
HIGHER EDUCATION
AND THE PALESTINIAN
ARAB MINORITY IN ISRAEL
KHALID ARAR & KUSSAI HAJ-YEHIA

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Prologue

> There are many similar things. Only knowledge of the nature of civilization makes critical investigation of them possible.
>
> *Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406w)*

The idea of publishing a book that would examine the issue of higher education (HE) among the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel (PAMI) stemmed from two sources: our experience in investigating access to HE for this population over the last decade and our desire to raise pertinent questions concerning the dual marginality of the PAMI, although they are citizens of the state, in Israel's HE system and employment market. In this book the term "Palestinian Arab minority in Israel" refers to the Palestinian Arabs who are citizens of Israel and does not include Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Any discussion of the issue of HE for the PAMI must relate to and rely on the status of this minority in Israel. Israel is a Jewish state and the interests of non-Jews are often given secondary priority or disregarded. Discriminatory budgets have led to a concentration of disadvantages at the preuniversity stage in PAMI schools. Formidable admission policies of higher education institutions (HEI) together with conservative sociocultural characteristics of PAMI society and the generally low economic status of the PAMI mean that young PAMI school graduates must overcome many obstacles in order to gain access to Israel's HEI. Examination of the characteristics of PAMI studies in HE in Israel indicates that the PAMI have been a marginal element in the HEI of Israel, which were established as part of the formation of a national Zionist narrative and did not envisage the PAMI population as part of that narrative. PAMI students were not part of the HE plan or development and were, for many years, excluded from access by various selective means. Statistics show that PAMI students are underrepresented in most HEI and in the employment market.

The PAMI student is challenged all along the path to HEI by many dilemmas and pressures, including the need to attain a "high-quality" matriculation certificate as one of the admission criteria for HEI studies and deliberations concerning choice of discipline for HE studies, either

in Israel or abroad. In this reality, the PAMI students choose between several possible paths: (1) They might opt to study in a HEI in Israel, despite the challenges they will need to overcome (i.e., matriculation exams, psychometric tests, entry interviews, minimum age requirements). PAMI students' ability to surmount these obstacles depends not only on their personal capabilities but also on the extent to which the particular HEI adopts a policy of widening access to HE. (2) If the students find it impossible to surmount the challenges they face in Israel, they then search for other solutions. This involves examining options to study abroad and choosing a country where they can study the discipline they desire. In most cases the PAMI's target country for HE is not chosen because of its history, language, or a particular university's prestige, which are all relevant considerations for students from other countries who choose to study outside their homeland. Rather, PAMI students' first priority with regard to academic choice is to find HEI that will accept them, whether this is in Europe (Eastern Europe: Russia, Ukraine, Romania, or Moldavia; or Western Europe: Germany, Italy, Greece, etc.) or in the Middle East or Arab states (Turkey, and neighboring Jordan and the Palestinian Authority territories). (3) Having chosen a suitable target university, PAMI students then need to test the quality of the studies for the chosen discipline, and the educational outcomes to be expected as a result of these studies, in terms of the extent to which they will facilitate their access into the PAMI employment market in Israel (the Jewish and PAMI spaces in Israel being largely separate) and improve their prospects in the broader Israeli employment market.

PAMI students applying to HEI are strongly aware of the challenges involved in entering the Israeli employment market and know they are underrepresented in the public sector in general, and especially so in the private sector. Two exceptions to this underrepresentation are their strong representation in the education system (the part of the system serving the PAMI community), especially the growing representation of women, even to the extent of feminization of the PAMI education system. It is important to note that despite an excessive supply of PAMI teachers in the PAMI education system and a dearth of teachers in the Jewish system, interchange between the two systems of Jewish and PAMI teachers is a rare phenomenon. Another employment sector where there is a strong representation of PAMI graduates is in the practical services of the health system serving the entire Israeli population; however, PAMI graduates are rarely appointed to the managerial strata of the health services.

We can therefore consider the difficulties and challenges that the PAMI school graduate faces in order to study and eventually integrate within the employment market in Israel as a veritable Via Dolorosa. Despite the arduous path, many PAMI students do succeed in forging their entry to Israeli's

HEI with phenomenal determination, taking repetitive courses to attain strong scores in psychometric tests. These private courses have developed significantly in recent years in PAMI society. Some students, who do not gain access to public HEI, turn to the private HEI that have sprung up throughout Israel since the 1990s in response to the elitist selective policies of the public universities.

In fact, since the annulment of the military regime imposed on PAMI society from 1948 to 1966, significant changes have occurred in PAMI access to HE in Israel, both for students from villages in peripheral regions and from the larger urban centers. The increase in PAMI students completing high school and reaching HEI is especially noticeable among PAMI women. This increase in PAMI students in HE occurred despite structural, social, and cultural blocks obstructing entry to Israel HEI and especially to Israeli universities, and despite social and economic marginality of the PAMI population; by the academic year 2011–2012, 30,530 PAMI students were studying in Israel's HEI and 9,260 PAMI students were studying in HEI outside Israel. Yet in comparison to their proportion in the population of Israel, the PAMI remain underrepresented in both the student bodies and faculties of Israel's HEI. The underrepresentation of PAMI students in Israel's HEI has received the attention of the Council for Higher Education (CHE), which appointed two professional public committees at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century to investigate and recommend ways to improve access for the PAMI population to HEI. PAMI students' underrepresentation in Israel's HEI has also been noted over the years in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports, the most recent being the OECD Israel Report 2020 (OECD Economic Policy Reforms, 2015), recommending that steps be taken to redress this inequity, especially in light of the loss of potential human capital in education and employment for the national gross product. However, although the CHE and its Planning and Budgeting Committee determined policies that would encourage and reward projects and programs to widen access to HEI, both before and during academic studies no supervisory and regulatory tools were provided and there was no decision for any "corrective discrimination" or affirmative action.

The authors of this book are both experts in HE research. Khalid Arar studied for three degrees in the HE system, both in Israel and the United Kingdom, and has a decade of experience in high school management in the PAMI education system in Israel. Kussai Haj-Yehia studied for three degrees in Israel, Germany, and Canada. He has trained many young teachers in the past two decades in his work as lecturer and mentor. They both hold lecturing and research posts in academic colleges in Israel.

In addition to our own personal experiences as indigenous Palestinian Arabs in the world of school and academic education in Israel, our fieldwork has allowed us to witness firsthand and study the aspirations and deliberations of PAMI high school students and the challenges they face when preparing themselves and applying for HEI admission and the academic and sociocultural difficulties these undergraduates later face on HEI campuses in Israel and abroad. These issues have been the subject of our intense research over the past decade. This book encapsulates the knowledge we have accumulated over the years, supported by rich statistical data and evidence collected from official Israeli and foreign resources.

We hope that this book can make a unique contribution to knowledge concerning access to education for an indigenous minority in and outside its homeland. We identify and map the characteristics of this wide-ranging phenomenon and suggest strategic planning for future development, outlining possible changes. These suggestions will be interlaced like a silken thread throughout the different chapters of the book, pointing to possible future aspirations and priorities that could help to advance PAMI society's structure, culture, and economy and consequently benefit Israeli society as a whole.

The book relies on a series of empirical research studies that we have conducted over the years, including qualitative, phenomenological, and quantitative studies as appropriate to the issues studied, using reliable tools suitable for these different methodologies that comply with requirements of internal content validity and external validity. Our theoretical grounding relies on analysis of extant theories relating to student mobility to attain HE, and the characteristics of HE among "indigenous" and immigrant minority students. We also collected and analyzed reliable objective statistical data at the macro-level (education in general and government policy), the meso-level (relating to the educational institutes), and the micro-level (relating to individual students and academic staff). Some of our studies were conducted during a stay on site in campuses in Israel and in countries such as Germany and Jordan—in other words, in the locations where HE is conducted.

Our basic assumption was that in the face of challenges and obstacles, PAMI students become more determined than ever to study prestigious disciplines in HEI in Israel. This is a tendency that characterizes motivation for HE studies of minorities the world over, who increasingly study free professions such as medicine, pharmacy, law, and paramedical disciplines that offer them employment independent of local employment markets. When PAMI students are unable to access these disciplines in Israel, they search for appropriate studies abroad, as a "constricted choice"

even when this involves learning an additional language and irrespective of the prestige or international grading of the chosen HEI.

The HE movement of PAMI students within Israel and abroad takes place without any plan, needs survey, or follow-up study and constitutes a problematic issue that has challenged PAMI society in recent years, with long-term implications for the way in which PAMI academic graduates integrate into Israeli society. The phenomenon of the temporary migration of PAMI students to acquire HE abroad and in the Palestinian Authority territories continues to grow despite the difficulties involved. The explanation for this stream of migration forms the foundation for this book. Together, and in each of our independent research work, we have traced the development of the PAMI population's access to HE at different levels of the education system, through secondary schools and then in public and private HEI in Israel and overseas in Europe, the countries of former USSR, the United States, and also in the Arab countries of the Middle East following the Jordan–Israel peace agreement. We have also investigated the different student motivations involved and a range of characteristics that influence trends and the flow of PAMI students to undertake studies in different disciplines and in different locations; and we note the influence of these trends on PAMI society and on relations between the PAMI and Israeli Jewish society. These trends have been significantly influenced by the internationalization of HE, trends of globalization of HE, widening participation in HE, and increased student mobility as part of the global economy. They are also affected by trends in the relevant economic market segments as HEI throughout the world compete to attract foreign students and their academic and financial resources (Duncan, 2015). The fact that this book is entirely devoted to the issue of HE for the Palestinian minority in Israel indicates that this is a major issue of concern for the PAMI population. Our research enquiry raises many questions. The book is composed of seven chapters, in addition to the epilogue. Chapter 1 provides the reader with a description of the PAMI population in Israel, relating to demographic, social, economic, and political aspects of their life as a minority group. This picture of the context of our research traces chronological developments and changes that have occurred as a result of the establishment of Israel, and the status of the PAMI in the ethnodemocracy defined as the Jewish state.

Chapter 2 discusses the general issue of HE for the world's minorities. With the rise of the modern nation state, HE becomes an important tool for minority groups seeking recognition, socioeconomic mobility, and equal opportunities for employment. HE is also very important for the advancement of the status of women, especially in traditional patriarchal

societies. This chapter allows us to compare the reality of the indigenous PAMI in Israel with the reality of other indigenous and immigrant minorities and to assess the contribution of HE to the socioeconomic integration of the PAMI in Israel.

Chapter 3 describes the developments and changes that have occurred in PAMI society in recent years and the challenges and obstacles that PAMI face in attaining HE in Israel. It traces the structural obstacles set by Israeli academia that pose disadvantages to PAMI school graduates who aspire to study in HEI. The ability of PAMI high school students to attain the exceedingly high average matriculation grades demanded for admission to their preferred disciplines is severely handicapped by the low level of budgetary support for the PAMI school system. Another challenge that PAMI high school graduates face is the need for fluent use of three compulsory languages, Arabic, Hebrew, and English, although no additional resources are provided for this. In comparison, two compulsory languages are required by Jewish students: Hebrew and English. A second admission demand for most Israeli HEI is a high score in the psychometric test. Candidates for many prestigious disciplines are also required to pass a personal interview (conducted in Hebrew) and some disciplines such as medicine and social work require a minimum age before allowing students to commence studies. The chapter also relates to difficulties encountered by PAMI students during their studies in Israel's HEI, including coping with instruction and reading textbooks in English and Hebrew, and cultural adaptation in the transition from a rural to an urban society and from a largely traditional patriarchal society to the modern "Western" environment of Israeli HEI campuses. The chapter concludes with information concerning changes that have occurred in the studies of PAMI students over generations, especially emphasizing those that have affected female PAMI students, whose presence in HEI has grown so significantly that their proportion in the PAMI student body now exceeds that of male PAMI students.

