



## School Choice and Conflict Narratives: Representative Bureaucracy at the Street Level in East Jerusalem

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## **School choice and conflict narratives: representative bureaucracy at the street level in East Jerusalem**

In representative bureaucracy research the dominant view holds that passive representation leads to active representation. Much of the research to date has focused on the conditions that influence this process. In this research we argue that more attention needs to be paid to the manifestation of active representation, rather than simply its presence. We find that while passive representation may indeed lead to active representation, the nature of this active representation is interpreted differently by those sharing a primary identity. We use the lens of representative bureaucracy theory, and Q Methodology, to understand how street level bureaucrats in East Jerusalem use their discretion within the education system of a contested society.

### **Key words:**

Representative bureaucracy, education, ethos, active representation, role perception, street level bureaucracy, East Jerusalem

### **Introduction**

Education systems provide an obvious vehicle through which to pass on cultural practices to the next generation of a community. Education therefore has long been used as a lens to measure active representation (Meier and Bohte, 2001; Meier and O'Toole, 2001; Pitts, 2007). The bureaucracy, too, 'plays a major role in determining citizen's political attitudes and behaviours' (Vigoda-Gadot et al, 2008:79), particularly within contested societies. Within a vociferously contested society, we would expect street level bureaucrats (SLBs) to demonstrate high levels of active representation on behalf of their primary identities, an environment, Eckstein (1975: 118) would have described as a case of the most likely variety: Drawing on 20 in depth Q Methodological interviews with street level bureaucrats (school principals within East Jerusalem), and seven interviews with local educational experts and Palestinian policy-makers, this article explores the link between the primary identities of SLBs within two publicly run school systems and the conflict narratives delivered to Palestinian

children between the ages of 12 and 16. Specifically, we investigate the narratives and discourses that school principals and deputy head teachers perpetuate within their schools in order to explore how active representation on behalf of a primary ethno-political identity is defined.

We draw on a representative sample from two Palestinian school types: Israeli run Municipal schools (12 interviews) and Palestinian run Awqaf schools (8 interviews), in East Jerusalem to examine the recurrent tensions surrounding funding, power, resistance and identity in order to shed some light on the nature of active representation. The next section introduces our conceptual framework for measuring ethos at the street level and is followed by an introduction to our research methodology and a background to the case study. The findings emerging from the Q-sort are then presented, followed by a short discussion.

### **Reviewing representative bureaucracy**

What then do we expect to find? While discretion exists among street level bureaucrats in East Jerusalem (Yair and Alayan, 2009), it is less clear how it manifests. In the absence of a dominant state narrative, it is expected that a bureaucrat's latent narratives will come to the fore (Callahan, and Olshfski, 2006). In our case, there is no dominant narrative, but rather two competing state narratives, and various iterations of these narratives. Further, studies by Yair and Alayan (2009) have demonstrated that school principals in East Jerusalem have been able to massage figures and employ a high level of discretion in how they interpret the demands of both competing authorities. This is a consequence of the political limbo that exists in East Jerusalem since Israel's occupation and assimilation of the city in 1967. Israel, as the

occupying authority, is required to regulate and manage education through the municipal system. Street level bureaucrat discretion, in terms of how the curriculum is taught and how schools are run, originates from the traditional unwillingness of the Israel authorities to commit resources together with the forced the retreat of the Palestinian Authority from East Jerusalem. Principals therefore are left to navigate between the two authorities with relative ease: the PA's remit restricted and receding and Israel's dominant but recalcitrant.

Conflict management and public administration literature therefore lead us to believe that a certain level of discretion is available to principals within East Jerusalem and that latent narratives will be used to guide decision-making in these circumstances. What are these latent narratives that guide decision-making? In other words, what type of school ethos (the contextual characteristics specific to the school that distinguish it from other schools (Rutter et al., 1979; Gittelsohn et al., 2003) do these SLBs wish to instil within their pupils? Does passive representation translate to active representation uniformly across Palestinian head teachers?<sup>i</sup> To answer this question we turn to three strands within the representative bureaucracy literature.

#### *Traditional representative bureaucracy and its limitations*

As the street level bureaucrat (school principal) and bureaucratic elite within traditional Palestinian owned and run schools (the Awqaf system) would share similar values and life experiences, according to Kingsley (1944) we would expect the norms, beliefs and values to be harmonious with both each other and with the bureaucratic elite. Hence, the expectation that in Awqaf schools we are more likely to see the promotion of a Palestinian national

identity. Passive representation translates to active representation due to a shared lived experience.

Within municipal schools (controlled by Israel but run by Palestinians) as elite level bureaucrats are Israeli and street level bureaucrats (school principals) Palestinian, they do not share common life experiences. Kingsley's traditional representative bureaucracy would therefore not expect representation of the principal's (Israeli bureaucrat) beliefs by the agent (Palestinian principal). However, studies by Dresang (1974), Brown (1999) and most recently by Johnston and Houston (2016) have highlighted that the norms of an organisation can influence bureaucrat behaviour and that an ethnic group in society cannot rely on its co-ethnics within an organisation to actively represent on its behalf. Drawing on evidence from Denmark and Sweden, Moller and Stensota (2017:3) present two types of narrative among SLBs: 'the statesperson' whose loyalty is to the citizen delivering a service to those 'entitled' while denying it to those deemed ineligible, and 'the professional' who has carved out his or her own way of conducting a task within the boundaries of the law. Building on this research, could it be the case that organisational or professional norms have trumped primary associations within the highly-charged contested society? This would mean that in municipal schools we would expect that passive representation would not automatically translate into active representation.

*Passive representation leads to active representation*

The majority of representative bureaucracy research, particularly in education policy (Meier and O'Toole, 2006), would lead us to believe that SLBs can skew the policy of their elite level counterparts in order to attain their own particular goals – be these maintaining the status

quo, limiting the impact of policy change, or skewing resources towards a particular group in society. Grissom et al (2009) argue that black communities in Southern US states are more likely to actively represent than black communities in Northern US states. Environment therefore matters. Further to this, Andrews and Johnston (2013) find active representation by female police officers, only in instances where they are in front line roles. Our school principals fulfil these criteria. This body of literature would therefore lead us to hypothesise that municipal schools are not bound by their administrative elite and consequentially are equally as likely to promote a Palestinian national identity. For active representation to take place however, Meier and O'Toole (2006) in their seminal work, put forward that two conditions are necessary: (i) the issue must be of importance to those expected to actively represent and (ii) they must comprise a critical mass of the organisation. Both conditions are met within this case study. This dominant conception of representative bureaucracy would therefore lead us to expect that SLBs actively represent their primary identities within both school systems.

### *Summary*

We start from the position, that in instances of discretion, identity guides behaviour (Meier and O'Toole, 2006; Egeberg, 1999). First of all, we must determine to what extent discretion exists. Formal independence, in respect of values, from the two authorities and boards of management must be measured, but we must also measure values-independence from more informal sources: societal organisations/interest groups/religious organisations. These may also curb the discretion of the principal. The most useful lens through which to simultaneously measure both (i) the extent of discretion and (ii) how this discretion is exercised, is representative bureaucracy (Meier and O'Toole, 2006; O'Connor, 2017). See Kennedy (2014)

in a previous issue of this journal for a comprehensive review of the representative bureaucracy literature.

