

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AMONG MINORITY MUSLIM SCHOOLS IN ISRAEL: THE CONDITION AND OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

The education system in Israel is a centralized system including both Jews and Arabs. Therefore, these schools are controlled both administratively (including funding) and curricular by the government. From the data obtained in the field, there is an unbalanced comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish educational systems (including Arabic) in Israel. This shows the lack of resource justice, budgetary discrimination, and less developed learning and development programs, especially seen in the Arabic education system. The main purpose of education in Israel is to help the Jewish majority group and intend to maintain Jewish domination. Arabic education applied in Israel has been the subject of Muslim and Arab intellectual criticism. Their rejection is mainly related to the inequality, discrimination and marginalization facing Arab education. With this perspective, the Islamic movement has spurred Islamic educational institutions to uphold and maintain the religious identity and national identity of Muslim minority members in Israel. The article describes the education system in Israel including the religious education system as well as the education system for minorities in Israel.

Keywords: Education System, Israel, Islamic Education System, Muslim Minority Schools.

ABSTRAK

Sistem pendidikan di Israel menganut sistem sentralisasi, termasuk di dalamnya sistem pendidikan Yahudi dan Arab. Sehingga sekolah-sekolah dikendalikan secara administratif (termasuk pendanaan) dan kurikulum oleh pemerintah. Data yang diperoleh di lapangan menunjukkan adanya ketidaksetaraan antara sistem pendidikan Yahudi dan non-Yahudi (termasuk sistem pendidikan Arab) di Israel. Hal ini menunjukkan kurangnya keadilan sumber daya, diskriminasi anggaran, dan program pembelajaran yang kurang berkembang, terutama untuk sistem pendidikan Arab. Tujuan utama pendidikan di Israel adalah untuk membantu kelompok mayoritas Yahudi dan untuk mempertahankan dominasi Yahudi. Pendidikan Arab yang diterapkan di Israel telah menjadi bahan kritik intelektual Muslim dan Arab. Penolakan mereka terutama berkaitan dengan ketidaksetaraan, diskriminasi dan marginalisasi yang dihadapi pendidikan Arab. Dengan perspektif ini, gerakan Islam telah memicu institusi pendidikan Islam untuk menegakkan dan memelihara identitas agama dan identitas nasional anggota minoritas Muslim di Israel. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini memaparkan tentang sistem pendidikan di Israel termasuk di dalamnya sistem pendidikan agama dan sistem pendidikan bagi kaum minoritas di Israel.

Kata Kunci: Sistem Pendidikan, Israel, Sistem Pendidikan Islam, Sekolah Muslim Minoritas.

INTRODUCTION

The Arab Palestinian society in Israel has undergone many changes in all areas of life, including society, economy, education, women's status, family structure, and sociocultural changes (Haj-Yahia, 1995). However, the most significant change that has occurred in the Arab society began in 1948 – the inversion of status (Oppenheimer & Janko, 1999). This means that the Palestinian population, which had constituted the majority until 1948, became an ethnic-national minority, beaten, weakened, devoid of national and religious leadership, and suspected of hostility to the state of which they had just become a part (Turkel, 2015).

Due to the establishment of Israel, the Palestinian political, cultural, social and economic elite, as well as the educated and middle class, fled or departed as they were transferred from their homeland. Most of those who stayed were rural, uneducated members of the lower class (Al-Haj, 1995a). In addition, those who remained became an isolated, weakened, and excluded minority. Today, the Palestinian minority in Israel comprises approximately 1,560,000 people (not including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, which were occupied in 1967) ("The Central Bureau of Statistics: Israel Population", 2016).

Since Arab in Israel constitutes 84% Muslims they become hegemonic sociologically and numerically (Suwaed & Ali, 2016). Jewish-Arab relations in Israel have been impacted by the difficult political situation in the region. Today, the Arab citizens of Israel still experience discrimination in many areas, and have suffered as a putatively hostile minority with little political representation (Bekerman & Maoz, 2005). The Jewish-Arab conflicts in the region at large, as well as the conflicts between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza strip, also influence Jewish-Arab relations (Smootha, 2004).

The education system in Israel has been discussed by scholars (Abu-Asbah & Avishai, 2007). Studies also reported the existing condition of Arab education in Israel which suffered from unfair treatment and discrimination from government (Al-Haj, 1995a). However, the study concerning Islamic movement of education in Israel is still under research.

Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the Islamic education system in Israel along with Islamic movement of education in Israel. To be specific this study tries to answer the following questions: What is the existing educational system in Israel? How is the Islamic education condition in Israel? How does Islamic movement run complementary education system like elementary and high school education?

METHOD

This study was aimed at describing the Islamic education system in Israel. To achieve this, the study employed qualitative study. The data were collected through literature review. These data were analyzed through the following steps namely categorization and interpretation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Educational System in Israel: A Critical Overview

In Israel, religious education is an important thing in official education system. All religious schools are funded by the state in different amount. The structure of the Israeli education system is strictly partitioned between the different sectors in society. The state-funded school system is divided between the two linguistic/ethnic sectors – Arab and Jewish (Hebrew) (Künkler & Lerner, 2016).