Chapter 4 takes the reader on a geographical tour, tracing the movement of PAMI students to academic studies outside of Israel. The first study described here relates to the stream of PAMI students to Jordan, which has grown so rapidly that it seems proper to talk about the "Jordanization" of PAMI academic studies. This phenomenon began to develop as a result of the Oslo accord and escalated after the signing of a peace treaty between Jordan and Israel in 1998. As a result of this agreement, the number of students in Jordan grew to approximately half the number of PAMI students in Israeli universities. The peace agreement led to changes in HE in Jordan. The Oslo accord later also influenced the development of academia in the Palestinian Authority territories adjacent to Israel, which

began to attract PAMI students from within Israel. Despite daily political and security challenges that the students faced when crossing the Green Line (the armistice line) from Israel into the Palestinian Authority territories, PAMI students began to flock to Palestinian Authority universities in general and especially to the American University in Jenin, a phenomenon that we studied and will describe in this chapter. PAMI students' travels abroad to study first degrees, and especially for the study of higher degrees, are not limited to the neighboring states, and these students cross land and sea frontiers to other destinations for their academic studies. We describe the phenomenon of PAMI students' PhD studies in the United States, with the assistance of the Fulbright scholarships granted annually by the US consulate in Israel. These scholarships allow young male and female PAMI students to attain postgraduate degrees in some of the most prestigious US universities, with consequent positive implications for their integration in Israel's universities as lecturers and researchers on their return home. We suggest possible reasons for this phenomenon and its sociocultural and vocational implications.

Chapter 5 tries to assess the contribution of life in the academic sphere to the formation of the PAMI student's identity. This chapter tells the stories of those who move from PAMI villages in peripheral regions of the state to the academic campuses, into a foreign hybrid world, especially alien for PAMI women students. This is fertile ground for a clash between cultures—PAMI, a largely Muslim culture, and Israeli, a largely Western culture. Academic learning discourse in Israel's HEI is often perceived as enlisted for Israeli nation-building and the construction of the Israeli Zionist narrative. However, the "breathing space" offered by the academic sphere constitutes one of the few arenas for informal encounters between students from different backgrounds and circles of affiliation where the different narratives of majority and minority engender fierce debate and dispute. The campus is the site for daily friction and contest between different norms and values and the questioning of previously held cultural values and attitudes, inspiring deliberation concerning national and ethnic identity. This encounter plays a major role in the construction of PAMI students' identity.

One of the anticipated benefits from the acquisition of HE is the facilitation of access to employment markets. Chapter 6 presents a statistical picture of the integration of PAMI graduates in Israel's employment market. In this chapter, we explore the reasons for which so many PAMI graduates fail to find employment in the restricted PAMI employment market and the difficulties involved in their integration in the broader Israeli employment market. HE for the PAMI is still not considered in any strategic planning for the development of human capital in the State of Israel.

Most studies and reports that have dealt with the issue of employment of PAMI graduates present a worrying status quo that apparently results from covert discrimination regarding the absorption of PAMI graduates in various employment sectors, especially in companies affiliated with security or military entities. The description of the challenges to the PAMI in their attempts to gain access to HE and employment in Israel leads to the conclusion that the PAMI endure a marginal status in both these areas.

Chapter 7 reviews the difficulties described in previous chapters as they were reflected in the work of two public committees in Israel. These committees, established by the CHE to examine the access of PAMI students to Israel's HEI, also presented a gloomy picture of the obstacles facing PAMI students. The decisions and recommendations of these two committees, including the establishment of projects to improve this situation, were largely characterized by rewards to institutions that chose to implement the recommendations. Although these decisions constituted a hothouse for short-term projects and programs to support and expand access to HE for the PAMI, including preacademic course assistance for freshman students, we note that the decisions and recommendations were not compulsory and no regulatory or supervisory provisions were determined. The chapter describes findings from empirical research that we conducted to investigate the implications of the committees' decisions for PAMI high schools. Despite their slow uptake, we expect that the committees' decisions and recommendations will be realized in coming years.

We conclude the book with an epilogue describing several insights and scientific, theoretical, and practical conclusions that we deduced from our studies of HE for the PAMI in Israel. We suggest possible implications of these conclusions for PAMI society in its transition from a peasant society relying on agriculture to a "modern" society in all meanings of this term. One of the insights that emerged is that the PAMI clearly see HE as a "concrete" tool that acts as a sort of social, economic, and political lever. This insight stems from the correlation between education and socioeconomic status and the ability of education to strengthen the power and effectiveness of political leadership that represents different sectors of society. This assumption is supported by the fact that all the PAMI members of Knesset (the Israeli parliament) are HE graduates, who sharpened their resources in academia. Similarly, members of the PAMI political elite that control local government in PAMI localities are mainly academic graduates. Thus, it seems that despite the multiple difficulties that face PAMI students when they desire access HE and that drive them to foreign campuses with different cultures, nationalities, languages, and narratives, the academic campuses actually provide the PAMI with a space in which they can construct a new and stronger identity, providing them with

improved skills and tools. Expansion of access to HEI for PAMI students in Israel could provide a significant contribution for the internal integration, bonding, and reinforcement of PAMI society and its civil integration in the State of Israel, not only for the benefit of the PAMI but also for the benefit of the Israeli economy. Hopefully, this thorough study of the access to HEI of an indigenous ethnic minority, challenged by dual marginality in education and employment, can contribute an additional layer to the construction of theory and practice regarding improvement of access to HEI for the world's minorities.

1

The Context of the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel (PAMI)

Introduction

Different scholars, authors, and journalists use different terms to refer to the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel. Some call them "Israeli Palestinians," while others call them the "Palestinians living within the Green Line" (i.e., within the armistice line between Israel and the Palestinian territories) or the "1948 Arabs" (Amara & Mar'i, 2008).

The Palestinian Arab minority in Israel (henceforth called the PAMI) are an indigenous minority with unique characteristics. They were a majority in the Palestine mandate territories before the establishment of Israel, and became a minority overnight in the new state as a result of the exodus of a large proportion of the Palestinian Arabs—the *nakba* (Morris, 1991). The implications of the war of 1948 were catastrophic for the Arab population living within the British Mandate area of Palestine. Most of them fled or were exiled, and by 1949 only a small minority remained in the area that became the State of Israel. The Palestinian Arabs had lost their homeland; more than half (750,000) lost their homes and property and had become refugees (Manaa, 2008). With the establishment of the State of Israel after cease-fire agreements with the surrounding Arab states, the enormous implications of the nakba overshadowed the life of those Palestinians who remained in Israel. The minority that remained within the new state underwent difficult social, political, and economic periods (Abu-Saad, 2005).

Unlike many other minorities elsewhere in the world, the PAMI are not a minority of migrants or immigrants; rather, they are a sociologically distinct national minority and an integral part of the Palestinian people and the Arab (mostly Muslim) nation (National Committee for the Heads

of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel, 2006). The PAMI are also citizens of the State of Israel. After the establishment of Israel in 1948, 156,000 Palestinian Arabs remained in their country of origin. They were culturally and geographically separated from their Arab and Palestinian relatives living in what became known as the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). The population of the PAMI rose steadily from 1948, and by 2014, according to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2014b), this indigenous minority numbered 1,394,000 persons (excluding the Arab Palestinian population in East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights), representing 17% of the country's population of 8,180,000 (CBS, 2014b). The PAMI have their own social and linguistic characteristics, which differ from those of the Jewish majority. Most of the PAMI (82.2%) are Muslims; 9.4% are Christians, and 8.4% are Druze. The PAMI population grew by 2.5% in 2011, compared to a growth of 1.7% among the Jewish population, and 47% of the PAMI population was under the age of 19, compared to 33% of the Jewish population (ibid.). This rapid population growth is a result of a high natural birth rate and a relative drop in the death rate, in addition to low rates of migration and an increase in life expectancy.

The PAMI live in four main geographical regions in Israel: 52% live in the Galilee region, 24% live in the Triangle region (Israeli–Palestinian towns and villages adjacent to the Green Line[1]), 15% are residents of the Negev region, and 9% live in mixed Palestinian–Jewish towns. In 2010, about 49% of the PAMI lived in PAMI-exclusive villages, while 16% lived in Palestinian and mixed towns and 35% lived in areas governed by Israeli regional councils (Ghara, 2013).

The Character of PAMI Society

The PAMI communities have always been predominantly rural, relying on local farming as their source of income. This way of life shaped the communities' socioeconomic structure as basically hierarchical, patriarchal societies where landlords constituted the higher social class (Al-Haj, 1987, 1996; Haj-Yehia, 1995; Zureik, 1976) and the rest of the population were peasants living in villages. A relatively small proportion of the population, mainly urban residents and mostly Christians, made their living through commerce and various bureaucratic functions. Extended families known as *hamullas*, consisting of grandparents, parents, children, and other relatives, formed the sociocultural building blocks of this society. Hamullas are closed independent social units that used to, and in some cases still do, play a central role in the social, economic, and political life of the PAMI (Al-Haj, 1987; Haj-Yehia, 1995).

The establishment of Israel has led to many serious sociopolitical changes for the PAMI, which have affected the sociocultural character of this group. An improvement in youth education among the PAMI and daily interaction with Jewish people have contributed to the weakening of the traditional PAMI culture and undermined the power of the hamullas, especially among the younger generation (Al-Haj, 1996; Haj-Yehia, 1995).

Since the establishment of the Israeli state, the PAMI have had to continually balance their national and civil identities and often have doubts regarding the status of their citizenship in a state that defines itself as a state for the Jews, implicitly excluding Palestinian citizens (Kananah, 2013; Yona, 2007).

Employment and Economic Status

The land confiscation policy of a series of Israeli governments and competitive modern farming methods have led to the abandonment of traditional farming, so that many young PAMI now work in Jewish towns to establish their economic independence. This new situation has led to the formation of a distinct working class (Shavit, 1992; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). As the power of the hamullas gradually wanes, the nuclear family has begun to emerge to replace the extended family in the PAMI community (Al-Haj, 1989; Haj-Yehia, 1995; Rabi', 2007). Yet social circles such as the hamulla still play an important role in the individual, social, and political life of the PAMI. This becomes most obvious in local government elections, which are still dominated by competition between powerful hamullas (Al-Haj, 1989; Rabi', 2007).

Work outside PAMI villages has contributed to an increase in the standard of living of many people in both the villages and towns and the urbanization of many PAMI villages. In some cases, urbanization was imposed on the villages, leading to them become semirural and sometimes merge with towns. This means that they did not move through a natural, transitional phase of development (Khamaisi, 2009). These sociopolitical changes played an important role in altering the status of PAMI women in particular. An increasing number of PAMI women have begun to travel outside their villages to study or work, often enhancing their own economic and social independence, contributing to the family's income, and improving their status in their families and society in general (Abu-Baker, 1998; Al-Haj, 1989).

Yet a large proportion of the PAMI continue to live below the poverty line. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013), the poverty rate of the PAMI in 2013 was approximately 29% (approximately one in three)

compared to a rate of 12% among the Jewish population (approximately one in six) (ibid.), and the average living standard of the PAMI population is 60% lower than that of the Jewish population (Ghara, 2013). This is mainly due to low employment rates among PAMI women (see Chapter 6), which are still far below those of the rest of the population (OECD, 2013b). More than half of all PAMI households are positioned in the lowest socioeconomic cluster; the PAMI constitute 19.6% of all lower-class households and only 6.1% of upper-class households (National Insurance Institute of Israel, 2006; Nisanov, 2014; Sikkui Report, 2011). These data indicate the extent of poverty and exclusion endured by the PAMI, a situation reflected in the social, political, and economic spheres of their lives. The improvement of this situation is also hampered by the fact that the level of all social services, including education services, in PAMI villages and towns in Israel, is low, does not meet the residents' expectations (Abu-Asbeh & Arar, 2010), and is strikingly unequal to the level of such services in most Jewish localities (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009).

HE is therefore seen by the PAMI as a fundamental tool for socioeconomic mobility (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Mustafa & Arar, 2009). As the PAMI society has developed, it has adopted many practices of modern life in most life domains, and to some extent this has led to the abandonment of collectivist perceptions and practices. Education has played a major role in reducing marginalization and assisting personal positioning within the PAMI society and within Israeli society as a whole (Arar & Mustafa, 2009). This can be seen in the increasing proportion of the PAMI HE graduates integrating within the employment market and their increased use of technology (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

However, due to government marginalization policies, the representation of the PAMI minority in academic and white-collar careers is very low (Ali, 2013). They constitute only 2% to 3% of academic faculty members employed by Israeli universities (CHE, 2013, p. 39), and statistics gathered in 2013 indicate that they only constituted 6% of civil service employees in that year (Arlosoroff, 2014a).