*Applying the theory of representative bureaucracy*

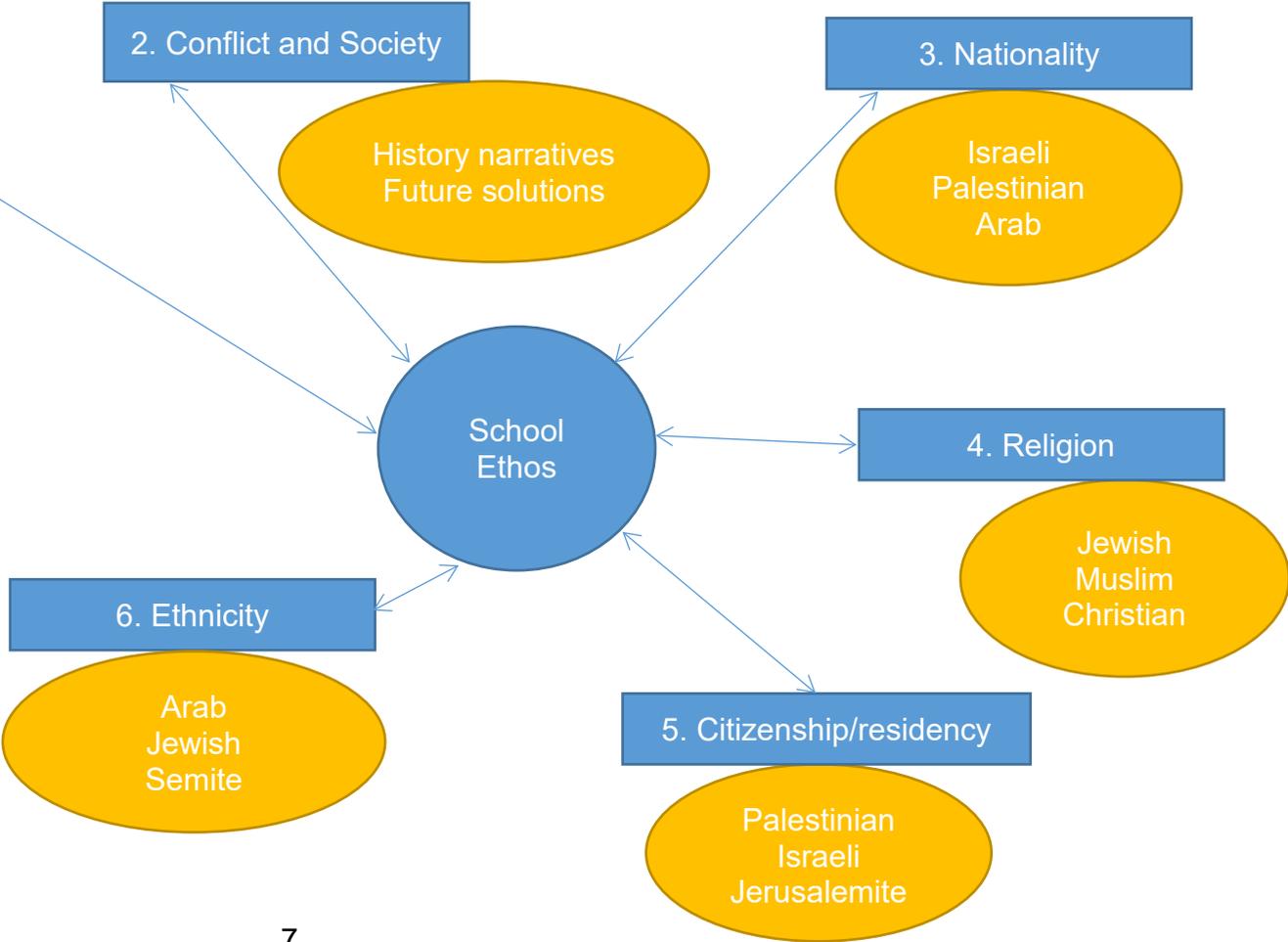
According to Smooha (2002) the dominant cleavages within Israeli/Palestinian society are: **ethnicity, nationality, religion and citizenship** (or indeed non-citizenship as is the case in East Jerusalem). The various possible permutations and combinations of these characteristics generate individual perceptions about the **conflict and society**. We therefore probe school principals as to which combination of these traits they prioritise. As agents may also possess a **professional association** (O'Connor, 2014; Moller and Stensota; 2017) or technocratic mentality (Majone, 1994, Fergusson, 1984; Radaelli and O'Connor, 2009), or alternatively, an **organisational attachment** (March and Olsen, 1989) or **organisational cultural identity** (Rice, 2012), we probe the extent to which such associations are simultaneously represented. The conceptual framework is depicted below in Figure One. The ethos that the principal wishes to instil in the school is informed by the aforementioned dominant organisational and societal cleavages. If we can determine how the individual balances these competing cleavages, we will be able to understand the core values of the school principal/street level bureaucrat that in turn will inform how they employ their bureaucratic discretion.

Figure one: conceptual framework

**SECONDARY ATTACHMENTS**



**PRIMARY ATTACHMENTS**



\*Jerusalem Education Authority  
\*\* Palestinian National Authority

## **Education under fire: research context and methodology**

### *Why education?*

The structural organisation and management of education often demonstrates the way in which diversity is viewed by state authorities. Consequently, in divided societies, education can become party to wider political and ideological goals. The position of education in most societies allows it to take on an important role in the socialisation of ethnicity. Schools can yield significant influence through curriculum content, providing the opportunity to reproduce the dominant language and culture, ensuring their transmission to future generations. Curriculum can teach history, religion and even geographical interpretations of homelands through the channels of history and geography. In this sense, education offers a perfect mechanism for state assimilation projects, or, conversely, provides an ideal means of non-violent resistance when faced with threats to collective ethnic identity or territorial representation (Shanks, 2016). How communities choose to educate their children can reflect wider social-political environments. Education within the contested society is therefore the perfect venue to examine the relationship between passive and active representation.

The education system in East Jerusalem depends on a complex distribution of roles between four different providers: (1) Israeli municipal schools; (2) the so-called “awqaf” schools, under the authority of the Jerusalem directorate of education, which itself is subordinate to the Palestinian ministry of education; (3) private schools, mostly independent historic religious schools and (4) the United Nations relief and works agency (UNRWA), in charge of refugee camps such as Shufaat (Nuseibeh, 2016: 7-8).

East Jerusalem's fragmented and bifurcated education provision is a direct consequence of Jerusalem's ongoing disputed and contested political status (Nuseibeh 2016; Dumper 2014; Nasasra 2018). Israel's 1967 de facto annexation of Palestinian East Jerusalem and expansion of municipal boundaries (including 71km of West Bank) lead to absorption of 66,000 Palestinians, afforded 'residency rights' but not full Israeli citizenship (Ju'beh, 2007). Today 300,000 Palestinians live within the municipality of Jerusalem as defined by Israel. They pay city and state taxes and are considered residents, though not citizens, of Israel (ACRI, 2015).

Similar ambiguity surrounds education provision in East Jerusalem where Israel have not been able to assert full sovereignty or control. While the Israeli Ministry of Education and Jerusalem Municipality are legally responsible to fund and operate schools in East Jerusalem, the Palestinian Authority (under 1993 Oslo Accords) also provide schools, their own curricula and examination process (Velloso, 2002). This split administration between antagonistic actors, coupled with historic Israeli underfunding has led to severe classroom shortages, absenteeism and the country's highest dropout rates (Shlomo, 2016; Maimon, 2015). Such structural problems have been further exacerbated by the construction of the separation wall through East Jerusalem suburbs; leading to disruption, delays and a lack of access to schools for thousands of Palestinian children (Dolphin, 2006). Against this chaotic and volatile backdrop Israel's education ministry is increasingly pushing for Palestinian syllabus reform and the adoption of the Israeli Bargut system (Grave-Lazi, 2017) in return for better school funding and resource allocation in East Jerusalem (Hasson, 2016; Shlomo 2016). This coercive educational agenda is once more transforming East Jerusalem educational sphere into an arena for ethno-national struggle and resistance.