1. The Arab school system.

This school is managed under a separate division of the Ministry of Education. Students in Arab schools reach about 25% of all students in Israel schools (Maoz, 2006). Arabic is used as the language of instruction in these school. Non-Jewish schools are allowed to follow a different curriculum that appropriate to their special conditions. In reality, the curricula used in this school are adapted to their students' religion (Muslim or Cristian). Some Muslims, Druze, and Christians attended the Arab schools administered until 1966 by the Ministry of Defense and are now administered by the Arab Department in the Ministry of Education. Arab Israeli's also do not have enough classrooms. The Ministry of Education and the Municipality of Jerusalem did not fulfill their obligations to allow students from East Jerusalem to exercise their rights as permanent residents of the State of Israel (Arian, et al., 2010).

1. The Hebrew school system.

This school system is separated into three systems. Each subsystem conducts individually within the Ministry of Education, under separated structures of governmental supervision (Goldstein, 1992; Perry-Hasan, 2013).

a. Secular state schools.

In secular state schools the curriculum does not include official religion classes. The secular school system adopted the Zionist approach which views Jewish tradition in terms of cultural and national identity (Goldstein, 1992). Therefore, the curriculum consists of the study of Hebrew Bible literary, rather than a religious perspective. Religion presented through various extracurricular activities supported by the Ministry of Education for example celebration or discussion about Jewish holidays, but without any devotional element such as prayer.

b. Religious state schools.

This school is categorized as the unique school because this is the only school officially defined by law (Gross, 2003). Religious state schools are governed by an autonomous division within the Ministry of Education, head by the Council for Religious State Education. The Council consists mostly of religious members, appointed by the Minister of Religious Affairs. It provides the curriculum in this school that includes religious studies along by general studies.

Additionally, the religious state education system contains all on all sides of environment based on orthodox religious belief and observance' (Gross, 2003, p. 153). For example, the Council for Religious State Education is allowed, in accordance with its mandate by law, to make sure that all teachers and staff in religious state schools are religious ("State Education Law, par. 18"). The Council even decided that a teacher who is married to a non-religious Jew may be disqualified from working in a religious state school (Goldstein, 1992, p. 56). In recent years, reports have shown increasing ultra-orthodox influence in religious state schools. For example, in the growing number of schools that segregate classrooms by gender (Finkelshtain, 2014).

c. The ultra-orthodox schools.

Ultra-orthodox schools are non-official yet considered by the state. There are various of schools under this school system (at least 15 variants)(Vorgan, 2007). The main branches are the Independent Education Network and the Sephardic Centre of Religious Education. As non-official schools, these schools conducted their systems autonomously with a very limited control by the Ministry of Education, and formally the state is asked to fund only 75% of their budget. However, ultra-orthodox schools that are associated with Agudat Israel's Independent Education Network and Shas's Fountain of Religious Education enjoy state funding and almost full autonomy over their curriculum. The ultra-orthodox schools are exempt from various secular or general studies (such as math, science, history, geography, English, sports, etc.) (Weistbali, 2012).

School attendance in Israel is mandatory and free from age 6 to 18. Formal education starts in primary school (grades 1-6), as seen in Table 1. Continues with intermediate school-lower schools (grades 7-9) as seen in Table 2, and secondary school- upper schools (grades 10-12) as in Table 1 and Table 2. About nine percent of the post-primary school population attends boarding schools.

Table 1. Education in Israel: Statistics on Primary Education From 1948 to Present (Israel Education Wing, 2017).

	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Hebrew Education								
Primary Schools	91,133	357,654	375,534	424,173	473,189	549,558	627,210	741,032
Arabic Education								
Primary Schools	9,991	36,652	85,094	121,101	138,482	179,446	243,979	245,685
Total	101,124	411,793	479,803	558,372	629,068	740,280	884,685	986,717

Based on Table 1, it can be shown that the comparison between Hebrew Education and Arabic Education of Primary School in Israel from year to year is gradually increasing. Since the first year of its' establishment (1948), Arabic Education in Israel reach the low number of students. This phenomenon was caused by some Arabic students who studied in Hebrew Education. However, in 2017 number of students who study in Arabic Education are increased significantly. It means the Arabic Educations has bargaining position to exist and improve their quality. The same phenomenon also happened in secondary education level. In 2010, the number of students in Hebrew education has been decreased. Whereas, Arabic education of secondary schools in Israel constantly improved their number of students from year to year especially in 2010.

Table 2. Education in Israel: Statistics on Secondary Education from 1948 to Present (Israel Education Wing, 2017).

	1948	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2016
Hebrew Education								
Lower Schools	--	--	7,908	72,792	120,537	195,024	185,316	199,898
Upper Schools	10,218	55,142	129,436	143,810	205,155	272,267	283,527	315,732
Arabic Education								
Lower Schools	--	--	2,457	14,803	28,928	47,844	74,518	70,951
Upper Schools	14	1,956	8,050	22,473	38,888	49,543	80,586	103,232
Total	10,232	57,098	147,851	252,878	393,508	564,678	623,947	689813

The multi-cultural nature of Israel's society is accommodated within the framework of the education system. Therefore, schools are divided into four groups: state schools, state religious schools, Arab schools, and private schools. State schools attended by the majority of pupils. State religious schools emphasize Jewish studies, tradition, and observance. Arab schools instruction in Arabic and special focus on Arab history, religion, and culture. Private schools operate under various religious and international auspices (MJL Staff, 2017).