The average PAMI man's income is approximately half the average Jewish man's income[2]. The PAMI find it comparatively difficult to enter the Israeli job market (ibid.). The integration of the PAMI in the Israeli labor market is mainly restricted to manual or "blue-collar" workers, salesmen, and service employees, in addition to unskilled workers and professionals in industry and construction. Despite the fact that the PAMI education system is not as good as the Israeli one, PAMI workers are often skilled and experienced; nevertheless, they encounter many difficulties in finding a job because Jewish employers (state and private) usually give preference to Jewish employees. This fact often delays their integration into the Israeli

labor market. Additionally, many Israeli industries have contracts with military or security entities; their employees are required to have high-level security clearances, often available only to those who have served in the defense forces. Most of the PAMI are exempt from military service.

It is also difficult to see any growth in the private sector in the PAMI community, except in small businesses (Haj-Yehia, 2007a; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). The government's failure to develop industries in PAMI localities and the lack of a proactive policy for the integration of the PAMI in public employment mean that this population consistently suffers from a relatively high unemployment rate. In 2012, the general workforce unemployment rate among the PAMI was about 10.6% (see Chapter 6 for more details), although this ratio may have varied from one place to another (CBS, 2013). PAMI villages in the Negev, the Triangle, and Galilee still stand at the top of the list of villages affected by unemployment. There is no doubt that the shift toward globalization, especially the large waves of immigration of Russian Jews into the country in the 1990s and more recently the acceptance of foreign workers from different countries, has had a direct, significant, and noticeable impact on employment opportunities for PAMI workers. Foreign workers have replaced PAMI workers in many areas, especially in the fields of construction, agriculture, and industry (Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

Moreover, despite the rapid progress of the Israeli economy in advanced technology and participation in the modern global economy, very few of the PAMI have been employed in this sector. This is attributed to the inability of the PAMI education system, disadvantaged by discriminatory budgetary allocations, guidance, and counseling, to prepare its graduates with twenty-first-century skills (Abu-Asbeh, 2007). Although school infrastructure and class sizes in the PAMI sector continue to improve, progress in adapting schools to the demands of the modern era remains slow (OECD, 2015).

Less educated PAMI workers are not the only ones affected by unemployment; as mentioned, academic graduates and skilled and professional workers also have few job opportunities. The PAMI labor market has a small capacity due to low economic development in the PAMI community and lack of investment in PAMI industry and infrastructure. The PAMI economy is unable to absorb the high numbers of workers available; this reinforces the workers' subordination to the Jewish labor market (they are blue-collar workers) (Levin-Epstein, Al-Haj, & Semyonov, 1994; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).

Nevertheless, despite all these obstacles to PAMI employment, the income gap between Israel and leading economies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) continues to gradually

narrow, reflecting a rising employment rate among PAMI and ultra-Orthodox Jews (OECD, 2015).

Features of PAMI Education

Education in Israel is segregated by nationality. The language of study for Jewish children in state and nonstate schools is Hebrew, and for PAMI children it is Arabic (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996). Since the establishment of Israel, there has been an increase in the number of school-age children studying in PAMI schools, and the educational level has improved in all sectors of the PAMI community—Muslim, Christian, and Druze. However, the student results of the PAMI schools are relatively low in comparison to the Jewish student results for all age groups. This is especially evident in the lower matriculation certificate eligibility rate in Grade 12 (50.5% in the Jewish system and 32.4% among the PAMI) (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009). There are no separate universities for Jews and Palestinians, although some separate teacher-education colleges exist (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011; Ayalon & Yogev, 2005).

The improvement in the PAMI education level (the increase in the number of students in schools as well the number of schools) is similar for both rural villagers and urban residents (Al-Haj, 1996) and has contributed to the adoption of independent thinking trends among PAMI students that contradict the traditional cultural values and norms of the PAMI society. The traditional patriarchal hierarchy, which gave almost total authority and control to the father and other men in the family, has begun to decline and has gradually been replaced by individual achievements and economic independence from the extended family (Rabi', 2007).

Despite recent attempts to narrow the gaps between the Jewish and the PAMI school systems in Israel, clearly observable discrimination delays the development of PAMI schools, which suffer from inferior allocation of resources, necessity to report to multiple authorities, lack of promotion of education leaders, and failure to develop curricula that best meet and suit the sociocultural needs of PAMI students. The PAMI education system remains under the full control of the government, as it has been since the very establishment of Israel. This is particularly detrimental because education systems often play crucial roles in bringing about social change, especially for minorities, which face challenges due to restrictions imposed upon them by the ruling authority (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Aghbaria, 2010; Al-Haj, 1996). The PAMI education system still lacks an autonomous administration and an independent council that would assume responsibility for dealing with the most urgent issues and responding to

the ever-changing needs of the community. Even though there are many highly skilled and qualified PAMI educators, including those with senior degrees in education administration and many years of experience, they are not invited to participate in policy decision-making and planning for the PAMI education system, nor are they represented at the senior levels of the Israeli Ministry of Education. Despite the reform programs designed to improve the level of education among the PAMI, the PAMI school dropout rate is still high (6.1% in 2011) and double the rate of dropout in the Jewish education system (Ghara, 2013). The proportion of PAMI students who obtained a matriculation (Bagrut) certificate in the academic year 2011–2012 was 49.8% (43.8% Muslims, 63.5% Christians, and 55.1% Druze) compared to 65.2% of Jewish students (CBS, 2013).

If we try to understand what ails the PAMI education system, modest criticism could easily argue that its process and outputs fail to ensure two essential characteristics of a democratic regime: liberty and equality. This system has continually operated far from the mainstream national narrative and yet it has developed in its students an injured sense of identity (Arar, 2012) in that it is oriented solely toward a "grades economy," avoiding any discussion of PAMI national and cultural identity or other social issues concerning the PAMI society in Israel (Jabareen & Aghbaria, 2010).

As part of the government's centralized control over the PAMI, 80% of the PAMI education system's learning contents are determined by the Ministry of Education, and its hierarchical organizational structure and resources are subordinate to and determined by the Ministry's decisions (Arar & Abu-Asbeh, 2013). State control of the PAMI school system has produced two contradictory trends. On one hand, there has been a consistent increase in the proportion of PAMI youngsters attending school, especially among PAMI girls (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). This trend is accompanied by a decrease in birth rates and an increase in their socioeconomic mobility (Arar & Mustafa, 2009). On the other hand, one of the most serious, ongoing failures of the Israeli education system is the vast gap between the resources allocated to Jewish education and those allocated to PAMI education, and the achievements of the PAMI education system are still very low in comparison to the Jewish education system. This inequity and the grave failure to improve the student results of the PAMI schools have cast a long shadow over the policies of the Ministry of Education throughout the years. Sbirsky and Degan-Bouzaglo (2009) reported that statistics for 2008 indicated a consistent gap between the performance of PAMI and Jewish students at all stages of the education system—in Grade 4, in the national standard exams (known as Meitsav, a Hebrew acronym for Measurement of School Growth and Efficiency), Jewish students' average scores were 28.5% higher than those of PAMI students. Similarly, in Grade 8 and in

the matriculation exams, Jewish students' average scores were 29% higher (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009).

However, according to a recent report by the Taub Center (Blass, 2014), there has been some improvement in this area due to reforms in recent years with regard to the resources allocated to the PAMI education system, an improvement in the education level of its workforce, and an improvement in students' average scores. According to this report, while the gaps in average scores remain very large, PAMI students are making faster progress than their Jewish contemporaries at some levels. For example, the eligibility rates for matriculation for the PAMI students rose from 35.5% in 2007 to 42.4% in 2012; yet this is still far lower than the comparative eligibility rate for Jewish students (46.3% and 65.2%, respectively). A cumulative improvement of 10.5% was also noted in the PAMI students' average scores in the Meitsav from 2008 to 2013. Despite this change, significant gaps were found between the average scores of the PAMI schools and those of Jewish schools in all subjects, in all classes, and in every year (Taub Center report). One exception was seen among students of a middle-class socioeconomic background; in some of the tests, the Arabic speakers scored higher than Hebrew speakers did in 2013 (ibid.).

The Dilemma of PAMI Identity

The PAMI experience a continual state of identity conflict, mainly because Israel identifies itself as a Jewish state, not as a state for all its citizens (Amara & Schnell, 2004; Rouhana, 1989, 1997). Most PAMI citizens identify themselves as Palestinians and as members of the Arab nation, although they are also an inseparable part of a country in a state of conflict with many Arab states (Abu Lughod, 2010; Nakhleh, 1979). The government and the Jewish majority in Israel often refer to the Palestinian minority as if it were a hostile group, and sometimes even describe it as a "fifth column" (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007). The characteristics of this minority make their individual identity formation even more complicated. PAMI collective identity comprises several elements: they are Israeli citizens but they are also part of the Palestinian people and of the Arab nation and they include members of different religions (Muslims, Christians, Druze) (Amara & Schnell, 2004; Rouhana, 1993). Each member of the PAMI attempts to achieve an appropriate balance between these four components (citizenship, ethnicity, nationality, and religion) of their complex identity. However, any one of the components may be perceived as the dominant component (Smooha, 1989, 1990, 2002).

This ongoing dilemma concerning the collective and individual identity of the PAMI is also influenced by changes in surrounding circumstances, especially the political situation (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007). The dilemma evokes multilayered discourse relating to concepts such as "ethnic democracy" (Smooha, 2002), "multiculturalism" (Yona & Shenhav, 2005), "Palestinian indigenousness," and Israel as an "ethnocracy" (Yiftachel, 2004; Yiftachel & Ghanem, 2004; Yiftachel, Ghanem, & Rouhana, 2000).

Many members of the PAMI share the belief that the development of their society in Israel is not a natural one, but simply a series of reactions to crisis (Ghanem & Rouhana, 2001). Despite being the state's largest minority (CBS, 2013), the PAMI endure discriminatory government policies, resulting in deprivation in almost all domains. The PAMI have suffered from marginalization policies since the establishment of Israel, and they have sometimes been slaughtered by armed Israeli police, notably in Kafr Qasim (1956), on Land Day (1976), and during the Al-Aqsa Intifada[3] (2000) (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). Politically, this minority has not managed to turn their demographic proportion into political power (Ghara, 2013), although the recent unification of all PAMI parties in the 2015 elections to form the United Arab List has given the PAMI more seats than ever before in the Knesset, making them the third largest political party in the house (Sha'lan, 2015).

There are various views on the social development of the PAMI. Some view them as a conservative minority, adhering closely to their sociocultural heritage, while others see them as a minority in a formative stage—in a state of transition from a minority steeped in traditional and historical values to a minority adapting itself to modernity (Al-Haj, 1987, 1989; Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009). The continuous dynamics generated by the encounter between a traditional society and social, economic, and cultural changes in the modern world has led to the development of a range of different attitudes among the PAMI along the continuum from extremely traditional to modern values and norms.

The Implications of a Democratic and Jewish State

The two components of the Israeli state's declared identity as a democratic and Jewish state often come into conflict. This problematic identity continues to determine the state's policy toward the PAMI minority: democracy requires the full acceptance of the PAMI as equal citizens without marginalization; yet Israel's definition as a Jewish state with a Jewish national and religious character often supersedes its democratic and liberal identity and determines its policies toward the PAMI, so that privileges and benefits

provided to Jewish citizens are often superior to those given to non-Jewish citizens. This situation has been aggravated by disagreement between the different Zionist political parties, with some favoring integration of the PAMI as members of their parties, while others have advocated segregation and inclusion of PAMI politicians solely within the frame of active PAMI parties (Bishara, 2008; Smooha, 1989, 1990). Current legislation guarantees priority and preference for the Jews in terms of rights and privileges (the right of return for Jews from outside Israel, the state's Jewish emblem, privileges regarding opportunities for work and housing), while the PAMI are granted self-rule over religious issues but lack recognition as a national minority. Israel has therefore been defined as an "ethnocracy" or ethnic democracy (Smooha, 1987, 1999, 2002; Yiftachel, 1999).

Political Response of the PAMI

The PAMI have often disagreed on their demands from the state. Some have opted for complete disengagement from the state due to its systematic, institutionalized marginalization policy and the political, cultural, and social suffocation of the PAMI since the establishment of Israel, while others support the idea of granting the PAMI minority national self-rule or "autonomy" to enable the community to retain its own cultural, historical, and political rights (Smooha, 1999, 2002). Both demands encounter strong opposition from the Jewish ruling majority.

