

Chapter Five: Emancipatory Human Development: Conclusions and Future Prospects

Foreward

Section One: Adopting and Implementing the Concept of Emancipatory Human Development.

Section Two: Institutionalization and Organization of Community Participation and Local Government

Section Three: Toward a Developmental Education System.

Section Four: Toward Emancipatory Human Development.

Forward

*The PHDR,
suggests a vision
and framework
for development
and emancipation*

Continuing Israeli incursions into the Palestinian territories have destroyed the infrastructure of the Palestinian community and its institutions. The practice of isolating cities and districts from one another has made interaction difficult and at times, impossible. A comprehensive sustainable human development plan is needed to provide guidance and a framework for progress during these trying times, and for the future. This plan must be flexible enough to adapt readily to political change. It must be consistent with realities on the ground. Finally, it must further the Palestinians' pursuit of the rights that are enjoyed by citizens of the world's free nations.

The PHDR does not offer detailed recommendations; rather, it suggests a variety of mechanisms that will help to develop recommendations for the various sectors according to general principles.¹ The PHDR stresses the need to organize the Palestinian community along the lines of an institutional and legal framework that will lead to the emancipation and complete sovereignty of the Palestinian territories. In addition, as we prepare for the future, we must lay the foundation for a state committed to the principles of democracy, and equality, and to the effectiveness of our governing institutions. These efforts will require radical changes to the sustainable human development process.

This chapter reiterates many of the points mentioned in previous sections of the PHDR and presents them in a comprehensive context. It does not provide a strategy or working plan or detailed program. Those tasks are the responsibilities of the leadership of the development process in the community, concerned PNA institutions, civil community organizations, and financiers of development. The PHDR does, however, suggest a vision and framework for development and emancipation. Concerned institutions, official and non-official, must internalize these concepts and translate

1. The DSP assigned 18 research teams the task of formulating recommendations for every sector that were presented at the conference launching the PHDR and are available upon request.

them into clear and finite policies and programs. New policies should both sustain and complement the work of other institutions and continue to advance the development process until national goals are achieved. The internalization process could be realized by employing several steps, including:

- * Holding community discussions about the results of the PHDR. Its recommendations should be shared with the leadership of all concerned institutions, with the intent to incorporate them into a comprehensive sustainable human development strategy.
- * Raising awareness about the priorities and agendas of concerned institutions and the effects of those priorities at the official and community levels.
- * Convincing concerned Palestinian ministries to adopt comprehensive development strategies and prompting international groups operating in Palestine to adopt a perspective in that is in accordance with those strategies through community participation at all levels.
- * Legislative, executive and judiciary institutions must integrate the concepts and methodologies of sustainable human development, as spelled out in this report, into their policies and legislation.
- * Embracing the concept of emancipatory human development in all Palestinian governmental and civic organizations. This will require clear leadership directives to train personnel to fully understand the concept and the means by which it is advanced.
- * Achieving emancipatory human development requires that laws, plans, programs and projects connect 1) political objectives with development objectives, 2) social goals with economic goals, and 3) immediate relief with long-term development
- * Achieving sustainable human development is a multi-faceted process with multiple stages including design, planning, execution, and assessment.

Achieving sustainable human development is a multi-faceted process with multiple stages including design, planning, execution, and assessment

Section One: Adopting and Implementing the Concept of Emancipatory Human Development

The pillars of emancipatory human development

Sustainable human development equally and properly integrates the goals of liberation and human development, viewing them as a united entity whose elements rely on one another. Emancipatory human development posits the welfare of human beings at the center of political, social and economic decisions. Human rights, such as the right to development and the right to self-determination, cannot be separated from the concept of human liberation.

PHDR recommendations concentrate on three elements that would enable the Palestinian community to continue its pursuit of national objectives and realize its development goals under all political conditions. The first of the elements is concentration on human welfare as the axis on which all development efforts revolve. It acknowledges the relationship between development and social and economic perseverance, be it “under occupation” through the “rebuilding process” or under an “independent state.” The second element is community participation and systematic decentralization, and the third is investment in education. While these elements do not comprise all the elements of the development process in totality, they do lay the foundation for action within the Palestinian community.