All schools in Israel belong to the Israeli educational system (Abu-Asbah & Avishai, 2007). Jewish principals, who teach in the Hebrew language, manage Jewish schools. Arab

principals manage Arab schools; the teaching language is Arabic, but the Israeli educational system, in both administrative (which includes funding) and curricular aspects, subjugate the schools (Da'as, 2017).

Separation between Arab education and Jewish education exists from kindergarten to high school level. On the other hand integration of Jewish and Arab students occurs in institutions higher education institution (Suwaed & Ali, 2016). Bilingual schools of hand in hand voluntary association created a strong, inclusive, shared society in Israel through a network of Jewish-Arab integrated bilingual schools in 6 localities in Israel.

Despite improvements in the Arab educational system's outputs over the years, they remain inferior to the Jewish educational system (Abu-Saad, 2016). Data comparing the Arab and Jewish educational systems demonstrated a lack of equality in resources, budgetary discrimination, and less developed learning programs and content, which was particularly obvious in the Arab system (Abu-Asbah & Avishai, 2007; Arar & El-Hija, 2017). Discrimination was also found in per-pupil allocation, including a huge gap in educational inputs, such as programs supporting weak pupils, school libraries, and free consultation services (Abu-Asbah & Avishai, 2007).

Moreover, recent research has found that Arab principals are less strategic in their schools (e.g., vision, problem-solving) compared to Jewish principals (Da'as, 2017). These conditions can be expected to impede receiving a complete and high-quality matriculation certificate that will meet the university admission requirements. Furthermore, Arab schools do not teach students to think independently or critically. Most schools are based on the banking teaching method, in which the student only listens and stores knowledge, involving a more passive thought process. These conditions constitute a very significant obstacle for Arab students who seek to obtain a higher education. Thus the rate of matriculation entitlement among Arab high-school students is relatively low compared to the Jewish population (45% vs. 56% in 2015, respectively), and the students who do a matriculation certificate find that is not suitable for admission to universities (36% vs. 48% in 2015, respectively) ("The Planning and Budgeting Committee", 2016).

Inferiority of Arab education has made autonomy, content and staffing quality are out of reach (Suwaed, 2014). In addition to the lack in achievement, the Arab education system suffers from the absence and blurring of national and religious goals. Arab education in Israel has been criticized by Arab scholars. The absence of clear and sound goal of Arab education is the focus of critic from Arab scholars. This criticism has started since 1950s (Suwaed & Ali, 2016).

Several questions like why Muslim students did not enjoy the option of enrolling in religious schools, and they were required to devote twice as much time to Jewish studies as to Islamic studies at the secondary school level. Despite some minor reforms in the 1960s, the Arab school system remained extremely secularized (Peled, 2001).

Paying no attention to the cultural and national uniqueness of the Arab minority in Israel, Educators and public officials were denounced. One of the striking fact is that in practice, the holocaust is taught in Arab school and they do so from a primarily Jewish-Zionist perspective. On the other hand, Arab schools are not allowed to teach about Nakba, tragedy or catastrophe that refers to what happened to them in 1948 (Auron, 2012).

Even though Arab education system has undergone changes, Arab scholars still address their criticism. They emphasize the fact that there is no appropriate recognition toward Arab in Israel as national minority who constitute part of Palestinian people. Some Arab scholars noticed that Israeli government impede Arab education improvement using the reform they applied to Arab education. These reform are designed to achieve the state objective including presenting Zionism and the state in a positive impression. It will reduce Arab citizen antagonism toward the state (Arar & El-Hija, 2017; Suwaed & Ali, 2016).

The Palestinian Arab in Israel does not accept this discrimination reality, marginalization and inequality (Rouhana & Khoury, 2015). These feelings are also expressed in people attitude to Israeli citizenship. Public opinion surveys have shown that the number of Arab who are dissatisfied with their lives as citizens of Israel has risen from 34.8% in 2003 to 56.5% in 2012. Furthermore, the number of Arabs who prefer to live in Israel compared to any other country has plummeted from 74.5% in 2007 to 54.7% in 2012 (Smootha, 2015). Similar findings were reported in other public opinion polls (Ali & Inbar, 2011).

Generally, the Arab public's reaction to this policy has been declarative-political, expressed in legitimate forms of protest such as demonstrations, decreased participation in national elections, petitioning international institutions, strengthening civil society, etc. Formulation of structural and practical projects by the leaders of the Palestinian Arab population that address this reality has been sparse. An exception to this is the "*al-mujtama al-*asami**", or independent community project, initiated by the founders of the Islamic Movement. The independent community project which gained momentum following the events of the October 2000- al-Aqsa Intifada.