There is yet another stream within PAMI society that supports integration and pluralism (Yona & Shenhav, 2005). Some PAMI circles attempt to find an outlet through which they can access political power and influence, yet at the same time preserve their unique national identity. The United Arab List that gained additional seats for the PAMI in the Knesset in the 2015 elections is representative of this group. Yet it remains to be seen to what extent this political power can overcome the difficulties involved in the dual identity of the state, and combat racist and prejudicial tendencies in order to reinforce liberal and democratic processes such as those that exist in European democracies (Ghanem, 1998; Yiftachel et al., 2000). Polarization of relations between the PAMI and Jews in Israel, especially after the October 2000 Intifada, has often disrupted possibilities for peaceful coexistence. National and religious extremism erupts on both sides from time to time, making it almost impossible to achieve integration and a pluralistic society (Jamal, 2007).

The dilemmas involved in defining the political identity of the PAMI have a strong effect on the development of the political positions of PAMI political parties and organizations for social activism. These parties and

movements are considered the legitimate representatives of PAMI citizens and their demands. They represent the PAMI's sense of dissatisfaction and their coping strategies in the face of the challenges that result from the government's policies and various disputes between the Israeli government and its PAMI citizens (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009; Jamal, 2007; Maoz, 2005).

During periods when relations between the ruling Israeli government and the PAMI deteriorate, the PAMI political parties' ability to act as effective interest groups is weakened. The Israeli establishment has often tried to disqualify and delegitimize these parties, stigmatizing them and accusing them of collaboration with the enemy, treason, and extremism and claiming that they exploit democratic freedoms as a means to act and incite others to act against the state (Smooha, 1999, 2002).

In general, it seems that the Israeli ruling regime is clearly concerned by the increased awareness of the PAMI, who persistently and vociferously demand their national, collective, and civil rights and insist on receiving services equal to those provided to the Jewish majority (Ghanem & Rouhana, 2001). The government closely monitors the parliamentary and political activities of the PAMI members of the Knesset and their leadership for PAMI interests in Israel. The participation of PAMI parties in local regional policies is restricted and fragile due to this supervision of their activities. In addition, although PAMI members of Zionist parties have been appointed deputy ministers in past governments, senior positions in the government and official institutions are closed to the representatives of PAMI parties because they have historically chosen the traditional opposition role and are thus often considered a "hostile" minority (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007). In opposition to the concept of the Jewish state, these PAMI parties have begun to propagate a policy represented by the slogan of a "state for all its citizens," which has encountered strong opposition from all influential Zionist parties who believe that this concept would eliminate the Jewish character of the state (Hammami & Tamari, 2001).

The partisan and highly segmented nature of Israeli politics has augmented the difficulties of PAMI political parties and the choices for their electorate. Four ideological streams have traditionally competed for PAMI voters: first, a combined Israeli–PAMI stream which advocates equality between Jews and the PAMI and accepts coexistence on the basis of the PAMI's present status quo. This mainstream PAMI approach calls for integration within Zionist parties and engages in coalitions, where PAMI candidates usually accept moderate and inferior positions. This approach promotes the concept of "Israelization" of the PAMI—emphasizing the Israeli component of PAMI identity and nationality (Smooha, 2002). The second stream includes communists and the Democratic Front who believe

in a joint class struggle by both PAMI and Jews to achieve equality which would increase the ease of coexistence, promote anti-Zionism, and aim to establish peace and equality as a basic, strategic goal (Smooha, 1990). The third stream embraces a nationalist ideology, stemming from and aligned with Pan-Arab nationalism and its local and regional branches. This stream aims to establish PAMI autonomy in their own affairs and to preserve their separate national identity (Bishara, 2008; Jamal, 2006). Finally, the Islamic stream promotes the interests of the Islamic component of the PAMI and bases its ideology on Islamic doctrines represented by the slogan "Islam is the solution." This stream is split ideologically between the northern and southern Islamic movements, between those who participate in the Israeli election system and those who refuse to do so (Ghanem & Mustafa, 2009).

In the Israeli election of 2015, for the first time since the establishment of the State of Israel, the four PAMI streams united as one party called the United Arab List and won 13 seats in the Knesset. This List consists of the Israeli Communist Party, which includes Jews and PAMI, the secular parties of the Balad (nationalistic) and Ta'al (Movement for Renewal), and the southern Islamic religious movement (the northern Islamic movement opposes participation in the Knesset elections) (Sha'lan, 2015).

In conclusion, the PAMI have been citizens of the State of Israel since 1948. The PAMI are disadvantaged by unequal budget and resource allocations in almost in all fields of their life. Despite the fact that they are a minority in Israel, the PAMI are struggling to maintain their identity, culture, and national affiliation. They are badly affected by structural discrimination policies of successive Israeli governments against them. Meanwhile, the PAMI are struggling in democratic ways to obtain their full citizenship in the State of Israel and enjoy the benefits of its institutions. As a national minority in Israel, the PAMI also seek to obtain full equality with the Jewish majority. They seek underneath it all access to HE in the Israeli universities. The next chapter will deal with the issue of access to HE among minorities in order to discuss the contribution of HE to minority societies and to their integration within the majority society.

2

Access to Higher Education among Minorities

Introduction

The chapter begins with a consideration of the theory relating to access to higher education (HE) in general. It then investigates the issue of ethnic minorities accessing HE in various world states and the characteristics of minority HE. It also discusses the contribution of HE to the cultural heritage and political abilities of minority societies and to their integration and socioeconomic mobility within the majority society. The chapter concludes by summarizing the contributions of the surveyed theories and attitudes toward an understanding of the role of schools, and especially HE, for the PAMI.

Access to Higher Education

Throughout the world, there has been an evident trend toward increasing accessibility to HE. In almost all countries, it has become available for individuals and groups that had largely been excluded at an earlier, elitist stage of HE systems.

HE is an important tool for social mobility, providing a precious opportunity for young people who wish to integrate into labor markets and increase their socioeconomic status in modern society. A university degree increases a young person's potential to acquire a prestigious career (Al-Haj, 1996) and become economically independent. Conversely, those who are unable to obtain HE are likely to encounter greater difficulties in their attempt to integrate culturally, socially, politically, and economically within a particular society (Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993).

Access to HE depends not only on the characteristics of student candidates, but also on the selection procedures of the higher education institutions (HEI) providing the university degrees. It is the HEI that determine the number of students to be admitted and the student profile type that they are willing to accept. Student recruitment to academic institutions involves various factors: the availability and circulation of information on HE disciplines and courses, admission requirements set by the HEI and by each faculty, availability of financial assistance, and scholarships. However, university admission requirements are the major factor determining access to the world of HE and the students' ability to study a particular course (Grodsky & Jackson, 2009).

In the context of analyzing access to HEI, Integration Theory has been used by social scientists to clarify the selection processes of HEI and their effects on the composition of the HEI student body and relations within the HEI (Berry, 1997). Four key concepts in this discourse are "integration," "diversity," "inclusion," and "participation."

1. *Integration*—It has been found that successful social and academic integration are prerequisites for perseverance in HE and affect the quality of educational attainments (Cabrera & Nora, 1996; Tinto, 1975).
2. *Diversity*—Diversity relates to the social and cultural texture of students in HEI, and the extent to which the institutions and their policies consider and support the specific needs of students coming from different backgrounds (Gurtin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurtin, 2002). Student diversity is generally measured by the percentage of students being admitted to HE from minority, underprivileged, disabled, or other peripheral groups (Birnbaum, 1983).
3. *Inclusion*—Inclusion reflects the extent to which the HEI's admission policy permits and encourages students from certain population groups who were not previously proportionally represented in their student population, as for example, females and minority group students. Participation in HE is rated by the number of academic years that the student completes (Ross, 2003). Inclusion in HE is measured by levels of enrollment, adjustment, persistence, attrition, aspiration, dropout rates, and acquisition of academic degrees. Enrollment is the first step to inclusion; successful admission to the HEI is also influenced by social trends and pre-HE attainments (Mingle, 1987). Other stages of inclusion will follow during HE studies, where adjustment and the other above-mentioned processes occur. Eventually, students who successfully finish their HE studies are considered the final product, while the student who fails to complete the course is considered an unfinished product (Pace, 1979).

4. *Participation*—Participation reflects the rate of widening student participation in HE and how these rates have changed over time according to data availability and the focus of efforts in widening participation of students from disadvantaged backgrounds who have the capability to study at university, get the opportunity to do so, and succeed (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Lack of investment at earlier stages of education reduces the individual's ability to access HE (Becker, 1975). Economists and educationalists have used economic approaches to understand the correlations between academic qualifications and economic growth. Studies have shown that when the workforce has higher levels of education, this correlates with increased economic growth (Berger & Fisher, 2013; Easterlin, 1996). For example, both Becker (1964) and Schultz (1971) confirmed that an increase in education levels contributes to an increase in national productivity and the growth of revenues. The desire for economic growth is mentioned as a basic reason for growing investments in HE in both industrial and developing countries (United Nations, 2000).

Motivations for HE Studies

Many scholars have suggested that government motivation for HEI enrollment can be explained by Human Capital Theory that sees HE as an investment in human capital that will produce profits for society in the future (Otero, 2007). When applied to the individual student's motivation for HE, this theory assumes that since people make reasonable decisions based on the available information, there will be increased demand for HE when revenues exceed the costs of missed opportunities and the loss of prospective returns. However, Human Capital Theory is unable to explain the growth of economic returns among higher economic and social classes, who rely on rich social and cultural capital, social skills, and connections and not exclusively on HE (Otero, 2007). Easterlin, (1996) qualifies Human Capital Theory and concludes that although a positive relationship exists between the education level and academic qualifications for the individual and their returns, this correlation does not apply to all regions. Souto-Otero (2010) notes that when the meritocratic argument that education is strongly linked to certain rewards in the labor market fails to produce the desired results, increasing social dissatisfaction with education and skills wastage may be expected, as already noted in some political economics literature. Indeed, this literature has tended to conclude that educational expansion cannot deliver equality.

Some scholars have investigated the effects of social changes on participation in HE and point out the effect of selection processes that rely on examinations and participation in secondary school to access HE (Broecke & Hamed, 2008). Yet, others believe that social inequality or stratification (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001) produces differences in educational attainments which could lead marginalized groups to devalue education by overestimating costs and minimizing benefits. Broecke and Hamed (2008) indicate that low educational attainment at the secondary school stage is one of the main factors which explain why male students are reluctant to attend universities. Moreover, it is argued that working-class youth tend to underachieve, minimize the value of HE, fear the risks of failure, and worry about integration into white-collar work. Instead, they prefer to enter the labor market at an earlier stage to gain years of experience and seniority (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997; Reay, 2009).

The absence of career counseling at the secondary school stage might be one of the main factors that contribute to HE enrollment decline by males, as this means that students make decisions concerning the desired university degree or specialization without vocational guidance. This is especially so for first-generation secondary school graduates, who lack parental models that they can follow when making their own career choices. The problem worsens when students become unable to change their specializations due to the education system's rigidity, leaving students without options except to drop out of HE as a result of lack of interest in the chosen specialization.

Minority ethnicity often acts as a "pull" force in the decision to remain within the education circle (Hagell & Shaw, 1996), since ethnic minority group members envisage that higher academic qualifications improve their chances for integration in majority labor markets. However, "push" factors such as family economic need may perversely encourage them to leave education and look for immediately available but less skilled jobs in the labor markets.

