab-Palestinian schools as traditional, outdated, suppressive of creativity, and excessively focused on academic achievement at the expense of developing students' character. In this regard *Masar's* General Director noted, "The fundamental problem with mainstream education is that no matter how good it is, in its essence lies a bad structure, the curriculum, the grades, it is like production lines in factories." Hence, by seeking alternative frameworks the founders aimed to widen the narrow academic scope of mainstream education to include new concepts, values and a sense of belonging, as the General Director of *Hewar* noted, "The aim of the school is to develop a new educational model, outside the dictates of official authorities, in order to promote human values and a sense of national belonging, and to create a different educational environment that fosters motivation for learning, creativity and critical thinking."**

**The founders also believe that current mainstream education system is dislodged from the social and historical contexts and deliberately sidelines the Arab-Palestinian national narrative (e.g. Agbaria, 2016; Arar, 2012). Hence, they call for educational visions and teaching practices that are rooted in the specific values, culture and challenges of the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. As *Masar's* principal explained, *"We link students to their history to help them form their identity, but not in isolation from universal values".* In the same vein, the founders of the schools seek to create secular educational spaces where students can learn to negotiate their religious and cultural affiliations in a non-biased way. Although the schools celebrate religious festivals such as Islamic holidays and Christmas, their approach is secularly oriented and excludes religious education. As *Masar's* General Manager illustrated, "*Masar* is known to be truly secular, and because we are secular we tackle taboo subjects, social and religious, that wouldn't be raised in mainstream schools".By openly defining the schools' characters as secular, both schools challenge existing Arab-Palestinian societal norms and, follow the example of Jewish secular parents who have established alternative schools (Gofen at al. 2014).**

***3.2 Characteristics of alternative education in Masar and Hewar***

Despite some of the differences between the two schools in terms of size, context and history, the analysis reveal that both schools share common characteristics in terms of ideology and pedagogical practices. For this reason and to avoid repetition, the common characteristics presented in the next section relate to both schools. Six major themes emerged from the analysis: *(1) Interpersonal* relationships*and power relations*; *(2) strengthening students’ sense of Palestinian national and cultural identity; (3) Proactive parents’ engagement; (4) alternative teaching practices;* *(5) alternative subjects and extra-curricular activities; and (6) committed and motivated teachers****.* In the following sections, evidence for each theme is presented followed by a discussion in relation to the broader context of the Arab-Palestinian education system in Israel.**

***3.2.1 Interpersonal relationships and power relations***

***Masar and Hewar* adopt an anti-authoritarian model of teacher-student interpersonal relationships. This contrasts with mainstream schools in the Arab-Palestinian society where power dynamics between teachers and students are characterized by traditional and authoritarian values (Abu Asbah, 2007; Bekerman and Tatar, 2009; Levy and Massalha, 2010).**The analysis reveals that interpersonal relationships emerged as the most salient theme, particularly teacher-student relationships, hence inferring that teacher-student relationships is one of the pillars of alternative education. The findings point to a safe and friendly classroom atmosphere that is devoid of formality and authoritarian tendencies. Interviewees described the teacher-student relationship as humanistic and one based on camaraderie. In the interviews, it was often mentioned that teachers in both schools see the student as a person first before they see him/her as a student. Hence, the relationship between teachers and students is not based on fear and awe but on mutual respect and inclusion. As one parent at *Hewar* explained, “*There is no need for the teacher to shout in order to establish his/her authority and earn his/her respect.*” This was further supported by a teacher at *Hewar* who stated, “*Being alternative is not a question of whether we have exams or not, it’s a lot deeper than that. Teacher-student relationship is based on mutual respect. This does not mean that we don’t face some difficulties with some students, however we don’t scream back at students with insulting and demeaning language.”*

In this regard, students in both schools can address their teachers (and the school principals) by their first names, something that interviewees considered unthinkable in state or public schools in the Arab-Palestinian society. From the teachers' and students' point of view, doing away with formal titles in the schools reflects the depth of the inherent relationship and the depth of cooperation that exist between teachers and students. One student at *Masar* explained “*the absence of formal titles at school breaks down the barriers between teachers and students and strengthens the relationship between them. The student sees the teacher as a friend, and that’s why he is obliged to respect him*.”