Box (5 - 1) Human development as a means to transcend the crisis

“If we contemplate our social condition and the various forms of Israeli aggression to which we are subjected, we would find that we suffer weakness in judicial performance, in terms of the failure of the judicial system to realize respect and effectiveness, weak public awareness of the importance of the law in the lives of communities, and the problems arising from negligence of the law. I believe that human development activities must be directed at caring for women and concentrating on school and kindergarten teachers. I also believe that efforts should be made to adopt a full development scheme that strives to hone the personality of the Palestinian people, rendering them qualified to build a community based on law and respect of human rights, in addition to confirming organization as the means to achieving goals and limiting personal interests for the benefit of the greater good.”

Haidar Abdul-Shafi

PLC member

The implementation of emancipatory human development, as outlined in the PHDR, involves the following:

1. Adoption of a comprehensive development framework: A comprehensive development framework will minimize the long-term losses that jeopardize human development, threaten sustainability, and do injustice to coming generations by denying them improved opportunities. In this regard, it is important to avoid contradiction between striving for sustainable human development and working to realize political goals. Heightened focus on community participation and social services spending will increase the chances for self-determination, for both individuals and the nation as a whole.

2. Full integration of resistance and development concepts:

The PHDR emphasizes that these are unified as well as parallel concepts. Resistance efforts can only succeed in a community that possesses the awareness and ability to participate. The community must also provide acceptable living standards and healthy internal relationships. The PHDR stresses that people cannot achieve sustainable human development in the absence of their right to self-determination. It also urges the Palestinian community not to succumb to external forces that strive to destroy its abilities, and to dedicate themselves to action as well as appropriate reaction. Communities based on emancipation at the individual and

institutional levels do not fluctuate in their choice of direction and they develop clear strategies to guide them through difficult times.

3. Activating human resources: Adopting the concept of emancipatory human development is a call to action at all levels. The resources of the Palestinian people have not been fully engaged, and institutions, governmental and non-governmental, are urged to mobilize all resources at their disposal as well as the power of individuals and local communities within a united framework.

4. Increasing efforts: The PHDR calls for a heightened effort on the part of Palestinian institutions. Coping with widespread destruction within the Palestinian community requires resolve and the gathering of efforts and resources. Preserving the Palestinian will to achieve requires solidarity at the psychological and emotional levels and cannot be accomplished in an atmosphere of pessimism. Our suffering cannot be used as an excuse for inaction.

5. The importance of social and economic programs:

Emancipatory human development means the integration of the political process with economic and social development goals. Therefore, leading Palestinian institutions must formulate comprehensive, forward-reaching social and economic programs at every stage, and the PLC must assume a leadership role and shoulder its tasks fully. Having the PLC and other PNA institutions work exclusively toward

Adopting the concept of emancipatory human development is a call to action at all levels

development under any circumstance is the way to ensure that the Palestinian community is able to persevere in the face of current and future obstacles.

6. Developing PNA institutions to empower them in all conditions: To empower our institutions, we must help them to build strong foundations based upon the professional recommendations of local and international experts in community work that would place the right person in the right place and ensure active community participation.

7. Bolstering social spending: Concentration on development, with its institutional, social, economic and organizational ramifications, requires increased focus on social spending, which includes the health, education, social welfare, and housing sectors. Our limited resources must be distributed according to a comprehensive budget which supports the national and community agendas through proper allocation of tax revenues and encouragement of the private sector. The chance for success is greatly expanded if the other elements of the framework, education and community participation, are also realized.

8. Preserving the rights of future generations: One of the most important elements of emancipatory human development is the preservation of the rights of future generations, heeding their interests when making decisions in the present and planning for the future. The current generation is not entitled to jeopardize the

national, social or economic rights of coming generations. Among the defined policies that protect the rights of future generations are those concerned with balanced population distribution. Fertility rates in the West Bank and Gaza are still among the highest in the world, and if the trend is not treated immediately in accordance with the concepts of sustainable human development, coming generations will pay the price in a greatly deteriorated living standard and further exhaustion of limited Palestinian natural resources. The effects will also be manifested in rising unemployment, deteriorating health and education conditions, and a sharp increase in poverty rates. Further deterioration in these areas will have disastrous implications for the future of the Palestinian community. Preserving the rights of coming generations requires balanced environmental policies that limit pollution and guard against overuse of resources. It also necessitates working to achieve economic self-reliance by adopting policies designed to decrease dependence and by lessening the number and size of loans that will have to be paid off by future generations.