According to Altbach (2006), in the present era of globalization education is increasingly being considered as a commodity. The traditional academic centers of the world such as the United States, Australia, and Europe have become even more dominant in this new academic marketplace. Globalization leads to domination of information by giants such as Google and Microsoft in larger world economies, while smaller and poorer countries have little autonomy or competitive potential to participate actively due to their weak economy, so that globalization of HE reflects inequalities between the world's universities. Increasing demand for HE has led to a growth in the number and type of HEI and the development of a stratified hierarchy of universities and colleges. According to theories that

discuss the correlation between social stratification and HE, social gaps may result from stratified secondary education. HEI set different selection criteria which largely rely on students' educational attainments before they join the university. These selections result in stratification according to different types of HEI (Trow, 1984) and according to different types of specialization (Tinto, 1980). Yogev and Ayalon (2006) explain:

> One of the major questions that follow the diversification of higher education is who gets to study where, or what determines the students' choice of a specific type of a higher education institution. The literature refers to two competitive approaches, the functional diversity approach and the conflict-oriented stratification approach. The diversity approach regards the expansion of higher education as contributing to educational equality by institutional diversity, which caters to a differentiated student clientele. The stratification approach views this expansion as reflecting interinstitutional competition, resulting in a clear-cut stratification of both higher education institutions and their students. (pp. 187–188)

With the expansion and differentiation of the HE system, scholars note two main types of inequality: vertical inequality relating to a hierarchy of institutions according to level of excellence, prestige, and facilities; and horizontal inequality, reflecting differences in specializations and the difference in value of university degrees obtained by graduates from different HEI and faculties (Ambler & Neathery, 1999; Gerber & Cheung, 2008). In Germany, Reimer and Pollak (2010) found that there was still a high level of inequality in the opportunity to access postsecondary and tertiary institutions, and that social background affecting the choice of field of study had not changed over time. Consequently, students from different social backgrounds did not change their educational strategies despite continuous growth in the variety of secondary and tertiary education institutions. Students with high socioeconomic backgrounds usually study HE and are more likely to be admitted to very highly rated HEI (Alexander, Eckland, & Griffin, 1975). Conversely, students from underprivileged or lower-class socioeconomic backgrounds participate less in HE (Reimer & Pollak, 2010) and usually choose less prestigious universities where admission criteria may not be so selective or high (Bourdieu, 2011; Hearn, 1991; Shavit, Arum, & Gamoran, 2007).

It is theorized that diversification of the HE system should satisfy the needs of particular student groups with different motivations and various socioeconomic characteristics (Ayalon, 2008). Some scholars believe that this would lead to a decline in HE inequality, and when HE expands, inequality would disappear over the years of education or with the attainment of higher levels of university degrees (Guri-Rosenblit, 1993).

However, the influence of social factors such as the individual's family and social groups and local community interacts with the influence of education to change or maintain the status quo. Various studies have shown that the family plays a significant role in determining academic success (Coleman et al., 1996). For example, studies have investigated the comparative effects of the roles of poorly educated families and the roles of schools in determining the children's academic success in developing countries. Although children who attend elementary school in countries with low per capita incomes have learned substantially less than have elementary school pupils in high income countries after similar amounts of time, Heyneman and Loxley (1983) concluded that the school effect increased in comparison with the family effect in impoverished countries where schooling was a respected and rare commodity, and in these countries the effect of school and teacher quality on primary school students was comparatively greater.

Other studies indicate that a positive correlation exists between the family's socioeconomic status and the students' level of educational attainment (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Conley, 2001; Duncan, Yeung, Brooks-Gunn, & Smith, 1998; Filmer & Pritchett, 1999). Steelman and Powell (1991) explain this to be a consequence of differential levels of family investment in the education of their children. Other scholars relate this correlation to the ability of families with strong social status to attain higher levels of socialization, by gaining social and cultural capital and promoting cognitive development for their children, collecting suitable information regarding their children's potential, and applying such information to fit their desires, tendencies, and capacities, which would subsequently influence their ability to gain access to university education (Archer, Hollingworth, & Halsall, 2007; Aschaffenburg & Ineke, 1997; De Graaf, De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000; Evans, Kelley, Sikora, & Treiman, 2010; Kim & Schneider, 2005; Lareau, 2003). The family therefore provides children with several types of capital: economic capital which creates appropriate conditions for HE with access to socially prestigious disciplines; social capital, including social relations, political power, and knowledge which help to pave the road to the child's selected HE; and cultural capital including attitudes, tastes, and preferences along with the quality of speech, language use, and interest in "haute culture" (Blau, 1995; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Coleman, 1988; Steelman & Powell, 1991). The existence or lack of existence of these different types of capital affects the students' HE level and the extent to which they will adopt the class culture from which they originated or adopt another class culture. Education is seen as an important element in the determination of the individual's class status, because an educated person can occupy a higher position on the social ladder than an unskilled person.

Conflict theories focus on the methods employed by higher social classes to exploit the education system as a means to hold on to the reins of power, gain wealth, and achieve social prestige (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Collins, 1971). Upper-class individuals who receive elite education typically have the essential background and contacts needed to enter into the three branches of the power elite: political leadership, the military circle, and the corporate elite (Doob, 2013). Thus, for example, a recent study shows that 80% of those who hold key positions in British society received privileged education in fee-charging or selective schools (Jerrim, 2013; The Sutton Trust, 2012). Bourdieu's view (Sullivan, 2002) is that cultural capital is inculcated in the higher-class home, and enables higher-class students to gain HE credentials. This enables higher-class individuals to maintain their class position, and means that they typically continue to dominate high-paid, high-prestige positions in society. According to Bourdieu, some lower-class individuals will succeed in the education system, but this fact, rather than challenging the system, will tend to give the system some legitimacy since it appears to verify that there is a meritocracy (Bourdieu, 2011). There is, however, evidence that even when there is a drop in the costs of education to families due to educational reforms, such as the universal provision of free and compulsory secondary education, there still remains a high correlation between class origins and educational attainment (Reimer & Pollak, 2010; Shavit & Blossfeld, 1993). This suggests that the educational advantage which higher-class parents pass on to their children is not entirely due to economic privilege, and may include cultural and social capital as noted above. Yet some evidence shows that upper-class students receive the highest educational levels, simply because parents spend a lot of money on the learning tools designed for rich people. Socioeconomic and class differences thus influence the availability and access to education resources. In American society, for example, upper-class students are often admitted to private upper-class schools, while middle-class students join public schools, which are widespread in the outskirts of large cities, and lower-class students receive education at public schools inside densely populated areas in large city centers. Education level at lower-class schools is unquestionably the lowest in terms of quality. Many students in this category are unable to complete the required basic education stages, so they do not have the capability to pass the university selection process and they miss the opportunity for further education (Blalock, 1967). Consequently, society absorbs low-income children as workers, while upper-class children enjoy further education and climb the higher rungs of the social ladder (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Finally, the upper-class education system does not only maintain traditional class status, but it also attempts to legitimize the privilege and supremacy of this class. Upper-class people believe they have the right

to dominate the social system since they possess wealth and the means of economic production. In line with conflict theories, prestigious disciplines such as medicine often restrict admission to a limited number of individuals, distinguishing these professions in order to maintain the highest possible pay and social prestige for their graduates (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Students' Choice of HE

Factors that affect students' choice of HEI and academic courses include geographical location, prestige of a profession, desire for career development, and improved wages (Dippelhofer-Stieme et al., 1984; Hayden & Carpenter, 1990). The variety produced by different types of universities and university courses is an important factor in determining possibilities available for a student's future. Research has shown that studying at highly rated universities improves graduates' socioeconomic prestige (Karabel, 1986).

Some sociologists explain that decision to study in HEI and the selection of the subject of specialization are determined by the student's rational choice, taking into consideration the high costs of HE, the expected success and failure of selecting a suitable discipline, and the desired benefits of HE (Need & De Jong, 2000). According to this rational choice, students choose specializations from among several options when they gauge what can help them to attain social mobility and give them more social prestige than their families of origin (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997).

Other scholars have noted that instrumental considerations relating to the students' plan for an independent future also contribute to their selection choices for HE and these considerations are usually weighed before joining the university or selecting the subject of specialization, keeping in mind that under the dynamic conditions of the labor market, university degrees usually help the graduate to enter the labor market (Teichler, 1999). Students who adopt an instrumental approach take pragmatic decisions to study subjects that would qualify them for particular careers that enhance their employability. These students have usually already formed a certain image for the characteristics of their future careers (Gottfredson, 1981). Future orientation is a prerequisite to making plans and setting goals; and with respect to job characteristics, future orientation can lead to the selection of HE specialization because reasonable thinking about job selection sets the stage for rational choice in HE as well (Trommsdorff, 1986). Thus, for example, Iranian students in China were found to be instrumentally motivated to study English in order to find employment in international

trade sector, as translators, and also as faculty in Iranian universities (Vaezi, 2009). Other factors guide the selection of HE specialization, such as the desire to improve personal status which includes prestige and self-development and considerations of pay and other perquisites (Gati, Fassa, & Mayer, 1998).

However, Hemsley-Brown (2001) argued that choice is neither rational nor irrational nor is it random. Rather he claimed that a chooser is influenced by three different elements. The first is the context in which the choices are made, including societal, cultural, economic, and policy issues. For example, in a country that adopts a policy of education for all, it would be expected that young people will have no choice about participation in certain levels of schooling. The second element is a range of factors influencing choice, including schools, teachers, the media, and the home. The third one is the characteristics of the choosers themselves in terms of their self-image, perceptions held about available pathways, and their estimation of personal gain associated with specific choices. Undoubtedly, various factors lead to inequality regarding access to HEI in general, and regarding freedom of choice of HEI and specialization in an academic discipline in particular. These factors include the student's family's economic and social resources, the student's secondary school, and the admission requirements of HEI.

Barriers to HE for Minorities

Social scientists have tried to understand the influence of academia on social development and the construction of economic and social capital. One burning issue investigated in this context is whether minorities have equal access to economic and social resources in multicultural states governed by a majority group (Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010a). Within these parameters, it has become increasingly clear that universities play a major role in the shaping of minority groups' social status and employment potential in the modern multicultural state (David, 2007).

Despite the predominant representation of white students and staff in HEI in the United States, other ethnic groups have increasingly been represented in the last two decades (Freeman, 2004) as the dropout rates of minority group children from high schools decrease and their academic achievements improve (Swall, Redd, & Perna, 2003). Many studies argue that ethnic minority students' fear of discrimination in the labor market and unemployment act as a "push" factor toward HE, so that minorities attribute cultural, social, and political importance to HE (Wrench, Hassan, & Owen, 1996). The opening of the gates of academia in the twentieth

century constituted a turning point, offering new opportunities for minority groups in general, and especially for women from minority groups in countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States (Ramirez & Wotipa, 2001). In some developed countries such as Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Israel, the proportion of minority women studying advanced education rose strikingly and now even exceeds that of minority men (Oplatka & Lapidot, 2011).

Increased representation of minority group members in further education institutions is partially the result of the political struggle of these groups, increasing social mobility of women, and students' desire to meet the demands of the employment market. Minority group students tend to apply to study disciplines with high social prestige, especially the free professions such as medicine that enables economic independence, despite the fact that acceptance criteria are particularly high for these disciplines; however, rejection rates are high for these populations. In addition, it has been shown that minority group students prefer to study close to home (Shiner & Modood, 2002), limiting their opportunities for HE. Yet minority group members are progressively qualifying as doctors and lawyers and studying exact sciences, although women in minority groups tend to focus on humanities, social studies, and law (Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010b).

Second- and third-generation immigrants who know the language and culture of the host state are able to integrate into HEI far more than previous generations (Shiner & Modood, 2002). Yet in most multicultural states, minority group members are still underrepresented in HEI in relation to their proportion in the general population (e.g., regarding the United Kingdom and Canada, see Freeman, 2004 and Kim, 2011). Israel is considered one of those countries whose policies have prevented minorities' proportional access to the resources of HE (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

One of the factors that make access to HE difficult for minority group members is the stringent acceptance criteria, with a lack of structured educational and cultural support programs for their inclusion and assimilation. To some extent, structured exclusion of minority groups can be discerned when obstacles are set for those with particular ethnic identities, and low socioeconomic backgrounds (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013; Kettley, 2007; Shiner & Modood, 2002).

HEI use various tools to differentially select candidates for further education, including personal interviews (Bowel, 2001) thus perpetuating the superiority of the majority group and its control of educational and social resources (Kettley, 2007). For example, a paper by Falcon (2013) found that

> Swiss society has overall remained extremely rigid. In particular, because it channels individuals into highly segmented tracks very early on, the

> Swiss education system does not attenuate social background differences. Thus Switzerland is found in a particular configuration where an individual's place in society is highly determined not only by his or her educational attainment, but also by his or her social background. In other words Switzerland constitutes a sort of nonmeritocratic meritocracy. (p. 1)

In general, ethnic and religious minorities are still enduring many barriers to equal access in HEI, even in countries considered democratic and egalitarian, such as Canada and various European countries (Cheng-Hoy, 2012). Statistical analyses of data from the Council of Higher Education in the United States conducted by Kim (2011) indicate underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in US HEI, expressing a "pipe phenomenon," such that most of the minority students end their studies in high school at the lower end of the academic achievements scale, consequently positioning them at the bottom of the ladder and making it difficult for them to progress to higher-graded HEI. They therefore turn to peripheral educational institutions for further education, an experience that deepens their exclusion and isolation and consequently their social inferiority and disadvantage in seeking employment.