The close relationship between teachers and student creates a sense of safety among students which allows them to express their views freely even if it is criticism directed at the teacher him/herself. To achieve this sense of safety, “*a teacher needs to have the capacity to go down to the level of his/her students, to the extent that s/he re-lives their experiences and to put himself/herself in their place*” as one teacher at *Masar* illustrated.

The intimate interpersonal relationships found in both schools at all levels create a friendly atmosphere and a comfortable learning environment. Students in both schools described how the schools’ environment and atmosphere make them feel safe, comfortable and free. This is due in part to the small number of students in each classroom (up to 25 students), and in the school in general. Having a small number of students in the classroom allows teachers to reach out to each student and be mindful of individual differences. From the students’ perspective, the small number of students allow them to get to know one another including students from different educational stages. For these reasons, students from both schools frequently remarked about the sense of family atmosphere that prevails in their schools. As one student at *Hewar* explained, “*students at Hewar like the school, they don’t feel coerced into coming to it…on the contrary, they feel at ease at the school*.” Similarly, a student at *Masar* stated, “*The family atmosphere here differentiates the school from mainstream schools, and this creates in me a sense of belonging to the school, the students and the teachers*.” For parents, the friendly atmosphere in the schools was the decisive factor for enrolling their children in the schools. As one mother at *Masar* related, “*I chose the school because of the friendly and humane atmosphere, and that was important for me, because I didn’t want my children to go through what I went through in state schools where the atmosphere was fraught with tension, fear of authority and lacking in humanity.*” Similarly, a parent at *Hewar* stated, “*I have chosen the school because it doesn’t put undue pressure on students through school homework and exams and also because I reject the repression and rigid rules that are common in mainstream schools.*

***3.2.2 Strengthening students’ sense of Palestinian national and cultural identity***

**Many of the schools’ curricular and extra-curricular activities are geared towards strengthening students’ sense of Arab-Palestinian national and cultural identity. This orientation sets the schools on a path unique to existing Arab state schools where the curricula is dislodged from the surrounding social and historical contexts and schools refrain from teaching the Arab-Palestinian national narrative, or even discussing it unofficially (Abu Saad, 2006; Abu ‘Asbah, 2007; Arar, 2012;). Agbaria (2016) points out that, the excessive focus on academic achievement and excellence in the Arab education system leaves little room in mainstream schools for strengthening students’ collective identities, community development or social responsibility. This contrasts with Jewish schools, where Jewish identity and national awareness are nourished not only via the curriculum, but also by a variety of extracurricular programs that are supported by the Israeli army, various highly politicized youth movements and numerous civil society organizations (Dror, 2007).**

The analysis shows that in both schools the subject of identity is strongly present in in the Arabic language lessons. Arabic language teachers in both schools share a common belief that the Arabic language is a core component of the Arab-Palestinian national identity, and one of the subject-matters that carries within its folds the most content on identity. Indeed, the subject of identity is present through the texts of prominent Arab-Palestinian writers and poets such as the late poet Mahmoud Darwish. An Arabic language teacher at *Masar* stated that they at *Masar* “*succeed in nurturing identity through language, and nurturing language through identity, and as a result they feel that their students’ sense of national identity is high and responsible.”* Similar sentiments were shared by an Arabic language teacher at *Hewar* who stated that “*teachers at school choose texts that are close to the cultural and political reality of the Arab student, with the aim of meeting the school’s declared objectives of nurturing a sense of national identity in their students.*” **In contrast, Arab-Palestinian teachers in mainstream schools experience a sense of conflict regarding their loyalty towards their employer, the Ministry of Education, and their loyalty towards their Palestinian community (Dwairy, 2004).**

Both schools conduct various extra-curricular activities aimed at inculcating a sense of national identity and a sense of affiliation in their students. At *Masar*, the school dedicates a week annually for activities that commemorate the Palestinian Land day that represents the events of March 30, 1976 when a general strike and marches were organized in Palestinian towns across Israel in protest of land expropriation in the Galilee. In the ensuing confrontations with the Israeli army and police, six unarmed Palestinian citizens were killed, about one hundred were injured and hundreds were arrested (Amara and Kabaha, 2005). Related activities include, visits to social clubs for the elderly to listen to their stories of the events on that day, voluntary work in the surrounding community, and reciting poetry of prominent Arab-Palestinian poets. Moreover, the subject of identity is frequently raised and discussed in various lessons. In an observation of a ‘general education’ class, a group of students presented information, pictures and videos depicting ordinary life in Arab-Palestinian towns and cities before the *Nakba* (*Catastrophe*). They showed a black and white documentary film that depicts life in 1925 in the former Arab-Palestinian city of *Tabariyya* (Tiberias). This was followed by another short documentary featuring interviews with displaced residents of the city who talked about their memories of the city prior to the Nakba, the Judaization of the city, and the ensuing displacement. The aim of this activity according to the teacher is “*to search for identity by exposing students to Palestinian memory, Palestinian cities, and Palestinian writers and poets”.*