Al-Aqsa Intifada began in September 2000, in response to Ariel Sharon's visit to the El-Haram el Sharif (Temple Mount) in Jerusalem on September 28th. El-Haram el Sharif, is also the site of the al-Aqsa Mosque, from which the uprising takes its name. This visit was seen by many to be a provocative gesture aimed at inciting the Palestinians because the mosque is considered the third holiest site for Muslims. During a single week in October of 2000, Israeli Police shot dead 13 Palestinians — 12 of them Israeli citizens — who took to the streets to show solidarity with demonstrators in the West Bank and Gaza. The violence profoundly impacted the Palestinian community in Israel. Just as devastating, however, has been the complete absence of accountability. Besides, Jewish companies, formal institutions, bodies and individuals, boycotted completely the Arab community and the Arab markets. The al-Aqsa Intifada was a significant catalyst for the acceleration of the independent community project in all its components. Education and religious education are the main pillars of this project (Turkel, 2015).

Islamic Education in Israel

Since the beginning, Israel considered education as the priority that consistently received more funding than any other national defense. Regarding the Islamic education in Israel the several points reveal to determine the Islamic education condition in Israel.

1. Defining the objective of Arab education in Israel.

Along with the education system's modernization and expansion in minority school, policymakers found the difficulty to define its goals. From 1949, they argued about the question: how to define a role for minority citizens? who possessed both Israeli and Arab elements of identity, in a Jewish state that was engaged in protracted conflict with the Arab world? Almost all parties in this debate thought that loyal citizens are the main purpose for Arab education system. Differences matter should become a focus to be melted into the majority society. The curricula, religion, and language have been crucial elements to obtain the desired degree of assimilation in Muslim minority. There are three important moments in accordance to the Arab education in Israel:

- a. In early 1950s, the state used education as an effective way to create loyalty of Arab society (Bentwich, 1965). The government hoped education field could replace the political radicalism matter. Due to this philosophy, when living standard has been rising, the Arab citizen would lose their interest of nationalist or religious fanaticism. The debate continues to happen about the most effective ways to achieve this goal by education contributed most of the 1950s.

- b. In late 1952, Dotan, a member of the International Organizations Department of the Foreign Ministry, submitted a radical policy of integration and cultural equality leading to the complete cultural assimilation of the Arab minority. As the result, he rejected any kind of autonomy in education as a potential substance for Arab nationalist sentiment. According to him, Arab intellectuals could simply use their cultural autonomy for any political purposes, systematically orienting themselves to the surrounding hostile Arab countries. Dotan declared that a strong attachment to Israeli culture would be important to developing the loyalty among the Arab society (Peled, 2001).
- c. In 1953, the revised National Education Law provided for a unified public school system with direct government control and supervision of all state primary schools (grades one to eight) (Auron, 2012; Bentwich, 1965; Gross, 2003). Actually, the Minister of Education was granted by this law to have an absolute power to control all curricula in all state institutions. The law also offers the official solution to resolve the philosophical arguments over Arab education matter. Although this statement created to support Dotan's philosophy of cultural assimilation, clause four of the law stated that "in non-Jewish educational institutions, the curriculum shall be adapted to the special conditions". Therefore, in practice, minority education policy more reflected the previous vision before Dotan. Minority schools taught, a little, Hebrew language, culture and history that could provide Arab citizens to do their duties and enjoy their rights (Suwaed, 2014).

However, the dilemma of how actually to stand-in loyalty to Israel while recognizing Arab identity remained unresolved. Thus, for example, in early 1955, the Ministry of Education openly admitted that it had not formulated clear goals for Arab secondary education (Arar & El-Hija, 2017; Auron, 2012). The minutes of the meeting of the Educational Administrative Committee in November 1957 revealed continued wavering between the poles of assimilation and separate development. On the surface, this report appeared to advocate assimilation by calling for increased Arab attendance at Jewish elementary, agricultural, and vocational schools. However, the purpose of this educational integration was to create a class of menial workers to serve the needs of the Jewish state (Peled, 2001).

Debate about the language of instruction in teaching and goals of Arab education continued in many kinds of forms without any clear articulation of objectives until the mid-1960s. The confusion and lack of focus in the Arab schools reflected the indecisiveness of the policymakers on the issue. The issue received serious attention only following the protests of Muslim and Christian religious leaders, both in Israel and abroad, troubled by the religious ignorance of their youth. From the perspective of Israeli policymakers, the most important challenge was how to teach Islam in the Arab schools without jeopardizing the students' loyalty to the Jewish state.

2. Religious studies of Arab School in Israel.

The National Education Law of 1953 divided the educational systems in Israel into two: state schools and state religious schools (Badi, 1959). The state religious schools, although nominally under the control of the Ministry of Education, were effectively controlled by Mizrahi (later to become the National Religious Party) (Liebman & Don-Yi, 1984). Israel did not offer minority students the option of state religious schools; however, a parallel system of private Christian parochial schools which predated the state continued to function.