Four main types of barriers have been identified:

1. Financial barriers
2. Informational barriers
3. Motivational barriers
4. Miscellaneous barriers, such as geographical constrictions, psychological inhibitions, and institutional or structural barriers (College Student Alliance, Ontario Student Trustees' Association & Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance, 2011).

Affirmative action to benefit members of minority groups that might otherwise find it difficult to enter HEI has been found to have positive results in increasing the number of minority group graduates in the United States, Brazil (Soares, 2012), India (Cassany, 2014), and the United Kingdom. But the effect of these policies on education standards and achievements is uncertain and recent court cases in the United States have upheld the banning of these policies (Liptak, 2014). Yet even the acquisition of HE does not guarantee the equal integration of minority group members in the employment market that remains under majority control (David, 2007).

Although, many studies have pointed out the fact that minority group members register significant success in HEI, there is also much evidence of minority students undergoing negative experiences on HE campuses

that fail to absorb different cultures and tend to ignore student cultural diversity (Watson, Terrell, & Wright, 2002). Studies have also indicated that ethnic minority students feel a sense of exclusion, as for example, on US campuses (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001; Harper & Quaye, 2009). Ethnic minority students often feel that their cultural heritage is ignored in the academic space and that the majority's cultural domination propagates its narrative at the expense of theirs. Some studies have shown that Muslim students in European campuses experience isolation, fear, and even hostility on an ethnic and religious basis (ibid); these phenomena were felt more sharply in the United States following the events of September 11, 2001. Despite these difficulties, the percentage of Muslim students in the United States is constantly rising, and women students with headscarves are increasingly visible on academic campuses (Rasheed & Bagheri, 2009).

Parents play an important role in determining the further education of minority group members, especially females, since they can either encourage or deter their daughters from participating in HE and accessing knowledge and social and economic resources (Ahmad-Fauzia, 2001). Research that has investigated perceptions of the importance of HE among minority groups in comparison to majority groups (David, 2007; Kettley, 2007; Shiner & Modood, 2002) points out the fact that minority groups tend to value HE as a path to escape from social marginality (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). These studies also indicate, as already noted above, that HE allows minority groups access to tools and training that can improve their ability to enter the employment market and to enhance their social and political mobility (Freeman, 2004).

The findings of many studies indicate that HE can also significantly change personal lifestyles (Ahmad-Fauzia, 2001). HE helps to develop a sense of social commitment (Perry, 2000) altering the social status of the academic (Weiner-Levy, 2006). HE also influences the age of entry into conjugal relations and the dynamics of personal and social coping strategies. On the academic campus, students encounter other cultures and this influences their evaluation of traditional values held before their university education (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Weiner-Levy, 2008). HE also contributes to the shaping of the student's personal identity, as the student acquires new knowledge from other cultural spheres and confronts and reexamines former norms and identity components. This encounter with other knowledge undermines preexisting coherence and conventions and stimulates dichotomous thought (Nasir & Saxe, 2003).

Despite the growing numbers of minority students on Western campuses, members of minority groups are strikingly underrepresented among the management and administrative staff and among academic

teaching staff, and very few minority women manage to climb the academic faculty ladder (Newcomb, Beaty, Sanzo, & Peters-Hawkins, 2013; Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010b). In senior academic positions, the representation of minority group members is even lower, as for example, at the level of professor. Research findings show that minority group lecturers have an inferior status at US universities depending on their ethnic group and gender. It seems that Western academic institutions tend to emphasize the foreignness of minority women staff (Skachkova, 2007). For example, although approximately 20% of all HEI students in the United Kingdom are Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) group members, BME constitute only 8% of nonprofessorial staff and 7.1% of professors (Equity Challenge Unit, 2014).

The Case of the PAMI

Two theoretical approaches can be used to explain the difficulties encountered by the school system of the PAMI and those encountered by PAMI students when attempting to enter the HE system. These two schools of thought are the Functionalist Approach (Collins, 1971) and Conflict Theory. The functionalist approach elucidates the role of education in promoting social solidarity and social coherence through social selection. Some scholars adopting this approach point to the role of education as a tool for socialization and acculturation, transferring cultural legacy from one generation to the next and satisfying one of the basic requirements—social integration. Other studies emphasize the role of schools in promoting and stabilizing the principles of meritocracy (Bernstein, 1975).

Conflict Theory also sees education as a tool of socialization. However, conflict theory points out the relationship between the education system and the needs of the elite ruling class, including the emphasis given to discipline, subordination, and obedience, rather than cognitive skills and specialization. This perspective rejects the functionalist argument that the education system is a very highly successful system of selection, and as we have noted above, claims instead that the education system serves the interests and needs of the elite and the ruling class by strengthening their social, economic, and cultural positions, and also by creating inequality, social difference, thus widening gaps between social classes and groups (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Sociologists have provided various analyses of the role of the education system in Israel according to different theoretical bases. Structural–functional theorists, headed by Eisenstadt (1967, 1989), highlight the functional role of the education system in Israel as an agent of resocialization,

working to accommodate and absorb new immigrants and to establish a new coherent society through the processes of a sociocultural melting pot. They see Israeli society as an inharmonious mosaic, composed of different ethnic components. According to this theory, the education system has created projects and designed development plans with the aim of narrowing the social and economic gaps between the different composite Israeli communities in order to create suitable conditions for social and cultural integration. This optimistic view emerging from functional theory is, however, unable to explain social and cultural changes in the Israeli society. In contrast, scholars who adopted conflict theory hypotheses, demonstrate the education system's significant contribution to the establishment of social difference and its inability to bridge significant gaps between different ethnic and class groups which make up Israeli society.

Many scholars (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009) indicate that the division of work between different groups in Israel, Ashkenazi Jews (originating from Europe and English-speaking countries) on the one hand, and Sephardi Jews (from North Africa and Asia) and Palestinians on the other, has led to dominance and control by specific groups over the means of production and economic resources. The role of the education system under such dominance contributes to the recreation of these elite groups' economic and cultural dominance. Sbirsky and Degan-Bouzaglo (2009) noted that education reforms had failed to improve the status of Sephardi Jews and the PAMI and had not strengthened opportunities for social mobility and educational attainment. All statistical information shows that despite improvement in access to HEI (there is still underrepresentation of Sephardi Jews and the PAMI in Israeli universities because they are unable to meet admission requirements and underachieve in the psychometric test), the socioeconomic status of most of the PAMI has continued to drop and they and the Sephardi Jews mostly constitute a proletarian class, occupying low-status jobs with little occupational prestige.

In light of growing socioeconomic gaps in Israel, many postmodernist sociologists have lost patience with the explanations and interpretations of the structural–functional theory and have begun to suggest changes in the education system. Ministry of Education budgetary cuts, increasing privatization of education, and rising HEI tuition fees have affected the lower class and prevented them from benefiting from education services which could have otherwise brought opportunities for socioeconomic mobility and improved their status (Ayalon & Yogev, 2005; Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009; Volansky, 2005).

A careful reading of the education status in Israel, clarifies that high-quality education has historically been restricted to the rich in Israel, allowing them to capture elite positions that require high qualifications. Strong relationships and interests link the dominating economic, social, and political elites allowing them to maintain their roles and strengthen their positions in the social and political spheres (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009). Moreover, Palestinian scholars (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996; Mar'i, 1978) believe that the PAMI school system is incapable of making changes and engendering reforms in the PAMI society; it is rather a stumbling block that obstructs social, cultural, and political development as this system is subject to the dominant and controlling mechanisms of the ruling regime that maintains control over its education curricula and resources.

The State of Israel imposes full and tight systematized control over education programs of the different school systems contrary to practices at the time of the British mandate. The state controls 80% of the contents of school learning programs, and state education curricula contents emphasize loyalty to the state in addition to topics on human rights and citizenship, and also promote the majority Jewish national and collective identity and narrative. This education policy, which ignores the PAMI national identity and collective memory, has—in the course of time—generated a sense of frustration and discontent among PAMI citizens. As a result, they search for reinforcement of their personal and national identity through informal, nongovernmental educational resources. The government's policy of domination is characterized by requiring security checks at different levels before the appointment of school principals, teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other workers in the education system with the aim of strengthening Israelization of the PAMI population and imposing the state's ideology on the PAMI through formal education (Al-Haj, 1996; Mar'i, 1978).

This external control policy intersects with internal controls within the PAMI society, represented by societal and religious norms and family and tribal conflicts and polarizations. For example, appointments in the PAMI local government offices and school system are often made on the basis of nepotism and hamulla connections, irrespective of professional or objective standards.

These two sets of controls cast negative and destructive shadows over the PAMI school system so that it is unable to perform a leading role in the PAMI society. It is critical for a society to set right this deficient functioning in order to restore its human and economic capital and to adapt to the demands and acquire the skills of twenty-first-century technology and globalization,

which rely heavily on the resource of education as a protective shield (Al-Haj, 1996). The aspiration of this minority for HE is complicated by the fact that studies show widespread unemployment among HE graduates (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2007), leading to a high wastage factor and the reduction of economic and social returns from the attainment of HE.

Generally speaking, the PAMI school system in Israel has two different faces. On the one hand, the PAMI would like to see this system as an important pathway toward change, development, and liberty. Unfortunately, it seems that this aspiration does not tally with the goals of the ruling majority, which often appears to use the system as a means to maintain the status quo, strengthening processes of exclusion, marginalization, segregation, and co-option, and controlling the PAMI school system curricula and its organizational and administrative structure (Volansky, 2005). Given the foregoing, it seems that PAMI school graduates' difficulties in accessing HE stem at least initially from the absence of an independent PAMI institutional management for their education system. This situation reflects the basic hypotheses of conflict theory.

Despite the difficulties involved in enhancing the PAMI school system, HE plays a major role in enhancing PAMI abilities for social, political, and cultural change and HE graduates have significant influence on the shaping of the PAMI collective consciousness and social mobility and even on the management of the national/civilian conflict with the Jewish majority (Al-Haj, 2003a). HE improves the integration of the PAMI in the employment market, as will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow. The choice of academic disciplines by PAMI students is influenced by their marginal position in Israeli society, so that they choose prestigious professions in which they can find independent work outside the majority employment market, or compete for needed professions (medicine and engineering) where the probability of discrimination on an ethnic basis is reduced. Although PAMI women academics are underrepresented in technological and engineering disciplines in Israeli HEI and mostly study the humanities and education, recently they are increasingly represented in medical and paramedical disciplines and a very few have even achieved outstanding results in medical studies (Chabin, 2011; Leichman, 2013), a phenomenon criticized by some:

> Israel's high-tech industry has 85,000 Jewish software developers, but only 70 Arab women . . . Weaker communities also tend to encourage their young to seek jobs in professions considered "stable," such as law, medicine or teaching.
>
> "My mother wanted me to be a doctor," says Basma Khalaf-Joubran, a software engineer at Intel, from the Galilee village of Kfar Rama. Now, she

> is married and lives in Tel Aviv. "All the excellent Arab students are automatically encouraged to become doctors," she says. "This is inefficient, even though not everyone should go into high tech. It would be far more sensible to aim for a heterogeneous Arab community that includes dancers, artists and salesmen, as well as women in high tech." (Weisberg, 2012, n.p.)

Overall it seems that HE has played a decisive role for the PAMI, assisting their social, cultural, and political development, and it has important implications for the formation of their public awareness. The acquisition of academic education has to some extent replaced the role of the lands that were expropriated from this minority group as one of the fundamental strategies for economic security and survival and as a social value (Nakhleh, 1979). As we shall show below, the aspiration for further education has led to the crossing of geographic boundaries (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a). In the construction of a new PAMI generation born into this state, HE has played a major role, providing tools for the daily struggle of this minority (Al-Haj, 2003b).