Since 2012, some East Jerusalem school principals, incentivised by municipal funding, and often Palestinian parent demand, have begun to provide students with the option of studying for the Israeli state exams (*bagrut*) instead of the Palestinian Authority endorsed Palestinian exam (*al-tawjihi*). Such schools have been vilified for supporting the Israeli curriculum, Israeli propaganda and the normalisation of Israeli control in East Jerusalem. Condemnation has been delivered from some of the highest of religious authorities, with the former Grand mufti of al-Aqsa, Sheikh Ekrima Sabri delivering a sweeping condemnation of the education policy with a fatwa in September 2017:

“From the pulpit of the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque, we clearly state that it is not permissible to teach the Israeli curricula in schools in Jerusalem, and that all those who teach them are guilty and all those who support and teach them are sinners and those who send their son or daughter to the school that studies these curricula are guilty.”

The independence and autonomy of Palestinian education in East Jerusalem remains a vital component of community identity and solidarity. In the words of one interviewee, "Education is the last tool that remains under Palestinian control. If we lose it, we lose everything" (School principal in East Jerusalem, A1).

#### *Data collection*

Our fieldwork, carried out in East Jerusalem between 2015 and 2016, was conducted amidst heightened social and political tensions. Some Israeli commentators label this period the ‘knife intifada’ due to the intensification of stabbing attacks and shootings, particularly throughout East Jerusalem and the Old City. Social unrest and heightened security invariably sensitised interviews and even access to schools and educators.

#### *Q Methodology*

Q methodology is most concerned with determining a community members' principled and causal beliefs. The most common methods of measuring attitudes within the social sciences are the straightforward Likert scale and the semantic differential method. Q methodology, for Selden et al (1999), provides 'the most appropriate basis' for measuring individual norms and values. Q methodology therefore does not seek to answer *r* questions such as how many respondents agree with particular sentiments or courses of action. Rather, in Q we seek to determine if the positioning of the statements by a respondent is related to the positioning of the statements by another respondent. Q has therefore been described as an inverted factor analysis, meaning, the questions are subjects and the respondents are variables. Individual respondents that have placed the statements in a similar fashion are then said to share perspectives. Q therefore seeks to determine a set of existent viewpoints – it does not seek to determine the extent to which these viewpoints are ascribed (Kitzinger, 1987). Further, it focuses on who the interviews are as opposed to their number. (O'Connor, 2014) The Q technique is therefore appropriate for our research question as it is particularly suited to measuring the dominant narratives conveyed by street level bureaucrats.

#### *The Q sample*

The Q sample is derived from a broad review of the literature in each of the conceptual areas highlighted in Figure one. Initially over 300 statements were identified, these being reduced to 30 statements that were considered to be most relevant (presented in table one). Statements were translated into Arabic and independently retranslated into English to ensure accuracy. A pilot study was also conducted, following which statement translations were finalised.

#### *The P sample*

In Jerusalem there are 46 Awqaf schools and 65 municipal schools. Of these, we targeted principals and deputy principals. Twenty-two interviewees from twenty-two schools were interviewed, of which, twenty completed the Q sorts: twelve from the municipal schools, referenced as M1, M2 etc below, and eight from the Awqaf sector, referenced as A1, A2 etc below. Of the twelve municipal respondents, three were female, and of the ten Awqaf respondents, six were female. Interviewees in both cases were between the ages of 40 and 60. Interviewees from these schools were targeted on the basis of their geographic location (urban-rural), gender, school type (perceived socially conservative, liberal) and time in post. 80% of those targeted for interview participated in the study. Those that declined were all from the Municipal Sector. In each case, a minimum of two members of the research team met with each interviewee. The interviewee was presented with the Q cards and asked to sort them into three categories: a category they agreed with, disagreed with and those they were ambivalent about. They were then asked to further sort these cards into seven fixed predetermined categories – those they strongly agreed/disagreed with, those they agreed/disagreed with, those they mildly agreed/disagreed with and finally those they were ambivalent about. While sorting the cards, each interviewee was encouraged to tell a story or elaborate on why they had placed the card in a particular fashion. Once the cards were sorted, the interviewee was asked further open questions, based on the positioning of the Q cards. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and where necessary translated into English and analysed. This gave a comprehensive picture of the respondent's core beliefs and perceptions.

#### *Data Analysis*

The quantitative data was analysed using PQ Method and the qualitative narratives were analysed by the project team.

## The Findings

**Table One: Factor Arrays<sup>ii</sup>**

	Category	Statement	Factor1	Factor 2	Factor 3	statement to factor relationship		
						1	2	3
1	JEA/Awqaf attachment	As we are part of the municipal/Awqaf system, it is my responsibility that we fully comply with the ideas and regulations of the Jerusalem Education Authority/Awqaf	0	-1	1	0.22	-0.66	0.30
2	Conflict and Society	Regardless of the curriculum, it is my responsibility to ensure that my students have a good understanding of Arab and Palestinian history	1	3	1	0.59	1.42	0.71
3	Conflict and Society	It is my responsibility that students graduating from this school know how to participate in civil society.	2	1	3	1.36	0.73	1.73
4	JEA/Awqaf attachment	The JEA/Awqaf administration try to persuade me to behave in ways I otherwise would not	-2	0	0	-1.12	-0.21	-0.17
5	Professional and Organisational	My primary role is to raise the level of educational attainment of the children	1	0	2	0.72	0.36	1.42
6	Conflict and Society	Successive Israeli governments have demonstrated that they do not want to live in peaceful coexistence with Palestine/Palestinians. Israel will not make peace in my lifetime.	1	2	0	0.60	1.31	0.08
7	PNA	The Palestinian National Authority influence how I govern the school.	0	-1	-2	-0.01	-1.03	-1.32
8	Professional and Organisational	It is important to me that I have discretion over what books to use and what curriculum to offer students	-1	2	0	-0.70	1.31	-0.13

9	Religion	I cannot tell my teachers how to dress, but I can advise them that as East Jerusalem is a conservative society, they should dress accordingly	-2	-1	1	-1.12	-0.35	0.22
10	Religious leaders	Religious leaders try to persuade me to behave in ways I otherwise would not	-1	-2	-3	-0.94	-1.17	-1.37
11	Professional and Organisational	I encourage staff to use innovative teaching methods	3	3	2	1.40	1.41	1.27
12	Conflict and Society	Violence/armed resistance is always wrong; children need to learn this at school	-2	-3	-2	-1.03	-1.44	-1.08
13	Conflict and Society	My role is solely to impart technical knowledge to students. I have no role in educating the children about the conflict or occupation.	-3	-2	-1	-1.75	-1.30	-0.29
14	Professional and Organisational	I would like more autonomy in running the school – I see at first-hand what the students in this area need	0	-1	3	0.54	-0.62	1.47
15	Ethnicity	It is important to me that my teachers have a Palestinian background.	2	2	1	0.84	1.02	0.48
16	Religious leaders	Religious leaders influence how I govern the school	-1	-2	-3	-0.97	-1.15	-1.40
17	PNA	The Palestinian National Authority try to persuade me to behave in ways I otherwise would not	-1	-3	-2	-0.34	-1.62	-1.33
18	Religion	This school should be a secular space. We should teach students about multiple religions.	-3	0	1	-1.24	-0.11	-0.57
19	Nationality	I am a Palestinian but sometimes I find it difficult to relate to people in Gaza and the rest of the West Bank.	-3	0	-1	0.75	0.10	-0.77
20	Nationality	As an educator under occupation, it is my responsibility to promote a Palestinian National identity	1	0	-1	1.50	0.54	-0.48
21	Religion	This school should have an Islamic ethos	3	1	2	1.40	0.51	0.89