9. Enabling Palestinian women: This is one of the most important elements of emancipatory human development. Palestinian women are citizens with full rights under the law and the law must treat them as equal to men in all aspects. Also, the Palestinians are bound by international protocols that provide for equal rights for men and women. Raising the legal marriage age, educating women, considering

One of the most important elements of emancipatory human development is the preservation of the rights of future generations

their needs and perspectives in decision-making, formulating plans that contribute to strengthening the Palestinian community, and enacting family laws based on human rights and equality will preserve the rights of women and protect the Palestinian family.

10. Activating the rule of law: Respect for human rights and the rule of law forms the basis for all modern legal, educational and governmental systems. Strengthening the Palestinian judicial system and guiding the work of our security forces is a critical first step in the advancement of this principle. The rule of law has an educational

dimension that seeks to decrease traditional influences such as tribal law in state institutions. The Palestinian electoral process still draws a disproportionate number of its national and local leaders from a specific social echelon. Our government still neglects basic laws, ignores rules and regulations, employs the policy of execution, including public executions, arrests without trial, and stifles the natural activism of Palestinian universities and selected individuals. These practices have contributed to chaotic conditions, reintroduced a system of tribal favoritism, and placed the personal interests of certain individuals above the community interest.

Respect for human rights and the rule of law forms the basis for modern legal, educational and governmental systems

Box (5 - 2) The importance of investing in social development

Progressive social attitudes greatly influence long-term social and human development. Regression in social attitudes has been noted in Palestine recently. The deteriorating economic, social and legal status of women is a primary indicator. Concurrently, despite the pressing need to improve education and increase levels of participation in local government, there is still no education minister (although the efforts of the ministry personnel deserve commendation). The Minister of Local Government is busy with his responsibilities as the chief Palestinian negotiator. Other indicators of regression include the descent of small towns and villages into social and organizational chaos. Their isolation due to the lack of balanced development policies has returned the “social contract” to its traditional definition, which places little value on the economic and cultural welfare of small towns and villages. In addition, the rise of an “informal” or underground economy does not contribute to the foundations of a developmental economy, albeit it is the only alternative for many. This clear regression in several key areas requires a clear policy that embraces and protects our small towns and villages guarantees equilibrium between private interests and the greater good.

Building centralized and decentralized institutions based on community participation.

The PNA PNA must address immediate needs while creating a long-term development vision

Section Two: Institutionalization and Organization of Community Participation and Local Government

The second pillar of emancipatory human development concerns community participation, the ability to influence government, and the building of centralized and decentralized institutions through community participation. National government must delegate legal, financial and administrative authority to local councils. Proper delegation of authority allows them to independently handle their affairs. It also encourages them to contribute to the advancement of sustainable human development at the national level within the framework of emancipatory human development. Local institutions must serve as the catalysts for the Palestinian community's efforts to build a modern democratic state. The current Intifada and its consequences have highlighted the need for strengthening community participation. Effective local government institutions will shore up the foundations of the PNA within a framework of mutual respect and faith in the importance of joint participation. Effective local government will revitalize the relationship between the central authority and the local community.

Active participation in the development process requires the

involvement the community in developmental decision-making. Local communities must participate in the creation of flexible development vision that responds to changes determined by progress within and around the community and in the world at large. All participants must be welcomed without discrimination on the part of local government officials, whether it be based on gender, religious or political beliefs, family, or place of residence. In addition, active participation allows the community to help supervise execution of strategy and to question decisions through democratic practice. Developmental decision-making carefully considers the philosophy, strategies, policies and programs that affect all aspects of human life.

The PNA is facing many challenges to its leadership of the Palestinian community. In addition to the pressure of occupation, the PNA must address immediate needs while creating a long-term development vision. The PNA must meet high performance expectations nurtured by the Palestinians since 1967 with very limited resources. Undoubtedly, the PNA faces an array of obstacles, among them geographic dislocation and the division of the Palestinian territories into isolated cantons, as well as checkpoints and barricades that serve as daily reminders of the military occupation. If the status quo is allowed to persist, relations between the Palestinian local community and the PNA will disintegrate. This outcome is more likely if local councils are forced to continue without a development

plan, adequate authority or appropriate levels of funding. The sense of initiative cultivated over more than three decades is not enough to sustain them in such adverse conditions.