In *Hewar*, the school also conducts similar activities aimed at reviving the Arab-Palestinian memory. For instance, each year the school organizes a trip to displaced Arab-Palestinian villages aimed at raising awareness of displaced Arab-Palestinian villages, their names and locations. One of the teachers commented, “*The school provides us the space to incorporate learning materials that reflect Palestinian identity*”. The teacher further added, “*This is very important for me as a teacher and as a mother because I believe that it’s the duty of each Palestinian student to know his/her history, particularly when this history is absent in the curriculum of mainstream education*.” A geography and history teacher at *Hewar* stated that in her classes, she raises political issues such as the Palestinian cause, Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the role of the Rothschild family in the establishment of Israel, settlements building in the West bank, land appropriation, and home demolitions in Arab-Palestinian localities in Israel.

***3.2.3 Proactive parents’ engagement***

Parents play a very important role in both schools where they are encouraged to **take a proactive part in the running of schools' affairs and in various educational and extracurricular activities. Parents’ proactive engagement is not limited to material contribution (e.g. donating money for air conditioning units or help with school renovations). Parents’ engagement implies *doing with* the school and therefore is different from parental involvement which implies *doing to* the school, where the school identifies the projects and needs and then tells parents how they can contribute (Ferlazoo and Hammond, 2009).** One parent at *Masar* stated, *"Mainstream schools often don't engage parents, and if they do, mainly for limited functions such as financial support. In Masar things are different, the door is open for parents to participate in various school activities and are invited to initiate and take the lead in organizing and coordinating school activities."* Similarly, a parent at *Hewar* stated, "*Parents play an active role in all school matters and if you have any concerns they listen to you and do something about it".*

**The type of parents' engagement in both schools reflects the entrepreneurial type of parents engagement (Gofen and Blomqvst, 2014; Eyal, 2008). Parental entrepreneurship suggests that parents take joint responsibility in running the schools and "shifts the focus from parents as policy targets, to parents as policy makers." (Gofen and Blonqvist, 2014, p. 562) However, the pinnacle of parents’ engagement in both schools was manifested in the moral and the legal support that parents lend to the schools whether in their struggle for official recognition or to ensure the schools' survival. In contrast, Arar and Masry-Hezallah (2016) reported that relationships between Arab mainstream schools and the students’ parents are often considered unsatisfactory, and characterized by one-directional communication, tension and conflict. According to Arar and Masry-Herzallah (2016, p. 8) the turbulent relationship between schools and parents "prevent the desired harmony between the two socializing agents that shape the student’s personality: school and family."**

***3.2.4 Alternative teaching practices*** Observation and interview analyses reveal that teachers in both schools do not follow prescribed and unified alternative teaching methods. Instead, teachers speak of the things they do not do, such as ‘spoon-feeding’ the students that is common in mainstream schools. In general, it is left to each teacher to instruct their classrooms as they see fit, often based on trial and error, and students’ feedback. Indeed, some students admitted that there were occasions in which they asked teachers to change their teaching style because they thought it was too traditional. Nevertheless, from the observations it was noticed that teaching styles vary from one teacher to another, depending on the ages of the students, the subject matter, and teachers’ conviction in the overall alternative ideology (the more devoted a teacher is to the principles of alternative education, the more effort he/she puts into deviating from traditional teaching practices). For instance, a math teacher at *Masar* stated “*I integrate my hobbies in painting, playing musical instruments, and singing in my teaching when I realize that the existing teaching tools in my position are not enough to illustrate a particular point*.”