22	Professional and Organisational	I am interested in learning about new techniques in education	2	3	3	0.93	1.42	1.73
23	Citizenship	It is my responsibility to inform my students of their rights as residents of East Jerusalem	0	0	0	-0.08	0.19	0.11
24	Nationality	I am a Palestinian, but I find it more beneficial to work within an Israeli system	-2	1	0	-1.02	.66	-0.18
25	Ethnicity	All Palestinians are ethnically Arab. It is my responsibility as an educator to promote an Arab identity within my school	0	0	0	-0.04	0.17	0.09
26	Conflict and Society	I don't like living under occupation but I fear just as much the day when we will be under the full authority of the PA	-2	1	-1	-0.47	0.93	-0.53
27	Citizenship	It is important that students graduating from this school understand their rights as East Jerusalemites.	2	1	1	1.23	0.73	0.36
28	Professional and Organisational	I like to meet regularly with other school principals in the area to exchange ideas	1	-1	2	0.57	-0.23	1.29
29	Citizenship	To accept Israeli residence entitlements is to deny our rights as Palestinians	0	-2	-3	0.06	-1.43	-1.72
30	Ethnicity	Jew-Arab we are all the same. It is this ethos which I wish to instil within my school	-3	-3	-2	-1.89	-1.47	-0.81

We correlated the Q sorts to create a 20x20 matrix. This in turn was subject to a principal component analysis and rotated by Varimax criteria to reveal three factors as outlined below. Each factor represents a conceptual template originating from where each respondent categorised the statements. Table Two (below) highlights that there is a noticeable difference between three types of school ethos evident in our East Jerusalem cohort.

**Table Two: Correlations between factor scores**

	<b>Type 1</b>	<b>Type 2</b>	<b>Type 3</b>
<b>Type 1</b>	1.0000	0.5808	0.5848
<b>Type 2</b>	0.5808	1.0000	0.6272
<b>Type 3</b>	0.5848	0.6272	1.0000

### **The Factors**

Table Three (below) displays the factor loadings of each of the three factors, showing that all but one interviewee from the Awqaf schools weighed significantly on factor one. (The qualitative part of the research revealed that this respondent was actively seeking employment in the municipal sector.) As previously mentioned, Q Methodology is particularly adept at measuring the range of views on a topic, not the extent to which they are ascribed – however, given (i) the consistent responses and (ii) as our sample includes schools from the Old City of Jerusalem, modern progressive suburbs and surrounding conservative villages, we are therefore able to suggest that Awqaf principals are likely to share similar norms and values and seek to develop a common ethos in their schools. The table also highlights that municipal school principals also share norms and values; however, they weigh on two different factors. This would suggest that there are two dominant ethos(es) supported by municipal principals. Let us first look at what aspects of school ethos are common to all schools, before proceeding to differentiate between them. The numbers in brackets refer to the supporting statement as presented in table one (above).

**Table Three: Factor Matrix with an X indicating a defining sort<sup>iii</sup>**

QSORT (Interviewee)	Factor Loadings			School of Interviewee
	TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	
1	0.3416	0.3463	0.7254X	Municipal
2	-0.0148	0.3508	0.5765X	Municipal
3	0.0342	0.7554X	0.3273	Municipal
4	0.2886	0.8050X	0.3324	Municipal
5	0.1064	0.7013X	0.3315	Municipal
6	0.2764	0.3354	0.4326	Municipal
7	0.4810	0.3524	0.6422X	Municipal
8	0.1573	0.1399	0.8505X	Municipal
9	0.3515	0.5980X	0.0827	Municipal
10	0.5764	0.6273X	0.2422	Municipal
11	0.5566	0.5315	0.3004	Municipal
12	0.4396	0.7314X	0.1011	Municipal
13	0.6762X	0.2041	0.4593	Awqaf
14	0.6953X	0.3995	0.2449	Awqaf
15	0.7122X	0.4045	0.1809	Awqaf
16	0.4347	0.0988	0.6305X	Awqaf
17	0.6771X	0.2422	0.3959	Awqaf
18	0.4246X	0.3574	0.2283	Awqaf
19	0.7559X	0.2569	0.0352	Awqaf
20	0.8946X	-0.0376	0.2033	Awqaf

### Common aspects of school ethos

All respondents were interested in the use of innovative teaching methods, suggesting the basis of a technocratic mentality. In terms of conflict management, respondents are unanimous in their belief that it is not the schools place to teach students that violent resistance is always wrong. The interviews revealed a complex relationship with idea of resistance: interviewees did not explicitly oppose violent struggle (muqawama) yet many principals questioned its utility and achievements. Rather, greater emphasis, particularly in municipal schools, is given to the discourse of educational advancement as the most effective type of Palestinian resistance.

Secondly, the primary identity of teaching staff is important: they should be Palestinian (and in some cases Jerusalemite), not 'just' Arab. Further, there does not seem to be support for a

pan-Arab ethos: Palestinian nationalism takes precedence. A number of respondents (particularly from al-Awqaf schools) favour hiring Jerusalemites as they understand the surrounding context and local sensitivities. Moreover, they are suspicious of the 'invasion of 1948 Palestinian head teachers'. Arab-Israelis occupy a high proportion of municipal positions (usually as school inspectors) due to their Hebrew and Israeli recognised qualifications. As will become evident from the three emergent typologies, our results confirm that this fuels local resentment and suspicions that Arab-Israelis are complicit in the 'Judaising' policies in the sphere of education.

While all respondents disagreed with the statement that religious leaders tried to persuade them to behave in ways they otherwise would not, the level of this agreement differed between typologies. Similarly, respondents felt, to variant degrees, that religious authorities did not try to interfere in the governance of the school. The qualitative results confirmed that religious authorities have little influence in education in East Jerusalem. Occasionally, they may be hired in al-Awqaf schools to provide Arabic teaching due to staff shortages. However, there is only one illustration of a cleric objecting to the teaching curriculum. This finding challenges Israeli discourses of increasing religious extremism in schools originating from the religious authorities.

There is also unanimity in the belief that Arabs and Jews are a different peoples: respondents believe they are completely different races. Further, respondents have no hope of integration or co-existence. They are committed to maintaining a separate identity (a composite of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and increasingly, Jerusalemite) that resists the Israeli occupation.

Delving further into the data, there is the basis of a distinct Jerusalemite identity (vis-à-vis a Palestinian/Israeli identity). Statement 23 (my responsibility is to teach students their rights as residents of East Jerusalem) is not disagreed with by any factor, while all factors prioritise teaching students their rights as East Jerusalemites (27). The second and third typology do not see taking Israeli residency as denying their rights as Palestinians, while type one is neutral on the issue (29). The importance of maintaining and nurturing a Jerusalem identity at times trumps a religious affiliation/identity and Palestinian nationalism. This is maintained through educating about civil rights and familiarising students with Jerusalem's unique history, holy sites and traditions (through tours, site visits and local projects).

Having identified some commonalities, let us now look at what distinguishes each dominant school narrative.