Institutionalization and organization of community participation and local government must be rebuilt on new foundations. The critical areas of needed change are:

1. Honest assessment of institutional performance: The many weaknesses of existing institutions were revealed under the pressures of the Intifada and the burdens of the siege. These institutions must now make honest and responsible assessment of their visions and work mechanisms. It should be noted that the ineffectiveness of some Palestinian institutions predated the Intifada. In some cases, poor management strategy and inefficient work systems had been in place for years.

2. Administrative reform: Community participation is also integrally connected with the administrative reforms that are being recommended by many local and international institutions². Reform attempts stopped at the outset of the Intifada. Ironically, the Intifada's progression further exposed and underscored the need for administrative and legal reform that would ensure participation, professionalism, and technical standards in institutional work. Matters were made worse by regression of the performance of

several key institutions, at a time when the Palestinian community desperately needed its institutions and the services they provided. Some used the Intifada to justify substandard performance and others to hide their incompetence, all to the detriment of resistance and development efforts. The PNA demonstrated administrative and financial inadequacies that shook the community's confidence in its ability to stop further deterioration. Local councils relied heavily on donors and tended to accept their conditions without proper oversight by the central authority. NGOs followed the same pattern, furthering threatening the status of the central authority.

3. Building trust between citizens and the PNA: the PNA has done little to stem the loss of public confidence in its capabilities. Its efforts to establish a sound government based on the rule of law are still weak. The PNA still fails to connect the political process, development, and active community participation. It purports to possess a development vision, but the absence of the rule of law in a widely institutionalized framework guarantees its failure of that vision. The lack of a legally supportable development vision will yield the same result, because the relationship between development and sustainability and the rule of law cannot be disregarded. The current PNA stance toward NGOs and their role in the community is unjustifiable, even if concerns with some of their operational strategies are valid.

Institutionalization and organization of community participation and local government as the basis for development

2. Such as the report published by the Palestinian Legislative Council, the Rokar Report, reports of the Independent Commission for Human Rights, and previous PHDRs.

Mechanisms to increase levels of coordination between NGOs and PNA institutions must be improved

4. The failure of centralization:

Centralized decision-making has undergone a difficult test, and the results are discouraging. The Palestinian people must be engaged in community administration to help it surmount obstacles on the path of achieving national objectives. NGOs must adopt a standardized development vision embraced by all NGOs, official institutions, and donors and to which they may be held accountable. Funding sources should be monitored according to established legal parameters. It is recommended that the PNA coordinate with NGOs in the service of development rather than isolate them. Mechanisms to increase levels of coordination between NGOs and PNA institutions; and facilitate networking, cooperation, and consultation among NGOs and with the PNA must be developed.

5. Local government and active participation: The true meanings of these concepts require that local councils and NGOs be allowed to participate in decision-making and to question authority. A legal framework governing the activities of local councils and NGOs must be established. The following steps will help to establish this framework:

- Understanding the community process and the needs of the community under fluctuating political conditions and integrating comprehensive community thinking into the decisions and plans of concerned institutions.
- Working in every way to remove the sense of alienation wherever it exists; between Palestinians and the PNA, its institutions, or with other individuals.
- Working to hold PLC elections based on inclusive practices and the principles of freedom and democracy and according to an electoral system that considers past experience.
- Holding local council elections to encourage delegation of authority.
- Addressing the issue of refugee camps and its relationship, present and future, with the functions of local government.
- Expanding community participation in resolving disputes within the boundaries of local councils in non-violent ways.
- Including in the agendas of local councils and community institutions the needs of youth, children and the underprivileged.
- Integrating women into local councils and expanding their role.
- Providing incentives to donate land and money necessary to establish operating venues within the jurisdictional areas of local councils.
- Encouraging local councils to cooperate with NGOs and local communities by increasing the number of public meetings, possibly making them institutionally required and governed by clear rules of operation and function.
- Empowering and encouraging NGOs to spread awareness of the

community's need to interact with and monitor the functions of local councils;