**Teachers in both schools reject traditional teaching methods that are based on memorization and rote learning. This contrasts with teaching methods in mainstream schools in the Arab-Palestinian society where teaching is largely frontal, pedagogically traditional and outdated (Abu ‘Asbah, 2007; Bekerman and Tatar, 2009; Levy and Massalha, 2010). This could be attributed to the school culture prevalent in mainstream schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel, which is often characterized as being formal, traditional, and conservative (Eilam, 2002). In such a school culture, epistemological beliefs are expected to prevail concerning teaching and learning according to which teachers are regarded as the unquestioned authority of knowledge (Safadi and Yerushalmi, 2009). Teachers in mainstream schools, are therefore more inclined to opt for teaching practices that grant them ultimate authority, while discouraging students’ expressions of opinions, independent behavior, criticisms, liberal attitudes or arguments (Bekerman and Tatar, 2009).**

Moreover, in both schools, students do not have homework, and if they do, it is often minimal (even though the principals emphatically discourage it). Moreover, they do not fully adhere to the curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education, and refrain from using the Ministry’s recommended textbooks, particularly at the elementary level. Instead, teachers are expected to search various resources to select learning materials they find appropriate. As one graduate from *Masar* related, “*For instance in the Arabic language class, the learning materials were designed and determined by the teacher himself, and hence they were close to the student’s reality, such as the poetry of Mahmud Darwish and Samih Al-Qasim.*”

However, as students advance to secondary and high schools (in *Masar*), teachers tend to align more to the Ministry’s curriculum, primarily in order to prepare the students to Israeli *Bagrut* (matriculation) examinations. In this regard, a high school Arabic language teacher at *Masar* explained “*at the high school level the teacher tends to oscillate between the traditional system and the alternative system, where, on one hand the teacher adopts the ministry’s curriculum and follows its recommendations, and on the other hand he/she wants to preserve the alternative characteristic of the school.*” He further stressed, “*Although I find myself bound by the Ministry’s curriculum, yet I don’t rely on the recommended textbooks for learning materials…instead I look for other sources that are in line with the school’s ideology and reflect the schools’ standing on educational, moral and ethical issues”.*

In regard to evaluation, both schools adopt an alternative evaluation system that is devoid of summative exams and tests, at the elementary level and to some extent at the secondary level. Instead students’ progress is monitored through ongoing formative assessment based on a number of criteria including, personal, academic and social. Students receive written reports detailing their strengths and areas for improvement and remedial recommendations. In this regard, a parent at *Hewar* commented, “*the evaluation is detailed and comprehensive to the extent that it makes me feel that the teachers know my son better than me*.” From the teachers’ perspective, *"the alternative evaluation does not pigeonhole the student into a grading category and judge him/her accordingly”*, a teacher at *Hewar* explained. Moreover, in the written report the recommendations for improvement begin with the pronoun ‘we’ and not ‘you’ (i.e. we will work together to improve) in order to assure the student that he/she is not alone and that the teacher will accompany and support him/her through this. However, at the secondary and high school levels (at *Masar*), evaluation tends to revert to the traditional summative form (using marks and grades). In *Hewar’s* case, this is done to prepare their students for the transition to a local traditional high school, whereas in *Masar*, to prepare their students for the *Bagrut* (matriculation) examinations.

***3.2.5 Alternative subjects and extra-curricular activities***

**Masar and Hewar place greater emphasis on non-traditional subject-matters and extracurricular activities such as arts, music, drama, and dance, hence opening up further potential avenues for the academically strong and weak students to actualize their creativity and develop hidden potential. For instance, art lessons in both schools include painting, coloring, and sculpting. In music lessons, students play musical instruments such as the violin, drums, *Dafs* and the piano. In *Masar*, they introduced chess in the curriculum, which is taught as a primary subject-matter to all students at the elementary level, and as an optional subject-matter in advanced school levels. The school holds internal yearly chess competitions for its students and encourages the competent ones to participate in regional and national chess competitions. This contrasts with mainstream schools that feature an excessive emphasis on academic excellence, leaving little room for the creative arts and values education (Abu ‘Asbah, 2007; Agbaria, 2016; Levy and Massalha, 2012). According to Massalha (2009), the excessive focus on academic excellence in mainstream schools is considered as one of the fundamental flaws of Arab-Palestinian education in Israel.Both schools start the school day with warm-up activities***. Hewar* devotes half an hour each morning to an activity called “the morning talk” whereby students and teachers raise and discuss various topics and issues. The topics may include current and political affairs, school events, or personal matters. For instance, in one of the observations in the kindergarten, the teacher seated the children in a circle and talked about feelings, and their meanings. She went around asking each child to share their feelings on that morning and the reasons why they feel that way. According to one teacher at *Hewar*, the “*aim of the morning talk is to let go of feelings and give students an opportunity to vent their concerns before teaching starts.” Masar* has a similar practice where teachers assign fifteen minutes each morning for discussing general topics with their students. Moreover, *Masar* allocates two lessons each week for an activity called “dialogue”, where students debate and discuss diverse educational and social topics, aiming at developing their debating and dialogue skills.