#### **Type One: Awqaf traditionalist**

Type one strongly identifies as a Jerusalemite and perceives Islamic teachings as part of their identity. They have a good relationship with the Awqaf administration. They have little interest in the Palestinian curriculum and book selection, but actively teach what they perceive as good citizenship (of E.J.) and about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Those weighing on typology one came from the Awqaf. This suggests that the range of viewpoints in Awqaf schools is fairly homogenous. In other words, a distinct Awqaf educational culture exists. What then does this ethos look like?

*Strong focus on the promotion of a Palestinian National Identity (20).*

It is important that teachers have a Palestinian background (15). There is also, as expected, a differentiation between the Jerusalemite and Palestinians in the rest of the West Bank and

Gaza (WBG) (19). While Palestinian nationalism can be evoked by teachers to encourage religious unity and coexistence, or to stir resistance against Israeli occupation, ultimately it may not be strong enough to overcome geographical distinctions. These assertions are further supported by the quotes below:

A1 "Our identity is Jerusalemite first, and Palestinian second"

A3 "[Our role is to] strengthen the identity of students; their Jerusalemite, Palestinian, Muslim identity. Islam is our biggest pride. We have a religious mural painted on school's wall. I also requested a drawing of a church (but without a cross on its top) to strengthen our affiliation to Islam but also respect for other religions."

A5 "Currently, Israel is trying to erase the nationalistic poems [in our curriculum] and differentiate between the Palestinians inside [Israel] from the ones in Jerusalem and also in the west bank as if there were two states...The teachers are covertly teaching the original history and add-on to the books indirectly, they add information that doesn't exist to deliver a nationalistic message to students".

A7 "Since I started working in this school, I have tried to strengthen the nationalistic aspects [for students] and I have tried to explain to them the risks of leaving school and working in the Israeli settlements and markets and thus becoming subordinate to the [Israeli] occupation....It's important for me to have teachers with Palestinian background who have nationalistic sentiment regarding the occupation."

#### *The Jerusalemite identity*

Equal importance is given to the encouragement of a Jerusalemite identity among students, which is supported by increasing local knowledge of civic rights and employing local Jerusalemite teachers who know the context, city and culture. The evidence points to suspicions of 1948 Palestinians taking local jobs and having a different normalisation agenda due to their integration within the Israeli and Arab educational system:

A2 "Teachers are brought from the north to teach in schools in Jerusalem. They take the vacancies that were meant for Jerusalemites. People call this 'the invasion of 1948 Palestinians'"

A3 "At the beginning of the academic year, each classroom is named as one of gates of Jerusalem and each week we present new information on Jerusalem to strengthen their identity and affiliation."

A5 "We always aim to teach them that they're nationalistic Jerusalemites who should serve their country and their home city; Jerusalem."

A7 "I educate the students about their rights as residents of east Jerusalem as well as their rights in school through the student council. I'm sure that my students understand their rights before they graduate from my school."

A10: "It's very important for me to teach my students their rights as residents of east Jerusalem. Being a resident in east Jerusalem allows you to have certain rights under the international law.

### *The school should have an Islamic ethos*

This typology has a conservative traditional attitude to religion and its role in school. They believe that school should not be a secular space where students are taught multiple religions (18) but generally should have an Islamic ethos (21). Overall teachers support an Islamic ethos but they do not totally reject the teaching of other religions, especially Christianity: as they value co-existence and recognise its significance within Palestinian society and history. The teaching of good values and (religious) virtues are prioritised as this will also lead to good citizenship and better lives (3)

A10: "We don't have a problem with religions but have a problem with distorting religious texts. I don't believe in secular schools because we can never separate religion from daily life...The school doesn't particularly need to focus on Islamic virtues and values. I don't see a problem in values but in practicing religion. I support the Islamic values and virtues but not necessary the religious practices such as praying, dressing and others."

A5: "We are Muslims and the curriculum we teach is Islamic. However, we teach the students the importance of coexistence with the Christians and Jews."

A6: "Our school is operating according to the Islamic rules and there's no need for clerical involvement... We learn about other religions through our own religion."

A6: "We aim to teach and strengthen the good values of citizenship in our students."

A7: "Our aims not only improving academic results but also improve their values."

### *Relationship with their Palestinian administrative authorities*

They appear to have a good working relationship with the Palestinian administration and the PA in that neither the Awqaf in Jerusalem nor the PNA in Ramallah persuade them to behave in ways they otherwise would not (4)(7)(17).

A3 "We follow the regulations setup by the Awqaf and according to the condition and location of the school."

A5: "Our directorate is cooperating with us in an honest manner; we have departments that we can refer to easily, and our teaching plan in the school is a part of the directorate plan.

A6 “As an education system: we work according to the Education Authority in Ramallah and no one can interfere [in this]. The textbooks are unified in all Awqaf schools in all areas...Each person can have his own beliefs and we can't object the curriculum but we try to organize workshops to update the curriculum every 5 years to accommodate the developments and students.”

Conversely, they demonstrate much antagonism towards municipal schools and municipal teachers. For the Awqaf educators, Palestinian teachers from municipal schools have accepted Israeli authority and are part of the Israeli educational system in Jerusalem. Despite Awqaf-municipal school co-operation over Tawjihi examinations there is no contact between staff through teaching forums, collaborative networks or twinning of schools – this remains a very politicised and sensitive topic. Awqaf educators believe municipal schools are using a distorted syllabus which strips Palestinian students of their identity, national history and weakens communal resistance. Municipal schools, in their opinion, have sold out because of the lure of financial incentives (better pay) and better working conditions:

A1 “Jerusalem is one of the most difficult places for teaching because some municipal schools have the willingness to teach the Israeli curriculum and thus teaching in Jerusalem became a kind of a challenge and steadfastness (sumud).”

A5” Those schools that teach the Israeli curriculum receive additional benefits and funds, but it is dangerous as it could lead to the ‘Tahwid’ (Judaisation) and challenging the Palestinian identity...We’re proud to have the Palestinian curriculum that represents our nationality, history, religious, unification and values. I support teaching the Palestinian curriculum.”

#### *Technocratic attachment*

Of the three typologies, this typology has the lowest technical interest – not finding it important to be involved in the selection of school books or choosing the curriculum to offer students (8). Nonetheless, they are interested in learning new teaching techniques (22) and encouraging staff to use innovative teaching methods (11) and tend to agree with statement 5: that their primary role is to increase the educational attainment of the child.

*Compliant to teaching curriculum and books:*

A2 “The curriculum is the Palestinian curriculum internationally approved after Oslo accord. There should be scrutiny on the Israeli curriculum similar to the scrutiny applied on the Palestinian curriculum...”

A5 “The message of education is beyond just delivering technical knowledge; it’s a comprehensive effort that aims to enrich the students in every way...We feel we have adequate autonomy and we don’t need to demand more of it.”

A5: “We’re proud to have the Palestinian curriculum that represents our nationality, history, religious, unification and values. I support teaching the Palestinian curriculum. In a covert way, our curriculum encourages and strengthens Palestinian nationalism and this is something we teach the students on since they’re young children.”

A8: “We sometimes manoeuvre around the curriculum with activities we do. If each principal had freedom choosing his curriculum, they would have chosen their own curriculum according to their personal views.”

*Committed to new teaching techniques and innovative methods:*

A5: “We have modern teaching equipment provided by the department of education, such as interactive boards for which we needed training courses for the teachers to use. We always aim to make the teaching experience more interactive and for students to lead the class and encourage them to build their leadership characteristics, also when they prepare to present to the class, they never forget the information and become more creative.

A7 “We try to encourage creativity and novel ways of teaching.”