- Encouraging unions and student bodies in schools and universities to resume their proactive roles.
- Encouraging the educated and affluent segments of Palestinian society to bear their responsibilities toward the larger community.
- Expanding the authorities of local councils in the broader sense by inviting them to participate in planning, enacting laws, execution, monitoring, evaluation, and directing the educational process, health care provision, social affairs, and other human welfare matters.
- Reenacting the Law of Local Councils and holding them responsible for participating in formulating the development vision and following up on execution, in addition to employing the law with a positive spirit.
- Lending local councils the needed skills to perform their duties toward citizens and participate in human development with emphasis on sustainability, and facilitate the exchange of expertise with internal and external groups.
- Providing government financial support for local councils to undertake projects within their geographical boundaries, remanding property taxes and redistributing fuel taxes to the councils.
- Expanding the construction of

joint service centers to serve local councils in close proximity and empower them to supervise the execution of human development strategy in their areas.

- Forming joint city councils from local councils with geographical connections, as in the case of the Bethlehem District and the Ramallah and Al-Bireh areas, to facilitate the formation of complementary agendas .
- Pressuring donors to unify procedures for donating and transferring funds, monitoring, simplifying reporting and presentation requirements, paying attention to developing local levels of technical expertise, and supporting Palestinian priorities within the jurisdictional areas of local councils.
- Promoting the role of the Finance Ministry as a general coordinator to direct financial support in accordance with Palestinian human development strategy.
- Help the private sector to initiate local projects and encourage the private sector to contribute to community development.

Providing governmental financial support for local councils is needed

Section Three: Toward a Developmental Education System

The third pillar of emancipatory human development is connected with the importance of education from the qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Investing in education was and still is the

Help the private sector to establish local projects

Institutions must push forward the wheel of educational development

primary catalyst that will enable the Palestinian community to persevere and progress at all levels. Therefore, the PHDR proposes an inclusive, developmentally oriented educational model as one of the top priorities of sustainable human development. This educational model is one of the most effective methods to realize the objectives of the Palestinian people and protect the future of their children.

For Palestinian education to be in harmony with the principles of emancipatory human development, and to advance the objectives of the Palestinian educational system, several directions must be considered. They are:

1. Early childhood and preliminary education: The preliminary education stage is the foundation on which subsequent stages rely. It also serves as the starting point for any radical change in the education system. It therefore deserves detailed examination of many of its aspects.

- Encouraging kindergartens to define their curricula. Due to the rapid rise in levels of kindergarten attendance, the Ministry of Education must define both the curricula and goals for this important educational stage. The Ministry licenses kindergartens that meet certain staff and facilities criteria. The Ministry also offers a guide to aid directors of kindergartens, but direct ministry oversight of

kindergarten operations is almost nonexistent.

Kindergartens are beginning to compete with first grades and even second grades in the teaching of reading and writing, arithmetic, and English. However, socialization issues are sorely neglected, as schools and parents alike are unaware of their importance. In this environment, it becomes important for the Ministry to adjust the focus of kindergarten education and to educate schools and parents about the real objectives of kindergartens.

Helping children to develop personality and character. Without a doubt, the home is the first place to achieve this, but schooling plays a tremendous role in shaping and broadening the world of a child. Schools must work to instill self-assurance in all children instead of nurturing a weak or distraught personality, which leads to adaptation difficulties, decreased productivity, and violent behavior.

Getting children accustomed to dealing with their peers as equals. Children at home deal with people older than they are or younger, and a difference of one year in children's ages is considerable in terms of ability and cognizance. At school, a child encounters many age-mates, and treating them as equals is an important part of social upbringing. "The authoritarian personality" is

Encouraging kindergartens is vital

greatly adept at dealing with superiors, mainly through adulation, and with inferiors, by oppression, but dealing with an equal proves very difficult. This particular personality type occurs frequently in our society. It is a personality type that views human relations exclusively from the perspective of a power and authority hierarchy. Our collective tendency toward this type of behavior may have played a large role in the realities of our political history.