Another prominent activity at *Masar* is called the student’ platform, which is a weekly gathering for all secondary and high school students where they raise and discuss school matters, vote on school’s decisions that are related to students, suggest new school initiatives. The platform is akin to “*a mini parliament*” as one of the students described it. The aim of the student’s platform “*is to break the hierarchy at school, internalize democratic values, enhance students’ self-confidence, and to develop leadership and public speaking skills*”, stated one of the teachers involved. In one of the observations of the student’s platform, a student proposed an initiative calling on students to give up their mobile phones for at least a day week, and not bring them into the classroom. The proposal aimed at making better use of students’ time and increasing social interaction among students. The proposal received majority support.

*Masar* also runs what they call “*critical thinking classes*” where students discuss a variety of social, religious, political and cultural topics. The aim of these classes is to develop students’ critical thinking and debating skills through questioning implicit cultural and religious assumptions. Subjects that have been raised in these classes include; women’s rights, equality, identity, religious beliefs, and even the subject of martyrdom. The mantra of these classes is “*no subject is taboo”* as the teachers put it. In an observation of a critical thinking class, students raised the subject of pedophilia in the context of underage marriages. Students debated whether marrying a girl under the legal age of marriage (18), a social norm that was practiced in some communities in the Arab-Palestinian society, is considered a form of pedophilia.

***3.2.6 Committed and motivated teachers***

Teachers play an important role in developing and maintaining the alternative character of both schools. Since the schools are run by non-for-profit foundations, this gives them the freedom to select teachers based on creativity skills, initiative, and social achievements, and to a lesser extent on academic qualifications and achievements. It became evident in the analysis that not all teachers can be suited to work in these schools, because first and foremost, they ought to believe in the concept behind the schools and their missions. Teachers must have an open mind, be flexible, possess a creative teaching style, and the capacity to attract and contain students. A teacher at *Masar* related, “*the school’s uniqueness is largely related to the characteristics and quality of its teachers*”.

All interviewees highlighted the crucial role the teachers play in enriching the learning experience, building student’s personality, raising cultural and political awareness among students. Students in both schools commended the attention and care they receive from their teachers. They understand them, empathize with them, and know them personally. As one *Hewar* student explained, “*teachers take the interest of students and his/her success seriously and show willingness to explain and clarify things to struggling students, during a lesson, after it or even in their spare time”*. Parents feel free and comfortable in contacting teachers to clarify school matters, even outside school hours. As one teacher at *Masar* confirmed, “*I allow parents to contact me at any time, even late at night if necessary*”. She further added, *“I sometimes receive phone calls from parents to talk about general matters that have nothing to do with their children or school... I have become like a family friend*”. Similarly, a teacher from *Hewar* said, “*I don’t see the school as just a workplace, it’s a place where I find myself, and put my beliefs and ideas into practice through education*”.

**Teachers’ motivation is important not only due to the implications for their own personal and professional development but it has been shown to improve teaching quality and positively influences students’ motivation, their academic success and progress (Finnigan 2010; Nir and Hameiri 2014). Teacher motivation is a critical issue in mainstream schools in the Arab society in Israel, because the decision for many to undertake teaching as a profession is often a “constrained” and not a free choice, due to limited access for Arabs in Israel’s employment market (Agbaria, 2013). Moreover, some see teaching as a secure profession because of the tenure, and for women it is seen as ideal from combining work and home management (Arar et al. 2013). These perceptions may undermine teachers’ motivation and commitment to their work, so that they lack any social or national mission, or a sense of involvement and affinity to the job and the organization (Wei, 2013).**