A10:” The teachers have been trained for the last 3 years to improve teaching strategies. The teacher focuses on the student as the most important building-block of education, where they previously used to only dictate the students.”

*Primary role is educational attainment of student:*

A5: “The message of education is beyond just delivering technical knowledge; it’s a comprehensive effort that aims to enrich the students in every way.”

A11: “One of my most important objectives is to improve the academic achievements among students.”

*Conflict and the Peace process*

In terms of future conflict resolution, they are pessimistic about peace with Israel during their lifetime (6). They vehemently disagree with statement 13, instead arguing that it is their role to teach students about conflict narratives and the Israeli occupation:

A2: “There is no hope in reaching peace, because [Israel] is a settler state.”

A6: “Anyone who claims that Israel will achieve peace is delusional. I don’t believe that Israel will achieve peace.”

A11: “I believe that Israel will not achieve peace. Netanyahu said that the Palestinians will never have their own state during my reign. My role is not only providing knowledge but also to teach the students about the occupation and the conflict.””

The focus is not merely on occupation violence and the particular challenges of everyday life but inculcating an attachment to lost lands and Jerusalemite cultural heritage:

A5 “We, as institutions, are keen to take the students on fieldstrips to teach them about the history of Palestine [e.g. tours to Palestinian destroyed villages] so it can become embedded in their memories and not only verbally.”

A6: “We educate the children about the occupation. We, in Jerusalem, are different from the rest of Palestine. Tension and contiguity in Jerusalem is very high and we have to educate the students about this.”

A7: “In my opinion, learning about the occupation is an important thing; this does not only include technical knowledge...We try to inform the students about what happens around us such as public executions and violent raids...It’s important for me to have teachers with Palestinian background who have nationalistic sentiment regarding the occupation.”

### **Type Two: Municipal pragmatist**

The municipal pragmatist acknowledges the limitations of the PA in East Jerusalem and is therefore willing to work within the Israeli system, albeit reluctantly. They stress the importance of Arab Palestinian history and identity which trumps Islamic teaching. They emphasise the importance of residency/citizenship rights but believe that it is not the school’s place to discourage violent resistance. They prioritise school books and curriculum and individual autonomy and are not fully responsive to JEA (their Israeli Administrative masters). These teachers and Headmasters have a pragmatic approach to Palestinian education: in which they rely on the *tawjihi*, despite acknowledging its limitations.

#### *Palestinian nationalism*

Typology two are the first of two cohorts from the municipality schools. They place significant emphasis on ensuring that their graduates have a keen understanding of Arab and Palestinian history. Teachers should have a Palestinian background (15) but like the other municipal cohort (type three), promoting a Palestinian National identity is understood within a broader Arab context.

M12: "I'm proud of my history as a Palestinian. I'm also proud of the Arab history and Arab leaders who led our nation to improvement. And I like to teach this to our students in an interesting way so they can better remember...We regularly do fieldtrips around the displaced Palestinian villages with the help of a tour guide who tells the students the real Palestinian story, and not the one that the occupation want to implant and teach it to our children to wipe out their Palestinian identity and make them ignorant."

#### *Citizenship/residency rights*

They strongly disagree that accepting Israeli residency rights denies their rights as Palestinians (29). This sentiment may be linked to the fact that some Jerusalem municipal school heads are Palestinian citizens of Israel and have therefore learnt to reconcile the tension between civic rights and national identities and affiliations. Rights are not only a form of resistance but local empowerment and means to legally challenge the Israeli system.

M10" It's important for me that my students know their rights and duties in society. Residents in Jerusalem are paying lots of money to occupation. They also endure problems and difficulties. Thus, they have rights they need to demand and never gave up on."

M12: "I always encourage students to demand their rights, even for simple rights and never be negligent about them.

#### *Islamic ethos and good citizenship*

On religiosity, while the school should have an Islamic ethos, of the three factors, this factor believes this to be of least importance (21).

M12:" It's important for me to see the students improve their ability to write and read and for me to successfully plant in them the values of good citizenship and the virtues of Islam. All which if we follow, our situation would become much better. We see today that the west is following our Islamic virtues more than we do; however, they rename these virtues as general ethics.

#### *Critical of Awqaf schools and PA authority*

These municipal school principals generally view Awqaf schools as underfunded, badly supported by the PA and delivering a poor level of education. Teaching appointments are due to patronage (wasta) and connections.

M12: “The [Palestinian] authority has no role and influence in the school administration and even in curriculum, we don’t follow the Authority.

For sure, it’s more materially beneficial to work in the Israeli system. We currently see the strikes that the teachers in the schools of Palestinian authority and Awqaf to demand their rights. Even after getting their rights, they will still receive much lower salaries than those who work in the municipality schools.”

M5: “Schooling in east Jerusalem is relatively forgotten. This is because of several reasons among which is the parents’ neglect as well as the failure of almost 50% of the teachers. By failed teachers, I mean those teachers who were appointed through ‘wasta’ their connections, which in turn, led to the general decline in students’ education.

### *Technocratic mentality*

On an epistemological level, they do not prioritise meeting with other school principals (28).

Nonetheless, they do put forward that they do not see it as their responsibility to be responsive to the Jerusalem Education Authority (1). Together with their counterparts in the other municipal schools, they are most interested in learning new teaching techniques (22) and like both other factors encourage the use of innovative teaching methods (11). They are the only factor that prioritise the choosing of school books and curriculum (8). These teachers/schools fall between PA supervision/accountability and Israeli municipal authority – they are distanced and disenfranchised with the PA yet they are resistant to Israel’s municipal attempts to weaken Palestinian identity and culture. They see benefits of Bagrut (pedagogy over content; teaching style; employment prospects) yet they also recognise its instrumental political goal and are unwilling to countenance it.

M3: “The teaching system I follow in my school is a Palestinian system in general. Around 95% of the classes are being taught with Palestinian curriculum and the %5 left are being taught with the Israeli curriculum al-Bagrut. I think that once the classroom door is closed, only God knows what is being taught.” The parents requested having Israeli curriculum but I can’t include all of it. I only included Arabic, English, and Mathematics textbooks. And instead of including Israeli civil education, I added Palestinian national education. I know that the Israeli curriculum is better for students because it builds their thinking outlooks and does not depend on dictation. Thus, it makes it easier [for students] to be accepted in the Israeli universities and institutions. It also makes it easier for them to be accepted in job market much better than the students who studied the Palestinian system...

However, we know that the ones who created the Israeli system [curriculum] have political objectives rather than academic. For this reason, I chose to include the textbooks that are standard and not related to politics, such as Arabic, English languages and Mathematics. All which are standard around the world. Meanwhile, for the social science textbooks such as national studies, history, geography, we need to have more flexibility. And we need to [help] the students to preserve their Palestinian identity while learning other skills from the Israeli curriculum. Because of this, I made the [curriculum] hybrid and picked the best for the students.

The objective of including the Israeli curriculum in the Arab schools in Jerusalem is to justify [*Tahweed*] the area and not to achieve the best interests of students. They impose it to achieve political goals...

In regards of schools and curriculum, the PA is trying to reject something without providing an alternative. They claim they want to take away the Tawjihi but don't propose anything instead. Because of this we feel ridiculed. And feel that the students are being lab rats for this curriculum."

M3 justifies his hybrid educational approach due to: 1) parental demands 2) Israel's stronger syllabus and text books 3) more choice and educational freedom 4) Higher educational attainment 5) future job prospects 6) the Hybrid approach still includes Palestinian nationalist components 7) Awareness of Israel's political objectives yet the PA have offered no viable alternative.