In the Christian sector, an academic parochial schools' system affiliated with church organizations which had the option of receiving grants and financial assistance from the government in return for being supervised by the state (Middle East Institute, 1978a). By 1963, the Ministry of Education supervised fifteen of the forty-eight schools in the sector, or a total of approximately 11,500 students (Al-Haj, 1995a; Bentwich, 1965; Gross, 2003). The government found difficulty to control these schools which continued to develop their

autonomy. Apparently, the Hebrew press and Jewish religious parties gave a full attention to the fact that there were Jewish students attended a lot of the parochial schools. Saint Joseph Sisters' School in Jaffa set the record with Hebrew as the language of instruction for the 400 Jewish students who comprised two-thirds of the total (Gross, 2003). The government has tried so hard to maintain the positive relationship toward parochial school sector due to its potential impact on Israel's relations with the Christian world.

In contrast, Muslim students felt different feeling toward the affiliation between parochial school with the Muslim world. The parochial sector in Israel included only one small Muslim school, Ahmadiyya, in Haifa (Peled, 2001). Ignoring requests from the Muslim community, the government did not open the principal Muslim school from the Mandate period. Therefore, Muslim students were restricted to two inadequate sources of religious education: the limited Islamic studies curriculum in the largely secular primary schools and some supplementary summer courses offered by the local advisory committees affiliated with the Ministry of Religious Affairs in five Arab towns (Auron, 2012; Badi, 1959). However, in 1963, the Ministry of Education decided to cancel these summer courses after only five years because their existence can be interpreted as if there is insufficient instruction in religious studies during the regular academic year (Peled, 2001).

At the beginning, the Ministry of Education omitted the Ministry of Religious Affairs from the development curriculum of the minority religious studies. In 1952, an exchange between the Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs, Zerah Warhaftig, and the Minister of Education and Culture, Professor B. Dinburg, fostering the extent of their hostility and their totally opposing worldviews (Peled, 2001). At that moment, the Ministry of Education was establishing the Council for the Education and Culture of the Arabs. Warhaftig requested the appointment of Muslim and Druze religious sages affiliated with the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the council. He reasoned that the Muslims and Druze lacked the strong clerical leadership of the Christian community; therefore, the Ministry was responsible for ensuring the fair representation of these communities' religious interests on the council. Dinburg countered that council's composition would be determined not on the basis of religion but on the basis of ethnicity (i.e., Muslims, Druze, and Christian denominations). Any religious issues raised by the Arab representatives would be solved on an ad hoc basis, obviating the need for permanent Ministry of Religious Affairs representation on the council.

Warhaftig rejected the separation between religion and ethnicity of the minority population, since the non-Arab component was negligible. To avoid a revitalization of the Arab nationalism the British Mandate period, he supported the decision for minority community to do along the lines of religion. On the other hand, the secular Ministry of Education did not respect religious education as an important component of the quest to prevent an outbreak of Arab nationalism. Therefore, in the 1950s, the Ministry of Religious Affairs found itself essentially marginalized in the realm of minority religious education, an area which was severely neglected in the Arab school system (Auron, 2012; Gross, 2003; Peled, 2001).

The policymakers of Ministry of Education thought the issue about minority religious studies as an unimportant thing. Therefore, they devoted little time toward the topic. The limited attention also they devoted to the problem on how many hours a week to allocate to Muslim and Christian studies in the compulsory primary schools. In general, the Arab elementary school curriculum mirrored that of its Jewish counterpart with several important exceptions (Auron, 2012; Bentwich, 1965; Rouhana & Khoury, 2015). In addition to certain modifications of the curricula in history, homeland and geography, Israel replaced Bible study in the Arab schools with instruction in the religion of the community. The state only formalized this latter change in an Amendment to the National Education Law in 1963, which specified that each minority community would receive instruction in its own religion through a Ministry of Education-

approved curriculum taught exclusively by instructors belonging to that community (ISA 71, 1963b).

Minority Schools' Move and Their Reform on The Curriculum of Religious Study

Despite the issue of religious instruction in the minority community, disappointment with the curriculum appeared throughout the 1950s. The government often informed its viewpoint in a heavy-handed, an ideological manner which did not escape Muslim notice. Therefore, El-Asmar, as an example, an Arab journalist and political activist born in Haifa in 1936, reflected on the textbooks used during the 1950s:

An entire chapter (of a compulsory history text;) is written in order to prove the significance of the land of Israel for the Jews.... But, at the same time, the connection between the Arabs and Palestine is presented as purely incidental. An entire chapter in this book describes the holy places. However, although the Jews and the Christians have many holy places, the fact that the Moslems have holy places in Palestine too is not mentioned (El-Asmar, 1975).

Over the years, Muslim parents became increasingly dissatisfied with the hasty treatment and poor quality of religious education in the state schools. In 1953, Behor Shitrit (Minister of Police) recorded the official report about Muslim discontent with religious education based on a field visit to the Arab town of Umm al-Fahim (ISA 43, 1953). Shitrit passed on the parents' charges to the Prime Minister's Office, demonstrating his continuing concern with minority issues four years after losing his post as Minority Affairs Minister. Based on this document, in a rebuttal of the charges, Shmuel Salomon stated categorically that the amount of time devoted to instruction in Arabic language and religious studies was in general based on the accepted principles for the (Jewish religion) curriculum in the Hebrew schools. Salomon elaborated further that curricular time allocations were determined by education professionals and were not open to question from complainers in Umm al-Fahim (ISA 43, 1953).