- Educating children on the importance of citizenship and the value of public or common interests, both tangible and moral. Wide segments of the Arab nation were raised on the highly individualistic and defensive concept, "this is mine, that is yours," while "this is ours, that is theirs" seems to be more important and appropriate. Undoubtedly, this way of thinking hinders progress and can only be overcome by educating children about the value of public interest.
- Nurturing moral values and behavioral traits in children, including work ethics, because although honesty and decency are appreciated values, dedication and readiness to work must be encouraged and developed. Our standing in the modern world depends heavily on developing the work ethic in our community.
- Integrating the concept of gender in education when planning, executing and evaluating the education

process. This includes presenting positive pictures of Palestinian women in the labor force, including traditional, political work and modern professions, such as medicine and engineering, and other positive and effective models. We must also present male role models that support gender equality and man's familial duties. A developmental education system provides the basis for mutual respect among children of both genders at school. It also requires special attention to practical and strategic needs of students and workers in the education sector. Suitable facilities must be built and technical resources distributed equitably, including laboratories, computers and teachers. Special attention must be given to existing disparities between boys' schools and girls' schools.

- The world has become a connected unit, and each community now has to deal with all others. We must instill the basic values of tolerance in our children. Tolerance does not necessarily imply agreement. Tolerance means granting others the rights we expect to enjoy ourselves. We must mutually respect our differences and resolve conflict through discussion and non-violent means. The authoritative nature of our traditional community does not lend itself easily to the principles of tolerance. Respect for others begins with self-respect. Adults must respect children, which is not common

Educating children on the importance of citizenship

Integrating the concept of gender in education

Schooling plays a tremendous role in shaping and broadening the world of a child

Encouraging Mutual respect of differences and understanding based on discussion and non-violent treatment.

in our upbringing. One of the tasks of the coming period is to move from specificity to generality, because harping on the Palestinian specificity may turn into an excuse for negligence and a narrow horizon and consequently a cause for failure. Overemphasis of the Palestinian identity in our children's upbringing belies a defensive attitude and may lead to an undermining of the importance of universal issues. This requires more attention to the issues of human rights and the environment.

2. Secondary education: In an environment that embraces the concepts described above, academic tutelage takes a backseat to psychological and social objectives, which are introduced in the early stages of education and should gradually assume a wider role in later years.

The higher stages of education still employ rote - learning methodologies and limit the knowledge and skills of students to what is available in textbooks. The concept of instilling self-motivation in students is often neglected, and the teacher is still viewed as the central figure in the educational process, rather than the student. Therefore, higher education has not yet arrived at the stages of 'empowerment' and 'motivation' mentioned in the Palestinian curriculum plan. It is likely that radical changes cannot be achieved in the higher years of education unless they are based on

radical changes in the early stages. These are long-term objectives that may require more than a decade to be realized.

The main problem in higher education may be the clear contradiction between its objectives and content, both of which were defined more than 50 years ago. At that time, higher education was reserved for a very limited segment of society. Today, higher education must serve a much broader range of students from many different socioeconomic backgrounds. The school system is marked by three inter-connected shortcomings: congestion, limited objectives, and low standards. Broadening objectives is at least part of the solution, and expanding opportunities for vocational education in schools may help to achieve that goal.

3. Possible changes:

■ Clearly, achieving the aforementioned objectives requires radical changes in school atmosphere and teaching methods. Perhaps the entire educational process needs to be redefined, including school management and the structure of the educational system itself. The school must be transformed from a conflict arena to a cooperative haven for administrators, teachers and students. Teachers must treat students as the center of free thought and will, not as empty pots to be filled without regard for individual personality. The transformation must be considered a top priority as we

The higher stages of education still employ rote-learning methodologies

seek to redefine education, for it is the primary element of a modern education system. From this base, we can work to achieve our community's social and economic goals. The prospects of securing the financial resources necessary to implement this change are very disheartening. Most of these changes require revamping the training programs of teachers and supervisors to include pre-employment as well as in-service training programs. A reexamination of teacher performance evaluation at the university level should also be undertaken. It is important to note, however, that realizing radical change requires reducing the size of classrooms, which is considered one of the priorities of the Palestinian education sector.

It must be noted here that the hostile, authoritative atmosphere of most Palestinian schools is also found in many Palestinian families. Schools will not be able to make the necessary reforms if the family atmosphere remains unchanged. Therefore, improving the relationship between school and the home becomes a significant element.

- Palestinian universities and colleges graduate large numbers of education students every year in various areas of specialty. However, the Ministry of Education has yet to define the minimum required course load and level of practical experience for schoolteachers. Developing the quality of our teachers in

Palestine is impossible under these conditions. Reconciling educational curricula requirements with ministry regulations will take several years. Defining minimum standards for teacher certification must be a priority of that process.