The PAMI experience marginalization in the HEI campuses in Israel. Often, the PAMI and Jews meet for the first time in HEI. Such encounters between the marginalized minority and the dominant majority in public life and in the HEI have become the subject of theoretical discourse (Al-Haj, 1996; Mar'i, 1978) as we will thoroughly explore in Chapter 5. According to Berry's acculturation model, minorities are influenced by such encounters in one of four ways, dependent on the extent to which they accept or reject the host (majority) culture and whether or not they reject or retain their own home culture:

- *Integration*: this occurs when the marginalized minority adopts the dominant majority's lifestyles, and, at the same time, retains its own traditional values.
- *Assimilation*: this happens when the marginalized minority becomes acculturated to and accepts the majority's values and culture and abandons its own traditional values and culture.
- *Segregation*: in this case, the marginalized minority maintains its own traditional values and refrains from adopting the dominant majority's lifestyles.
- *Marginalization*: in this case, the marginalized minority abandons its own traditional values, yet, at the same time, it does not adopt the dominant majority's new values (Berry, 1997).

In contrast to the PAMI school system, which serves as an instrument of marginalization that is subordinate to government policies, instead

of serving as a foundation to develop and empower the PAMI society, HE offers an opportunity for all four of the above-mentioned processes (Al-Haj, 1996).

The above review of theory relating to HE helps us to understand the motivation of the PAMI for HE and the difficulties they face when they wish to gain access to HEI. Extant theory also elucidates the external and internal motivations that drive the PAMI to invest immense effort to reach HE (Hayden & Carpenter, 1990). It is clear that minorities view HE as a very important resource (Mustafa, 2006) in multicultural, multinational, and multireligious societies and minority goals and choices of HEI and courses may often differ from those of the majority (Branch, 2001; Johnson & Wiley, 2000). HE can contribute to the reduction of socioeconomic gaps between the majority and the minority and help develop the minority community's social, economic, and political resources and skills (Astin, 1982).

However, like many other world minorities, the PAMI are underrepresented among students in academic faculties and constitute only 2% of academic staff in HEI in Israel, despite recommendations of Israeli governments to increase access to HE for the PAMI (Al-Haj, 2003b). The next chapter will explain the trends and preferences of the PAMI in relation to HE and the effect of HE acquisition as a tool for social and political change.

3

Trends in Higher Education among the PAMI

Introduction

In this chapter we use statistical data to identify trends in the development of higher education (HE) among the PAMI, underlining the obstacles and challenges facing the students when they apply to universities and other higher education institutions (HEI) in Israel, identifying the disciplines they choose to study, their experiences on Israeli campuses, and investigating the influence of their studies on the formation of the PAMI student's identity and the development of their national aspirations and narrative. We also trace the paths of those PAMI students who decide to study abroad.

Since the 1980s, the proportion of the PAMI studying in Israel's HEI has gradually increased, so that geographically marginal and economically underprivileged sectors of this population have increasingly been included in academia. Statistics from 2014 indicate that 37,570 PAMI students studied in Israeli HEI (including 6,170 in Open University), in addition to 9,260 PAMI students studying abroad (CHE, 2015).

Three factors have influenced the ability and motivation of the PAMI population to participate in HE: (1) the tragic events of the 1948 war, when the Palestinian Arab elite fled or were exiled from the area that became the State of Israel, depleting the cultural and civil status and resources of the former Palestinian Arab society and turning this former majority population into a minority population in a Jewish state; (2) the development of new disciplines for HE in Israeli universities from 1948; and (3) the exclusion of the PAMI from various economic sectors of the Israeli state, affecting the character and meaning of HE for the PAMI society in contrast to that of the Jewish majority population (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). As we trace PAMI students' choices of venue for their academic studies, highlighting

the disciplines that they choose to study, we also point up the main benefits of HE for PAMI students, especially the improvement of PAMI women's status and the acquisition of tools for social and political change.

PAMI Access to HE in Israel

> In the academic and policy arenas, access has come to be understood as enrolling larger percentages of the population who desire higher education; equity requires that these opportunities are equally available to all citizens. (Reisberg & Watson, 2011, p. 1)

Access to HE is defined as the degree of openness of HEI to the acceptance of students and admission requirements policies and processes (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2010). In this context, Sebba and Ainscow (1996) define inclusion as

> the process by which a school attempts to respond to all students as individuals by reconsidering its curricular organization and provision. Through this process, the school builds its capacity to accept all students from the local community who wish to attend and, in so doing, reduces the need to exclude students. (p. 9)

Access to HE depends on two basic parameters: (1) the candidate's demographic and educational background and (2) the ability of HEI to accommodate candidates who come from different levels in the community. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are many theories that try to explain the necessity for equal access to HE. Some theories relate to individual needs, indicating that access to HE serves "utilitarian" goals, enabling the individual to enjoy social and economic upward mobility. Other theories indicate that access to HE enables the individual to acquire knowledge and use this knowledge to advance science and respond to the needs of the community (Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

Psychological theories indicate that the individual may have one or more of three main motivations to apply for HE: (1) "intrinsic motivation," stemming from an individual's inner desires and needs; (2) "extrinsic motivation," stemming from external demands which lead to the need to acquire knowledge; and (3) "altruism," the voluntary desire to fulfill collective goals and to contribute by acquiring and implementing social and scientific knowledge and skills for the benefit of the community (Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

A significant corpus of research work has investigated the characteristics of PAMI students' HE studies. Some of this research has related to PAMI

students' experiences when they enter the academic campus and issues arising in this milieu (Mar'i, 1978). Recent studies have tried to characterize the types of studies chosen by PAMI students and to understand difficulties involved in their integration in light of theories of exclusion and multiculturalism (Al-Haj, 2003b); one study investigated the attitudes of Jewish and PAMI HE students in relating to each other (Kaplan, Abu-Saad, & Yonah, 2001).

Researchers such as Al-Haj (2003b, 2006) tried to identify the blocks preventing the entry of PAMI students into Israeli universities and to understand the motives for the construction of these blocks, while other researchers attempted to apply the theory relating to HE among minorities in general to the case of the PAMI (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Mustafa, 2006). Other research has contributed to the understanding of gender-related issues that PAMI undergraduates experience (Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2008) and the development of the PAMI's individual identity formation in different academic frameworks (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011), which we highlight in Chapter 5. Research by Haj-Yehia (2002) reviewed the issue of PAMI migration to Germany for HE, and Haj-Yehia and Arar (2007, 2009) tried to build a theoretical model to describe PAMI migration for HE to various states outside Israel (see also Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Yet other studies have debated whether the acquisition of HE can empower PAMI women (Abu-Rabia-Queder, 2008) and enable students to define and articulate their national identity while attaining a sense of belonging through communication with others, who are different from them, especially communication between the PAMI and the Jewish majority, which dominates the state (Arar, 2011).

There is no doubt that the experience of the university campus and HE studies have an impact on the overall social, cultural, and political dynamics of the daily lives of the PAMI, and help to form existing and future elites. Relevant in this context is the fact that as a source of knowledge, university experience in Israel's HEI is characterized by a Zionist narrative and a predominantly Jewish ethos. This environment may engender feelings of alienation and foreignness for PAMI students, since it creates a gap between the reality of their home life and society and the "reality" presented in the teaching materials and campus culture (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). Apart from limited knowledge resources that are available in the university libraries, the orientations of the majority of the textbooks books are based on Israeli and Jewish discourse as expressed by the Jewish community and the Jewish state apparatus (Mustafa, 2006). Jewish narrative and ideology portrays a vision of the inevitability of tension between Israeli ideologies and PAMI cultural and political perspectives (Arar, 2011; Arar, Shapira, Azaiza, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2013).

Shifts in HE Studies among the PAMI

Political and public pressures especially from the middle social strata and residents of the rural areas of Israel have led to significant shifts in access to Israel's HEI. Traditionally, Israeli universities were characterized as largely elitist academic centers, failing to provide for vulnerable and peripheral segments of the population, driven by a vision of excellence and focusing on research. Access to these universities is still limited due to the relatively few available places in university faculties and there is fierce competition for these positions. Additionally, the universities are all located in large urban cities (Al-Haj, 2003a). Since the 1990s, the opening of many academic private colleges in rural and peripheral areas has unlocked HE for additional populations, reaching out to weaker strata of Israeli society. Furthermore, two Palestinian Arab teacher-education colleges, Al-Qasimi College and Sakhnin Academic College, have opened in areas populated largely by the PAMI (Arar et al., 2013).

An additional channel for HE appeared with the authorization of internationalization of HE in Israel: European and American universities (such as Lesley College, the University of Derby, Anglia Ruskin University, and Clark University of America) opened branches in Israel.

The authorization of the opening of local academic colleges also represents a trend toward "privatization" of HE. Some Israeli researchers, notably Volansky (2012), criticize this development, claiming that the attempt to reach out to additional populations, largely motivated by commercial interests, led to a "lost decade" when quality of education was compromised to increase inclusion.

Although these developments began in the mid-1970s, it was not until the 1980s that their impact began to be felt and the population studying HE expanded significantly. From 1982 to 1993 there was a 50% increase in the number of students in Israeli universities and a 700% increase in the number of students in academic colleges. Although these developments positively affected the PAMI, the increase of PAMI university students was relatively small, increasing from 2.9% of the total university student population in the 1970s to 6.7% in the mid-1980s, and 13% in 2013—the 2013 percentage remained the same in 2014 which continued to constitute an underrepresentative percentage, since the PAMI constituted approximately 20.1% of the general population in 2014 (CHE, 2015; Ghara, 2013).

The fact that there has been a continuous gradual increase in the proportion of PAMI students in Israeli universities up to the present seems to indicate that their underrepresentation was not a result of purely cultural inhibitions, but rather of structural obstacles in the Israeli HE system which prevented their acceptance. This is reflected in the relatively high

proportion of rejections of PAMI applicants by Israeli HEI in comparison with the rejection rates of Jewish applicants.

Structural Blocks that Hinder Access to HEI

Studies have shown that structural blocks are often set up to limit the access of weaker populations and minorities to HEI (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a; Gorard, 2008; Shiner & Modood, 2002). Privileged majority ethnic groups have higher academic achievements than neglected ethnic minority groups (Abu-Saad, 2006; Al-Haj, 2003b; Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Gorard, 2008; Kettley, 2007; Swall, Redd, & Perna, 2003).

In general, fair access to HE can only be achieved when these institutions are willing to demonstrate a degree of openness toward minorities. In many countries, the level of access reflects two elements: (1) the applicant's demographic and educational background and (2) the willingness and ability of HEI to absorb candidates from different social strata (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Modood, 2006).

Although Israeli HEI have aspired to include marginal segments of Israeli society, including members of the PAMI minority, hopes for equality between minority and majority in the HE system in Israel have not been fully realized (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). PAMI students still have a lower rate of acceptance to HEI than Jewish students. University admission requirements in Israel depend on high achievements in both matriculation exams and the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT psychometric test). These two main criteria make Israeli universities and some colleges less accessible to PAMI students (Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

According to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (2012), it appears that there was a 16% increase in the percentage of Jewish students eligible for a matriculation certificate from 2001 to 2010, while the increase in percentage of PAMI students eligible for the certificate totaled 6%. Moreover, although this increase was steady and consistent for the Jewish students, it was less consistent for PAMI students, so that from 2005 to 2008 there was even a downward trend. In 2012, only 31% of PAMI students were eligible for high school matriculation certificates compared to 55% among the Jewish population (Arlosoroff, March 10, 2014a; Shaviv et al., 2013).

Many structural blocks hinder PAMI students' access to the HE system of Israel. Despite the formation of several committees by the Council of Higher Education (CHE), headed by the Palestinian researcher Majid Al-Haj (Al-Haj, 2003a), there has been minimal implementation of the recommendations of these committees and restricted increase for PAMI

students to access universities; the persistence of structural obstacles in the admission process make it difficult for PAMI students to gain admission at Israeli universities, as is elucidated in Chapter 7. These obstacles apparently stem from certain political perspectives and orientations (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). In this section, we review various structural–political obstacles that hinder the admission of PAMI students to Israeli universities.

The underachievement of the PAMI education system

Education in Israel is segregated by nationality and degree of religiosity, with separate educational sectors for religious and secular Jewish children and PAMI children. Each of these three sectors includes both state and nonstate schools. In addition, there are nonstate private schools for "reform" (moderately religious) Jews and ultraorthodox Jews as well as Palestinian church–affiliated schools, which receive partial government funding. The language of studies for Jewish children is Hebrew, and for PAMI children is Arabic. Because of the segregation, encounters between Jewish and PAMI children are rare (Golan-Agnon, 2006).