M5: "Regardless of the curriculum, it remains my responsibility to make sure to deliver all [information] to our students regarding our Arab Islamic Palestinian history. As long as this does not oppose with the Israeli law to protect the students from being accused of not abiding by the [Israeli] law, this because of the special sensitive circumstances for the Jerusalemite."

M10: "I see that the Bagrut system helps the students to improve their creativity and critical thinking. However, we refuse to implement it as it is, because it pushes us away from our Palestinian identity. We want to teach the Palestinian curriculum in a Bagrut style and system.

M4: "The Tawjihi system is very sterile and complicated. Even within the PA itself, the Palestinian minister of education requested the elimination of Tawjihi system because it doesn't achieve the students' requirements and doesn't recognize the individuality of the students and their personal, academic, and social differences. The curriculum in general is good and preferable despite having few remarks on it. I prefer it, especially regarding History textbook of the 11th grade because it focuses on the Palestinian history. I give my opinion without restraints and we try to investigate and analyse [the books] with the students and give them examples to compare history with current time."

This cohort is not particularly interested in increasing their autonomy in the running of the school (14). However, this may be as they perceive themselves to already have it: statements 10, 16 and 17 suggest that the JEA, PNA and religious leaders do not make them behave in ways they otherwise would not but rather they have found discretionary space through the cracks of a fragmented system.

### *The broader peace process*

They are the most pessimistic typology about Israel making peace with the Palestinians in their lifetimes (6). However, while they do not like living under Israeli occupation, they are the only typology to say that they fear living under the PA more (26). While they regard themselves as Palestinian, they can see some advantages of living within an Israeli system (24).

M3: "I don't like living under occupation, but I'm more afraid to live under the absolute rule of the Palestinian Authority. This statement represents how I feel. Although Israel is a colonial state, however, it's an institutional state unlike the Palestinian Authority which is an individual state."

M5: "I don't like living under occupation, however the PA rule is not different from the Israeli rule and it also doesn't function to benefit the Palestinian citizen."

M10: "As a teacher, I seek to educate and plant the basic principles in my students. I don't exactly follow the curriculum, I act upon what I see is more beneficial and valuable for the students. In the textbooks of municipal schools there are pages that been wiped out because it includes nationalistic lessons and poems. I always tell my students that their education and learning is itself resistance and perseverance, and the occupation always seek to demolish culture and education because it knows that education is the thing that leads to the development and progress of the nation."

### *Resistance*

This typology does not believe that it is always the school's place or responsibility to oppose violent resistance in certain contexts (12). Resistance may take multiple forms and expressions: "muqawama" violent resistance; "muqawama silmiyya", peaceful resistance (protests, demonstrations) and "sumud", everyday steadfastness or resilience. Yet as

educators their role is to provide a broad and constructive concept of resistance in which education provides the hope for future liberation.

M1: “There is a difference between violent resistance (*muqawama*) and peaceful resistance (*muqawama silmiyya*). Resistance (*sumud*) is part of our daily lives, we need to be resilient and struggle against the occupation. How can we achieve freedom without resistance? Our role in this struggle is education. The Israeli Bagrut can never be imposed on us – this crosses twenty red lines. Put it another way, if the society of [conservative village] agree to introduce the Bagrut then I will agree – but I know they will never agree to this prospect...I always tell our students that the knife will never get us Palestine back, but education will. In my opinion, students have troubles in their homes between their parents, and not from the current political situation.”

### **Type three: Municipal Reformer**

This final typology prioritises educational advancement over nationalist discourse; they are willing to adopt the Bagrut if it improves academic attainment; they do not prioritise conflict management or Palestinian national identity; overall they are less political but more integrationist towards the Israeli system. The final typology consists primarily of principals from the municipal sector (one Awqaf principal weighs on this factor too). This individual indicated in the qualitative interview that he/she would like a position within the municipal system because of the salary benefits and the stagnant tawjihi system.

#### *Citizenship/Residency*

Like type two, this type does not see taking Israeli residency as denying their rights as Palestinians. (29)

M1 “Students need to know their rights within the occupation situation- as East Jerusalemites they need to know their rights... We always promote the Palestinian identity, not only because we are under occupation.”

M2 “Important to understand our Jerusalem rights. We bring in a lawyer to teach the 11th grade their rights. The lawyer is a Palestinian from inside Israel (1948 Palestinian) working for an organisation called Qudsuna (Our Jerusalem)”

M6: “For me, it’s important that our students before learning their identities as Palestinians to know their identities as females, members in a family and

Jerusalemites in terms of identity and culture, and all which would result to build their identities as Palestinians.”

### *Jerusalem identity*

However once again, we see a strong affiliation with Jerusalem vis-à-vis the other areas of the country.

A4 “I prefer to have Jerusalemite teachers because it makes it easier for him to communicate and understand the children.”

### *Palestinian identity*

This is the only typology that is reluctant to promote a Palestinian national identity within their school (20). They do stress however that the school should not be a secular space (18) but should have an Islamic ethos (21). That said, religious leaders do not force them to behave in ways they otherwise would not (10), nor are they influential in the running of the school (16). This is the only typology to agree with the statement that as East Jerusalem is a conservative society, teachers should dress accordingly (9).

M2 “[village name] is a very conservative village, it is different from the rest of East Jerusalem. The municipality sent us this year a female teacher from the village next to us who dressed inappropriately. I had to take the teacher aside after one week as she was getting hassle from students and explain the religious norms and customs of society in [village name].”

### *Relationship with authority*

This typology would like more autonomy in running the school (14). They are the cohort most likely to support the statement that their primary role is to raise the educational attainment of the child (5) and to ensure that graduating students are good residents of the city(3). They are also interested in learning new teaching techniques (22) and encouraging staff to use them (11). This interest in education attainment, together with an interest in meeting with other school principals indicates that this factor may demonstrate some of the qualities of an epistemic community. They are the only factor that consider that they should take on board

the ideas of their governing body (for all but one, this is the Jerusalem Education Authority).

They are also more supportive of implementing the Israeli Bagrut.

M8: "We strongly need to learn Hebrew language because it's vital to our daily life and dealing with official institutions including occupation state...The municipal schools are 90% funded by the municipality in terms of budgets, expenses for classrooms, buildings and utilities. In my opinion, we receive enough budget to fulfil all student needs...There are many private schools, such as the ones affiliated with *Husni al-Ashhab*<sup>iv</sup>, which lack important things such as heating and utilities. Overall teachers' salaries in the municipality are big compared to the teachers in other Arab states. The teachers are doing their jobs with integrity and honesty... I believe that, since I chose to work under the municipal system, then I need to abide with its regulations."

This typology is supportive of the municipal system which is regarded as well funded and remunerates fairly. Those who chose to teach in this system appear to abide by the regulations and are more compliant with the administrative authority (in this case the Jerusalem Education Authority) than other teachers.

Together with their counterparts in the other municipal typology, they are broadly supportive of the Bagrut system.

M9: "I prefer the Bagrut system because it measures student's long-term abilities. It's a long-term and consistent measure unlike al-Tawjihi which only determines the fate of students through two-weeks of examinations...the Bagrut makes it easier for students to be accepted to university. Overall I support the Bagrut format over the Palestinian curriculum because it's a better and stronger evaluation mechanisms."

M11: "I see that the Israeli system is better materially for the Jerusalemites, because of the heavy living expenses and taxation they pay on everything, even their houses, and thus it's better for them to work under the Israeli system that pays much better salaries than Awqaf schools; which also work in Arab schools and work hard to plant the nationalistic values in their students."