The condition where only education professionals qualified to determine the minority curriculum failed to pacify the critics. In 1956, a group called the Cultural Committee of the Fraternity Club of the Christians of Haifa released a detailed list of grievances concerning the Arab education system to top politicians, journalists, government institutions and the state comptroller (ISA 71, 1956a). The grievances that proposed firstly by some minority religious organization, demand the Ministry of Education with their discrimination policy concerning Arab education. They reserved particularly harsh judgment for the Histadrut textbook fund, which, in their opinion, exemplified its marginality by focusing on projects such as the Arabic translation of the stories of Hebrew writer Burla (ISA 71, 1956a). As for the curriculum in the minority schools, the authors objected to the paucity of Arabic language, history, and nationalism.

However, other organizations did protest to the monopoly of the Ministry of Education over the minority religious studies curriculum. The Israeli, Qadis, during their first conference in 1952, demanded some input into the curriculum through the creation of a supervisory post on Islamic studies within the Ministry of Education, in conjunction with the Ministry of Religious Affairs (ISA 71, 1956b). Similarly, members of the Muslim Affairs Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs expressed dismay at their complete exclusion from all matters pertaining to religious education in the state Arab schools (ISA 71, 1956b). Even Rifat al-Zuebi, the Arab education inspector, noted the lack of textbooks for religion courses and recommended that the Qadis serve as instructors in the schools the solution until a lot of teachers could be trained. However, there are no significant result toward this protest.

Other organizations (foreign Muslim and Arab) also destined the minority school curriculum in Israel. Despite to the complaints by domestic Christian members, Israel measured

the foreign Muslim protests as a part of the ongoing propaganda war with the Arab world, and treated them accordingly. The League of Arab States stated disgrace at the Israeli effort to use education to develop loyal minority citizens with no sense of national affiliation:

Israel's educational policy secondarily aims at the Judaization of the Arabs who have remained in Israel, implanting in their souls the idea of Israeli nationalism and abolishing the relations linking their future and past careers and history ("League of Arab States", 1956).

The League complained to the emphasis on Zionist history and language in the minority schools at the expense of Arab heritage and cultures. Moreover, the League member also demand about minority religious education. Therefore, in late 1960, the Jordanian representative to the UN, Dr. Muhammad el-Farah, complained to the General Assembly that Israel prohibited churches and mosques from involvement in outreach efforts for Arab youth (ISA 71, 1960). This reaction reflected the fact that Israel did not allow churches and mosques to conduct their education system as independent centers of religious education since the Ministry of Education did not want any competition in its campaign to influence young minority citizens.

In spite of the dissatisfaction of parents and various organizations including organizations in the Arab world, the Ministry of Education declined to increase the number of hours devoted to religious education in the Arab state schools throughout the 1950s. The state adopted concrete reforms only following the protest by influential Christian leaders in Israel of the abject state of religious studies in the minority schools, particularly at the secondary school level.

Despite all of these reaction and complain to serve minority religious education the better service, it remains unclear how generally any of them have ever been implemented in reality. In 1965, the Ministry of Education reported on the near complete absence of minority religious education at the secondary level outside of the parochial schools:

Religion is taught almost exclusively in the communal (Christian) schools. The local authorities, who administer secondary educational institutions, do not want to integrate this subject into the curriculum since this subject is not included in the matriculation examinations. It may be possible to integrate religious instruction in the framework of internal matriculation examinations according to the new framework and in the framework of examinations for the receipt of a government graduation certificate (ISA 71, 1963a).

Thus, with the exception of the Christian schools, religious instruction never gained a strong foothold in the Arab secondary schools. A final initiative to raise the quality of religious instruction involved the Jaffa seminary for Arabs, which offered a two-year teacher training course for approximately 125 students. In 1959, the government appointed Ahmad Idris, an Arab education supervisor, as an instructor of Islam at the seminary and Father George Rizik, a 1958 seminary graduate, as an instructor of Christianity (ISA 71, 1959). In early 1962, Salomon proposed the opening of a formal track for religious education at the seminary, with the option of specializing in either Islam or Christianity during the second year of the course. Although the Ministry of Religious Affairs was reluctant to cooperate with the Ministry of Education in this venture, having been disappointed in such attempts so many times in the past, it eventually agreed to participate (ISA 71, 1959). However, none of the many policy initiatives concerning Muslim education succeeded in providing qualified successors for the aging first generation of qadis. By the late 1960s, this lingering problem threatened to topple the entire system of Muslim communal institutions in Israel (ISA 71, 1959).