Both schools pay special attention to teachers’ professional development through continuous in-house training**, given that teaching occurs in a rapidly changing reality that requires teachers to continuously learn, innovate, and develop professionally (Campbell, 2002). This aspect is particularly pertinent in both schools**, due to the shortage of teacher training programs in Israel that specialize in alternative education. Hence, the task of training the teachers lies with the schools – an uneasy task since training teachers not only entails equipping them with alternative teaching practices but also involves changing mindsets and challenging existing assumptions about the meaning of education in general, and the role and professional identity of teachers in particular. During the duration of this study, both school conducted fortnightly training sessions with external facilitators, where they were exposed to new concepts in alternative education, discussed case studies from within the schools, and developed best practices.

1. **Conclusions**

**The purpose of the current study was to shed light on the recent phenomenon of alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel by to investigating the rationale for establishing these alternative education schools and by exploring their characteristics. The study draws on the recent trend of parental entrepreneurship in the Israeli education system, in which dissatisfied parents, primarily secular, come together to set up alternative schools for their children, according to their pedagogic preferences and general perceptions on quality education (Gofen et al. 2014; Gofen and Blomqvist, 2014; Eyal, 2008). In line with the literature on parental entrepreneurship, the findings of the current study indicate that *Masar* and *Hewar* were also established by groups of Arab-Palestinian parents in Israel who banded together to provide alternative educational frameworks for their children due to their discontent with the state of the mainstream school system in the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel.**

**Despite some differences between the two schools in terms of history and size, they share common philosophy and characteristics. The two schools pay particular attention to the teaching and learning milieu, the interpersonal relationships and power relations between teachers and students, students' sense of national identity, teaching practices and extra-curricular activities. This does not mean that mainstream schools do not possess some of these characteristics, however, what distinguishes alternative schools is the coming together of these characteristics to guide teaching and learning and to meet parents' needs for what they perceive as quality education for their children (Gofen et al. 2014). Naturally, it would not be possible to achieve the desired outcomes in their students without qualified and highly motivated teachers who are committed to the school's guiding philosophies. Hence, as the findings demonstrated, both schools invest considerable amount of resources on training new and existing teachers in the principles of alternative education. This is necessary because in the absence of teacher training programs in Israel that specialize in alternative education, the schools take it upon themselves to train their teachers.**

**Taken together, the results of this study define and delineate the concept of alternative education in the context of the Arab-Palestinian society in Israel. On the basis of these characteristics, *Masar* and *Hewar* offer a different model of education that challenges the state dictated mainstream educational model in Arab-Palestinian schools in Israel. Nevertheless, the findings also raise a fundamental question concerning their effectiveness in achieving the desired outcomes. This however, may be difficult gauge due to the fact that the schools consider any evaluation based on academic excellence as invalid and hence reject the standard evaluation criteria. The founders of *Masar* and *Hewar* argue that the schools should be evaluated based on the holistic learning experience, that include among other things, students' satisfaction with the school, the freedom to learn without the pressure of exams, and the friendly school atmosphere where everyone knows everyone's name. Notwithstanding these attributes the school may still face challenges in terms of how they are perceived in their communities. After all the schools operate in a society that associates school effectiveness with academic excellence or what Barr and Parrett (2001) referred to as the “bottom-line”.**

**Moreover, although the schools welcome proactive parents' engagement, questions arise concerning the boundaries of their engagement and the extent to which they have power to alter existing educational arrangements (e.g. the no exams policy). Gofen and Blomqvist (2014) argue that although parental engagement is one of the positive aspects of parental entrepreneurship, it is multifaceted and can be a social force or a problem. Therefore, to further our understanding of alternative schools in the Arab-Palestinian school, future research should explore the external and internal challenges that alternative schools face, and how the schools deal with them. Comparative studies could examine differences between students at alternative schools and mainstream schools on a variety of measures such as student motivation, satisfaction with the school, critical thinking skills, and identity awareness. Moreover, future research should examine the extent to which the in-house training programs effectively internalize the principles and beliefs of alternative education among the schools' teachers and the extent to which these beliefs are translated into actions in the classroom.**

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1. A coherent pattern includes internal homogeneity (i.e., the codes link together meaningfully in each theme) and external heterogeneity (i.e., there are clear distinctions between the themes). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)