#### *Violent resistance and the peace process*

In terms of the conflict: while principals in this category will inform students about the conflict and the environment in which they live, they are the typology that placed the lowest amount of emphasis on this. (13, 20, 27)

M2 “We should not teach violent resistance (muqawama) in schools. What is currently happening in East Jerusalem is suicide not resistance, this will not help to liberate the land rather it is painful and futile. Recently I brought in a religious sheikh to explain the meaning of true jihad and to teach ethics and politics. Students need to understand that knife attacks which lead to being shot are not forms of martyrdom. There is frustration and tension in our school but we are left alone to deal with these problems.”

M6: “I consider myself to be part of the resistance with my knowledge and my job. In respect of the state, there are legitimate and illegitimate ways, I see that my students are also part of the resistance and the fight with their education.” In my school, we don’t directly address the occupation and conflict. We only address them indirectly, to help our students in generally understanding the current circumstances in a way that doesn’t put them in fear and panic all the time.

M7: “In my opinion, violence is always wrong and leads to wrong implications and doesn’t lead to any solution. We teach this in school. However, I support peaceful resistance (muqawama silmiyya).”

### **Discussion and Conclusion: Implications of the findings**

This article has used the theory of representative bureaucracy to understand the behaviour of street level bureaucrats. Shpaizman et al (2016) draw on evidence from the Holy Basin of Jerusalem to highlight how policy entrepreneurs can change policy outcomes through venue shopping, despite these outcomes being converse to government policy. This research has highlighted that education is fast becoming the new ‘venue’ in the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis in Jerusalem. Both sides are jostling to ensure their frame is the accepted frame. What then do these frames tell us about (i) representative bureaucracy theory (ii) conflict management and (iii) education policy in East Jerusalem?

#### *Key finding one: representative bureaucracy*

In line with the dominant trends in representative bureaucracy research, active representation on behalf of a primary identity is demonstrated throughout all typologies, as initially hypothesised. Existing active representation research differentiates between the presence and absence of active representation (usually on behalf of a primary identity). Our research methodology allows us to highlight that active representation on behalf of a primary

identity, where it exists, is a lot more nuanced. While all typologies demonstrated high levels of primary ethno-national identity, how this manifested itself in terms of ethos/dominant narratives is significantly differentiated. It is no longer sufficient to argue active representation exists (be this on behalf of a primary or secondary attachment); for active representation studies to inform the policy process, we need to examine how active representation of the same primary identity is interpreted differently within ethno-political, and potentially gender or racial, groups. This research highlights, while passive may indeed translate into active representation, how active representation is defined can differ remarkably. If representative bureaucracy research is to maintain its relevance as a conceptual lens for determining bureaucrat behaviour, future research designs need to accommodate more fluid and dynamic realities of primary identity attachments. Active representation on behalf of a primary identity can be moderated by socio-economic variables, family politics, or indeed different primary identities may clash creating a multitude of schisms.

A Palestinian national identity is represented by all street level bureaucrats, however, how active representation on behalf of a national identity manifests itself is not uniform across SLBs. It is no longer sufficient for representative bureaucracy research to argue that 'blacks represent blacks' (Mansbridge, 1999) or that women represent women; representative bureaucracy research must look closer at how representativeness is interpreted and identify what happens when primary attachments such as gender, race, class, nationality and ethno politics collide.

*Key finding two: Implications for conflict management*

The article has presented evidence of educational narratives that help create a more accurate picture of what ‘judiasation’ of the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem actually means. Many Palestinian teachers are still strongly resistant to encroaching Israeli influence and control in the educational sphere, yet they are desperate for long awaited Palestinian reform to give them a realistic alternative. Our findings however highlight that what is meant by reform differs markedly among educators and therefore any prospect of reform remains slim (see Nuseibeh, 2016 and recent reform efforts by the recent Palestinian education minister: Sabri Saidam<sup>v</sup>). The findings demonstrate that a renewed sense of *urban Jerusalemite attachment* and cultural and historic importance (situated within Arab, Muslim and Palestinian rights and identities) has emerged. Our interviews revealed that this is undoubtedly a reaction to both Israel’s “judaization” policies in East Jerusalem (settlement expansion; home demolitions; wall construction) which is undermining Palestinian presence but also the political vacuum and failure of the PA which has eroded hope and trust in a broader political solution. East Jerusalemites are caught within a complex and conflicted position – whether to remain under Israeli occupation and to fight for more residency rights and better educational provision – but how to reconcile this pragmatic choice over ideological belief; to resist but at the same time exist within their city (Larkin, 2014).

*Key finding three: Implications for education research*

Education can provide an important space for resistance in divided societies, overt and hidden curriculums, school structures (assimilatory, separate or mixed) and schools ethos can all serve a political or ideological purpose. Within East Jerusalem we can see that curriculum and choice of examination board are central to the understanding of local resistance. Various strategies have been adopted in this respect, each reflecting a differing understanding of

educations role in resistance. Provision of supplementary texts, historical readings and alternative syllabi; educating Palestinian students about civic/residency rights and national identity and introducing students to concepts of non-violent resistance, civil disobedience and how to challenge the system from within, have all been adopted to varying degrees.

When coupled with the choice of examination, the three typologies this study revealed, manifest contrasting understandings and interpretations of 'education as resistance'. To some extent they provide a sliding scale approach to the choice between Palestinian Tawjihi and the Israeli Bagrut examination:

1. Tawjihi & PA Syllabus
  - a. Support it as benchmark of Palestinian identity, sovereignty and rejection of Israeli occupation: (Awqaf Traditionalist Type 1)
2. Tawjihi & JEA Municipal Syllabus (altered PA syllabus)
  - a. Supplementary educational material added to counter Israeli erosions; focus on Palestinian history, identity, etc.: (Municipal Pragmatist Type 2)
3. Tawjihi examination but use of mixed syllabus and materials
  - a. Weakness of Tawjihi and use of other teaching approaches and materials; Tawjihi is only used for the final year examination period. (Type 2)
4. Bagrut and Tawjihi – hybrid selection of syllabus materials and students can choose examination trajectory – most select Bagrut.
  - a. Tawjihi gives certain Palestinian ethos but Bagrut needed for educational advancement (Municipal Reformer Type 3)
5. Bagrut exclusively
  - a. Rejection of Tawjihi and acceptance that Israeli system offers more educational opportunities (Type 3)

This spectrum demonstrates the diverging approaches to, and acceptance of, Palestinian educational provision in East Jerusalem. Invariably such choices are justified as attempts to frustrate what they perceive as Israeli designs to 'keep our students ignorant and uneducated'. Resistance (*muqawama*), resilience (*tahammul*) or steadfastness (*sumud*) remain highly contested and fluid concepts, tied to personal experiences, beliefs and future visions.

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<sup>i</sup> Note, we are interested in the behaviour of the street level bureaucrat – not the effect of this behaviour (i.e. the norms and values held by students in the school).

<sup>ii</sup> : In table one, the relationship between each factor (or group of individuals) and each statement is identified.

<sup>iii</sup> This table describes how closely each interviewee (p) weighs on each factor. In other words, to what extent each interviewee fits into each group. For example, interviewee no. 1 is .34 in factor 1 and .34 in factor 2 and .72 in factor three. The X denotes that the respondent's answers contributed to the make-up of that particular factors general perceptions.

<sup>iv</sup> Previously those were named after Husni al Ashab School, today those are no longer private, but are awqaf schools

<sup>v</sup> see <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/02/palestinian-minister-reform-education-sector.html>