In Israel, the Arab population criticized the study of religion in the minority schools, well aware of the extent to which the subject was emphasized in the Jewish schools. The older

generation resented the subsequent alienation of the youth from religion, and their view of it as an external sign of traditionalism and backwardness. Many young Arabs in the 1960s believed that religion should be taught as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself (Sami Khalil, 1978, p. 48). Young minority citizens wanted religious instruction to be geared toward developing a sense of national identity through the study of the connections among religion, history and heritage. During this period, the main impetus for reform of the minority religious studies curriculum came from clergy members while the students themselves were more attracted to Arab nationalism (Sami Khalil, 1978, p. 72).

It is important to note that Israel was not alone in experiencing the rising tide of nationalism in the education system. In the surrounding Arab countries during this period, educational thought and practice underwent a major shift from a religious to a nationalist orientation. The only surviving elements of the traditional Islamic curriculum following this shift were the study of Arabic and Islamic religion. Islam clearly lost its predominant stature in the primary and secondary school curriculum in the Arab world. However, the balancing gain was in Arab history and Islamic civilization, which ranked among the most popular subjects of study at the university level. Moreover, universities such as the renowned al-Azhar in Cairo continued to teach various dimensions of Islam as distinct academic disciplines.

In Israel, Muslim students did not enjoy the option of enrolling in religious schools, and they were required to devote twice as much time to Jewish studies as to Islamic studies at the secondary school level. Despite some minor reforms in the 1960s, the Arab school system remained extremely secularized. Notwithstanding some protests, notably from minority clergy members, the issue of religious education never secured a prominent position on the Arab agenda in Israel, which was dominated by nationalism. However, Israel's neglect of Islamic education at all levels had dire consequences for the state, which found itself unable to perpetuate the Muslim religious establishment it had created. The crisis culminated in the 1960s, when the lack of religious training, particularly for qadis, threatened the continued survival of the religious establishment in Israel.

The Islamic Movement's Complementary education system

Several studies focusing on educational field have reported the failure of Arab education system to instill Islamic values among children (Abu-Asbah & Avishai, 2007; Al-Haj, 1995a). Several attempts have been tried to solve this failure by some groups from the population. Christian community schools have provided moral education. Responding to this, on the one hand Leaders of the Islamic movement appreciate these christian community schools' effort, and on the other hand they are aware that missionary is one of the objectives that this educational stream strives. They want to learn from these schools to create school model for Islamic movement (Ali & Inbar, 2011). They also try to adopt from other schools' model.

In Egypt, 'Muslim Brotherhood' leaders officially optimize mosque function in serving as educational moral alternative institution in the beginning of the 1930s. As a matter of fact, Islam throughout history has functioned mosque as the first educational institution. This trend continues to this era for Muslim minorities residing in Europe, this is to say that the mosque has played role as learning place for social, cultural and national values (Lewis, 1997).

The three models of education used for Islamic movement which are adopted have failed to bring good result. These three education models are the mosque as a learning place at the beginning of Islam period, the mosque among Muslim Brotherhood and the Christian community school and they have not significant role in shaping the model of education for Islamic movement. Given this situation the parallel education system that the Islamic Movement developed was not single source and it is also realistic. This is to say that it takes into consideration the Palestinian national component in the identity of its pupils and the religious component (Maoz, 2006).

There are other aspects that the leaders of the Islamic Movement in Israel should take into consideration namely systemic limitation in form of local, national, and structural influencing on their ambitions, and on their practice to develop Islamic education. One thing for sure, they are also carefully concerning their status of an ethnic-national minority among dominant others in Israel (Peled, 2001). Establishing an independent and autonomous education system which is comparable to the Orthodox Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews is difficult and in addition the state will not allow this to happen. The state seizes the national education system as a tool controlling their society (Al-Haj, 1995b). In dealing with this circumstance, these leaders design and develop foundation of an education subsystem which is supplementary to the one provided and delivered by the state. This produces something like complementary education that combines with existing provisions to mutually enhance or emphasize the qualities of each other. If access to existing forms of education is not available, is limited in scope, or is non-existent, where no provision exists, the development and accreditation of programs to release, realize, and bring forth the innate talents and abilities of individuals and communities is adopted (Schwartz & Galily, 2017). The expression for this is contained within the organizational-pedagogic dependence and striving for moral independence (Suwaed & Ali, 2016).

It should be taken into consideration that the instruction framework being worked on by the Islamic Movement in Israel is still in its beginning period, however its objectives are clear: national religious training, religious obedience and loyalty, and preparation to be cadre of Islamic movement and one thing for sure is the educational attainment. It has several phases ranging from compulsory kindergarten age through tertiary education. The system is operated independently at compulsory kindergarten age (kindergartens, pre-kindergarten, and nursery schools) and in tertiary education (Al-Dawa College). Given this situation, it is possible to consider it as an alternative education system (Al-Haj, 1995b; Sami Khalil, 1978). The independence of the system refers mainly to contents of the education. However, in elementary school, junior high school, and high school ages, state education system is dominant and applied in these institutions. Therefore, the Islamic Movement designed and applied an education system which serves as supplementary to the existing state system in these educational institutions. As the compulsory kindergarten education system and Al-Dawa College do not belong to the state responsibility and they got no financial assistance from the state. Since they are out of state budget, they are not subject to the control and monitoring from the concerned ministries. These institutions are under the maintenance and responsibility of the Islamic Movement and they are free from state's control (Peled, 2001). Unlike kindergarten and Al-Dawa college, the junior school, junior high school, and high school education systems belong to the state education system. In other words they are well financed and supervised by the state. For these students in these institutions, the Islamic Movement provides additional education service in mosques and Islamic centers (Suwaed, 2014).