- Developing vocational and technical education heads the list of Palestinian educational objectives for late primary and higher education. However, execution is moving very slowly due to several interrelated reasons. The Palestinian community does not value vocational and technical training. Official emphasis is placed on the needs of academic study programs at the expense of vocational and technical studies. Few resources are available to develop vocational training. Changing this situation requires that educational leaders direct more attention and resources to vocational training, even at the expense of academic education programs. Increased opportunities to pursue vocational training would encourage more students to enroll. Primary education should, however, remain available to all.
- Developing the role of educational counseling. The quality of educational and psychological counseling at schools is low. A qualitative leap forward is required in the way of content, human resources, and methodology. Educational counseling plays an important role in ensuring the success of

The quality of educational and psychological counseling at schools is low

Simple measures would vastly improve the atmosphere of existing schools

An allocation of 7%-8% of GDP for Education may be sufficient

the newly-introduced vocational track. Students will initially face social pressure to avoid vocational education and will need encouragement to overcome that obstacle. If the vocational track is to succeed, we must promote the fact that all educational tracks are equal, and are not arranged from best to worst. The vocational education plan proposed for the higher education level includes the possibility of transferring from the vocational track to the academic. However, the converse is not true, which suggests that the vertical categorization of tracks is still influencing the attitudes of those who proposed it. In addition, encouraging transfer from the vocational to the academic track may have undesirable consequences further down the road that will limit the effectiveness of the track itself.

- Buildings and school facilities comprise the physical infrastructure of the education process. Schools truly function as a student's "second home." However, many buildings look more like prisons than schools, with their long hallways, multiple identically configured classrooms, uncomfortable furniture, and neglected courtyards. The situation could be radically changed in older buildings using various aesthetic measures, including applying colorful paint, planting trees and shrubs in courtyards, and choosing better furniture. Such simple measures would vastly improve the atmosphere of

existing schools, which probably require more attention and awareness than money. As for newer schools, it is important to consider their architectural and social attributes in addition to their function.

- The Palestinian education budget should consider additional sources of income. First, external aid for expansion and development projects should be pursued. Second, income generated from tuition, book sales and other means, which, although small at the primary school level, is a substantial source of income at the higher education level. Third, the general budget allocation must contain a fixed amount for education. A common method for determining the general education budget ties it to a percentage of GDP. If external aid is available, an allocation of 7%-8% of GDP for education may be sufficient in Palestine. Currently, educational expenditures account for less than 5 percent of GDP.
- Enacting the Palestinian education law. A comprehensive law on education does not currently exist, although the higher education law was enacted in 1998. The PNA may be averse to enacting the law because of the financial obligations it implies for the state. However, further delay of its enactment may have long-term negative consequences for educational development. Therefore, the law should be enacted as soon as possible while granting the government some

financial flexibility.

4. **Higher education:** Higher education will contribute to sustainable human development needs in Palestine by:

- Striving to prepare students to face the new challenges of the 21st century.
- Intensifying efforts to organize higher education and supply it with the necessary human resources.
- Studying the “economics of higher education“ to develop an understanding of the capabilities of higher education in Palestine and distributing funding fairly and in a manner that guarantees stability and sustainability.
- Continuing to concentrate on modern technical and scientific fields.
- Addressing the problem of unemployment radically instead of using higher education to mask it.

Section Four: Toward Emancipatory Human Development

Much of the Palestinian journey toward achieving emancipatory human development still lies before them, although great strides have been made in recent years. The span of years between 1994 and 2000 represented a historic turning point for the Palestinians. It was an era in which the establishment of a modern, independent state moved close to realization. Discussion in all

matters heated up, laws were enacted, institutions built, NGOs set to work, education rates increased, and certain aspects of health care and environmental protection improved.

Three chief objectives should be established in order to fully activate Palestinian resources and to engage the entire community in efforts to overcome the challenges we face.

First, we must end the Israeli occupation that continues to hinder sustainable human development, drains the resources of the Palestinian community and deprives it of its basic rights to self-determination and development. The perseverance of the Palestinians and their continuing resistance confirms their commitment to the realization of those rights.