On November 17, 2015, Israel's security cabinet decided to declare the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel (the biggest and most active organization) as a forbidden organization and against the law. The Israeli government justified this declaration explaining that the northern branch of the Islamic Movement is a separatist-racist organization that does not recognize the institutions of the State of Israel, and thus denied its right to exist and called for the establishment of an Islamic caliphate in its place (Schwartz & Galily, 2017).

The declaration of Israel's security cabinet means that any entity or person belonging to this organization. Henceforth, as well as any person or group providing financial and/or other services, or acting on its behalf, will be committing a criminal offense and subject to imprisonment of up to 10 years (Schwartz & Galily, 2017). This also made it possible to seize all property belonging to the organization. Since this declaration, numerous institutions affiliated with the Islamic movement canceled their educational activities. Other options to deal with is

by naming new identity with the consistency to serve Islamic movement goals. What remains active is Islamic kindergartens, Qur'an and Its studies, and Islamic summer schools and camps are the institutions which remain active to serve Islamic movement educational goals.

Elementary and High School Education in Islamic Perspective

The state deals with the Arab elementary and secondary school education system in Israel. Therefore, the Islamic Movement possesses less effect on these institutions. Henceforth, the education system has been established is a supplementary framework that incorporates the supporting improvement classes including; helping weak performer of students; helping entrance examinations preparation for twelfth graders; administering courses to study the Qur'an and the hadith; applying program of memorizing the Qur'an by heart (where local and regional competitions are held for these competencies), and; assisting program of *tajwid* mastery (reading the Qur'an in public). These courses are organized and conducted mainly within the mosques which plays role as community centers. In spite of the fact that this educational system consolidates general instruction with conventional religious education to help students. These goals are not primarily because the foundational objective is to ingrain religious values in students. Those values are different from what they get in their schools (Al-Haj, 1995b; Bentwich, 1965; Middle East Institute, 1978b; Sami Khalil, 1978).

The instruction delivered in the Islamic movement is not recognized by the State of Israel. A smart way is taken by the secondary school established in the town of Umm al-Fahm to solve this problem. To achieve recognition from the Ministry of Education, it joined the *Atid* education network. The school that established the Islamic movement in Umm el-Fahm awards degrees under the sponsorship of the Federation of Islamic Universities, and not under the patronage of Israeli institutions for higher education (Schwartz & Galily, 2017; Suwaed & Ali, 2016).

The leaders of the Islamic movement address their criticism at the state education in Israel, particularly in the matter of religious fields and its value. They are not happy with the way the state impart religious knowledge alone and they demand that training and socialization the Arab, Palestinian, Islamic, and National religious personality among the students.

The Islamic movement in Israel has started building higher education and this institution serves to provide Islamic Sciences. This institution is located in Umm al-Fahm (*Kuliat al-Da'wa wa al-Ulum al-Islamiyah*). In 1990, the school was established in the town of Umm al-Fahm and there were more than 400 students learning at the college. Some students studied in the mornings and those who are unable to attend morning class took night classes. At the school, they learned Islamic law and culture. The school was open for students wishing to accomplish second and third degrees.

Activities at the school were not only restricted to teaching and learning. In addition it involves communal exercises, for example assignments for students to help community and improving the Islamic movement reputation. The al-Dawa College is the example of organization which exists in the Muslims in Israel. In spite of the fact that the number of students isn't expansive, its social and religious ramifications are immense. Graduates who serve as educators have attracted community adherents (*waazoun*), imams, preachers, etc. The certificate granted by the college is not recognized by the state and the graduated had no chance to work in public employment. This is absolutely in light of the fact that the state views the Islamic movement is against the state and opposing the state. In response to this, the Islamic movement underpins these graduates, who don't prevail with regards to achieving any job. The offers are given in terms of assigning them to be teachers in the supplementary education of the Islamic movement. Other possibilities are serving as imam and teaching followers in the mosques.

Today, approximately 16% of the total population of Arabs uses the Islamic education

system. As the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religion don't appreciate these graduates, the Islamic movement has set up a reserve for their monetary assistance, and their salary are paid from its treasury. The establishment of the fund symbolizes the significance of this community in the perspective of the Islamic movement leaders. In turn, it considers the graduates of the school as models of the new Muslim (Al-Haj, 1995b). Today, approximately 16% of the Arabs population utilize the Islamic education system.

CONCLUSION

In general, Israel still put education sector as the top priority to support its development. However, Islamic education sector and other minority religion education are still an ongoing effort to have the similar treatment and right as the Jews education. Along with this effort, there were a lot of actions performed either by individual or organizational sector. The effort also resulted the Islamic movement especially in education field. There are a lot of Islamic movement actions conducted in education sector in Israel in order to maintain the Muslim students identity among the radicalism in Israel.

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