Second, we must create a flexible development vision that paves the way for the future and which can handle states of uncertainty. This development vision will form a national standard endorsed by Palestinian official institutions, NGOs and donors. In the context of this vision, conditions of funding and their monitoring will be defined according to the law.

Palestinian resources must be activated and engaged to their fullest limits. Palestinians must create an atmosphere that reconciles the goals of politics and development. We must engage in our entire community in a discussion that identifies the rights of individuals and the community at the political and developmental

Necessary steps

1. Ending Israeli occupation

2. Creating a flexible development vision

3. Adopting a democratic framework

4. Establishing a “development council” at the highest possible level

levels. We must also seek to realize that which is possible under the current circumstances and establish mechanisms that allow change to be introduced to development plans and policies as needed. Flexibility must be inherent in the planning and execution of any sustainable development program, and especially so in the Palestinian context, which faces the added burdens of the pressures and changes brought to bear by the Israeli occupation.

Third, we must adopt a democratic framework created and implemented through the provisions of enforceable legislation. The framework must allow for delegation of authority. Local councils must function as representative local governments with independent revenue streams as well as financial support from the central government through an approved development plan. Such a policy would liberate the dormant resources of the community, provide structure and organization for their capabilities, and increase in the value of their contribution to the development process. Palestinians in the occupied territories have grown accustomed to developing their resistance and development methods to meet the challenges continually imposed by Israel.

In addition, there are five general steps that require examination and consideration. They are:

1. Generate support for the enactment of a basic law that organizes relationships and creates equilibrium between the legislative, executive and judicial authorities and allows citizens to practice their rights freely within the boundaries of the law. In addition, we must encourage the establishment of the rule of law and create an independent judicial authority capable of overseeing its application.
2. Promote transparency to increase trust between citizens and the PNA and raise awareness in the Palestinian people; revealing to them existing problems, clarifying their dimensions, and preparing people psychologically to face them. This requires activating the general monitoring authority to supervise budget distribution, government agencies and monopolies and the production of reports to guarantee legal and administrative accountability.³
3. Establishing a “development council” at the highest possible level in which official institutions and the civil and private sectors would participate and whose responsibilities would be to define the path of development and follow-up on development policies and performance.
4. Bolstering the role of official institutions, such as ministries, especially the Ministries of Local Government, Planning and International Cooperation,

3. The Independent Commission for Human Rights; “The State of Palestinian Citizens’ Rights; Sixth Annual Report”, Ramallah, 2001.

5. Enacting laws to organize the function of security forces

Finance, and Justice, NGOs, and the private sector, as well as individuals involved in decision-making and execution. Delegating authority would achieve this correctly, especially at the highest levels, accompanied by effective accountability and feedback mechanisms. This requires establishing proper structures for PNA institutions and clarifying the expertise and boundaries of authority of each governmental body in a manner that would minimize duplication of effort among government agencies, specifically ministries.

5. Enacting laws to organize the function of security forces and grant them legitimacy in order to protect the rights of citizens and guarantee the security of the community.

The establishment of the PNA should not be considered the end of our journey; instead, it should be regarded as a real chance to begin serious and effective handling of accumulated basic problems. As soon as an acceptable political settlement is reached, the state of Palestine, from the first moment of its birth, will face “the double whammy” of a growing population and a weak economy. Thus, one of the top priorities for state leadership will be to formulate long-term social and economic strategies that consider that international aid may be available for some time but not forever and not at the same levels. It may be difficult for the leadership to execute some

policies that do not meet public expectations of their new state of independence.

In conclusion, flexibility is a necessary requirement of the proposed Palestinian development vision. Healthy strides must be taken to overcome political obstacles and serious efforts made to maintain equilibrium in our progress. At all levels, Palestinians must pursue their vision within clear and professional managerial standards and mechanisms of accountability and transparency. Resistance in the cause of liberation and sustainable human development can no longer be separated. Sustainable human development must balance its social, economic, and institutional requirements with the needs and abilities of the public in order to engage dormant human resources in bearing the burden of developmental emancipation as well as to share with them the fruits of the development process. Integrating the notion of human development into the institutions of the community will serve the liberation process in the most inclusive sense. A sustainable human development vision will not be realized until the Palestinian community is granted its right to self-determination.

Palestinians must pursue their vision within clear and professional managerial standards