Comparison of the PAMI and Jewish education systems' achievement levels reveals a consistent gap with inferior educational outcomes and successes resulting for the PAMI system. Beginning in elementary school, lower student achievements in the PAMI education system clearly reflect system deficiencies, and similar gaps between PAMI and Jewish achievements are found in junior high school and in high school. The detrimental effect on the PAMI society is augmented by a high dropout rate at all levels of the PAMI education system, reaching 21% in Grades 911 in 2009, in comparison with 11% in the Jewish sector for those grades (Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).

An additional disadvantage of the PAMI school system is that PAMI high school education has focused almost exclusively on improving grades to achieve eligibility for a complete matriculation certificate, nearly ignoring the need for quality of education. This is an education system that has been described as promoting "a grades economy" and it largely fails to educate for values and morals (Aghbaria & Mahajne, 2009).

Several reports from the last decade detail the deep gap between the PAMI and Jewish education systems (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009). The educational outcomes of the PAMI education system are consistently lower than those of the Jewish system. PAMI students' achievements were 28.5% lower in Grade 4 and 29% lower in Grade 8 (ibid.). Many PAMI school graduates do not receive sufficiently high matriculation results to

meet university requirements; the percentage of PAMI students who meet university admission requirements after high school is 30.8%, in comparison to 75.9% among the Jewish population and a gap of 123–126 points is evident in psychometric test results between PAMI students and Jewish students (Maagen & Shapira, 2009). The gap continues to grow in HE. In 2008, only 11.8% of PAMI high school graduates were accepted to Israel's HEI and their achievements in bachelor's degree courses were 78.2% lower than those of Jewish students (Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009). Given the disparity between the school systems and the inferior socioeconomic status of the PAMI, changes in state education policy can have far-reaching effects on this minority group. This issue is explored in Chapter 7.

Israel's education policies have not acted to diminish the gap and have often even deepened the gap between the PAMI and Jewish education systems (Golan-Agnon, 2006). Despite sincere attempts and recommendations of the Follow-up Committee on Palestinian Education to enhance the PAMI education system and enable it to perform its role, severe deficiencies in the school system infrastructure, including shortage of classrooms and far more overcrowded classrooms in comparison to the Jewish educational system, continually impede progress. PAMI schools have been underfunded since the beginning of the state compared to Jewish schools; recent governments have taken inconsistent actions to redress the balance, including building new classrooms to meet the needs of a growing population. DIRASAT, a University of Haifa–based think tank, alleged in 2011 that school construction efforts promised for the PAMI education system had not begun. Objective monitoring mechanisms are needed to confirm that there are follow-up efforts to government intentions in funding, school construction, and enrichment targeted to assist populations with difficulties (Wolf & Breit, 2013).

The PAMI education system suffers from discriminatory provision of resources allocated to them by government offices. There is no independent PAMI educational administration for the PAMI system and, although PAMI students constitute 28.2% of the state's students, state investment per student is less. The large gap in resources between the PAMI and Jewish school systems is expressed in the number of teaching hours given to junior high schools. The allocation for each PAMI junior high student was 1.63 teaching hours in 2013, while the allocation for each Jewish student was 1.81 teaching hours, approximately 11% more. In senior high schools, the allocation for a PAMI student was 1.93 teaching hours in comparison to 1.98 hours for the Jewish student. The lowest gap is in elementary school where the PAMI student receives 1.69 hours compared to 1.7 hours given on average to the Jewish student. The gaps in allocation of hours have been

reduced since 2004; the number of teaching hours for the PAMI schools has grown since then by 13%, in comparison to a growth of 6% in Jewish schools. During these years, the number of Jewish school students grew by 11% to 1.16 million, and the number of PAMI school students grew by 23% to 423,000 (not including kindergarten) (Detel, 2013). There are clear gaps in allocations for teaching hours between state PAMI schools, state secular Jewish, and state religious Jewish systems from all four sources (local governments, other official organizations, parents, and Ministry of Education) such that the total hours provided for state PAMI schools from all these sources is 48.3 hours per student while total hours provided for state Jewish secular schools is 54.7 hours and for state Jewish religious schools, 67.4 hours per student. The Ministry of Education provides 46.8 hours per pupil in state PAMI schools, 60.1 hours per pupil in state Jewish religious schools, and 48.7 hours per pupil in state Jewish secular schools (Arlosoroff, May 21, 2014b, p. 5).

Additionally, the average allocation for education of PAMI local governments is 84% lower than that of Jewish authorities. The average welfare allocation in the PAMI sector is lower by 45% than in the Jewish sector (Arlosoroff, March 10, 2014a). Thus government allocations for new classrooms, teaching hours in the class, and auxiliary services such as educational and psychological counseling are also often lower than allocations for Jewish schools.

The discriminatory allocation of resources to PAMI schools appears to be the result of ideological and political views held by government ministers. Statements of more than one Israeli government minister point to a tendency to reduce budgets for the PAMI school system; an example is the statement in 2001 of the then education minister Livnat: "Allocating budgets to Arab schools is determined by the extent of Arab student's sincerity and loyalty to the state" (Makhol, 2007). Similarly Gideon Ezra, the minister of environmental quality said in another context that: "We must draw a distinction and make sure that the Arab towns do not get all the money in the Education Plan" (ibid.). However, in line with the recommendations of the government-appointed Shoshani Committee, another education minister, Shai Peron, recently proposed increasing education budgets three times for weaker strata of the population and the transfer of millions of shekels from religious state schools (who at present receive the highest budgets from government) to the PAMI education system, a proposal that naturally incurred opposition from religious political parties and is now less likely to be implemented since the new minister of education is a member of a Jewish nationalist-religious party (Arlosoroff, May 21, 2014b).

Educational goals and school curricula imposed on PAMI schools by a succession of government ministries seem to represent a policy of control, giving an inferior status to the PAMI education system and largely ignoring PAMI national and cultural heritage (Al-Haj, 2003). PAMI educational leaders believe that sensitive subjects, such as history, should more openly discuss the historical experiences of the PAMI population.

In addition to the deficiency of resources from the government to PAMI schools, the PAMI educational system has a less-efficient school culture, and local political and nonprofessional interests in the PAMI society often impede the ability of educational leaders to improve the quality of the school and teaching (Arar & Abu-Asbeh, 2013). Moreover, the difficult financial situation of most PAMI local governments restricts their investment in the PAMI school system. Apart from relatively low government budgeting for these local governments, most PAMI towns and villages are positioned in the lowest socioeconomic clusters and approximately 60% of the PAMI have an income below the poverty line. Thus the contributions of the four sources, Ministry of Education, parents, local governments, and other official organizations that are supposed to contribute to the school system, fail to correct the lack of government resources invested in the PAMI student (Arar & Abu-Asbeh, 2013), and this is clearly reflected in the inferior academic achievements of PAMI students at the different stages of education. Table 3.1 provides details concerning the resources allocated to PAMI students and the achievements of PAMI school students over a period of nine years from 2002 to 2011.

According to Jabareen and Aghbaria (2011), the PAMI do not send their children to preschool at an early age (only 13.7% of PAMI children attend preschool at the age of two whereas 61.3% of Jewish children attend preschool at the same age). This may be due to the high cost of early preschool education and the fact that PAMI mothers are less likely to be employed when their children are very young. However, by the age of five, a similar percentage of both populations attend preschool (94.5% of PAMI children, compared with 97.5% Jewish children). PAMI elementary school classrooms are more overcrowded than Jewish classrooms (28.81 students on average in a PAMI class, 24.54 students in a Jewish class). As Jabareen and Aghbaria (2011) show, from this stage upward there is a growing gap between the attainments of PAMI students and those of their Jewish peers. Table 3.2 shows the percentages of PAMI students studying in Israeli universities from 2006 to 2014.

As can be seen from Table 3.2, there has been a steady increase in the percentage of PAMI students in Israeli HE in the last decade. However, the fact that the PAMI are still underrepresented in the HE student body

Table 3.1 Statistical Data Concerning the PAMI School System in Israel from 2002 to 2011

Category	Years					
	2002–2003	2003–2004	2004–2005	2005–2006	2006–2007	2010–2011
Number of students	216,550	282,130	292,380	300,380	312,960	341,116
Number of teaching hours allocated	15,450	16,602	17,607	17,450	18,039	22,458
Average students in elementary class	29.6	29.5	29.4	29.2	29.2	27.2
Average students in Grade 2 class	26.8	27.5	28.2	28.5	28.5	27.3
Percentage of students who drop out of Grade 9	7.7	5.8	5.3	5.4	5.6	6.1
Proportion of students awarded a matriculation certificate: *Males*	–	48.1	46.0	42.0	40.4	40.3
Proportion of students awarded a matriculation certificate: *Females*	–	58.9	57.2	58.7	54.1	57.9
Percentage of students who meet the acceptance criteria for Israeli universities among Grade 12 students: *Males*	–	25.7	29.4	27.2	27.3	28.7
Percentage of students who meet the acceptance criteria for Israeli universities in among Grade 12 students: *Females*	–	33.7	39.8	40.6	39.0	41.8

Source: Ghara (2013).

Table 3.2 Percentage of PAMI Students in Israeli HEI by Level of Studies, 2006–2014

Academic year	Number of PAMI students in Israeli HEI	Bachelor's degree (%)	Master's degree (%)	Doctoral degree (%)
2006–2007	22,827	9.7	5.8	3.5
2007–2008	24,863	10.3	6.1	3.5
2008–2009	24,638	9.8	6.2	3.7
2009–2010	26,214	10	6.5	3.9
2010–2011	29,298	10.8	7.9	4.3
2011–2012	30,530	11.3	8.7	4.4
2012–2013	34,452	12.2	9	4.8
2013–2014	37,570	13	9.8	5.2

Source: CHE (2015).

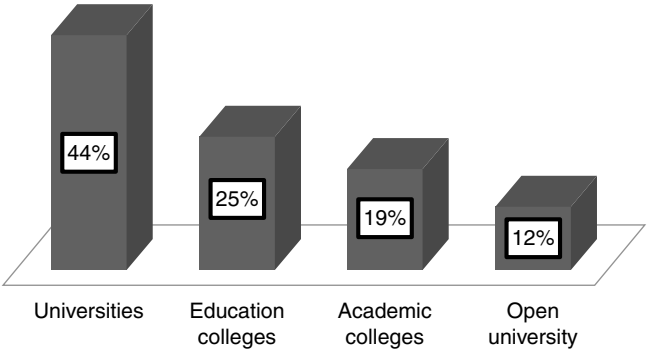

Figure 3.1 Distribution of PAMI Students Studying in Israel, by Type of HEI, 2011–2012
Source: CBS, 2013.

relative to their proportion in the general population suggests different dynamics.

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013) indicate that PAMI students mainly choose to study in the universities, while teacher-education colleges and other academic colleges are their second choice, with overrepresentation in teacher-education colleges compared to their percentage in the Israeli population. Figure 3.1 illustrates the distribution of PAMI students between the different types of HEI in the academic year 2011–2012.

In Figure 3.1 we see that the university continues to be the primary choice for PAMI students. Altogether, 56% of the PAMI students studied

in Israel's universities (including the Open University). A slightly lesser proportion studied in teacher-education colleges, which still attract a large proportion of PAMI students, with an emphasis on the two recently opened PAMI teacher-education colleges: Al-Qasimi college in the Triangle region of Israel (with a large PAMI population) and the Sakhnin Academic College in the Galilee region. Figure 3.2 provides a picture of the distribution of PAMI students, who chose to study in university, between the different Israeli universities in 2012.

As can be seen from Figure 3.2, the most popular university for PAMI students was the University of Haifa (37%). This is probably due to its location in proximity to Haifa and the Galilee region where large concentrations of the PAMI population reside. The second most popular venue for PAMI university students is the Technion Institute for Technology and Sciences (19%), also situated in Haifa. This is followed by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (14%), an area that also has a significant PAMI population and that attracts PAMI students from various regions of Israel, especially PAMI women who migrate to Jerusalem both in the quest for HE and to work in the education, welfare, and health services of East Jerusalem. These services benefit from the skills and qualifications and command of the Hebrew language of the migrant PAMI women from different regions of Israel.

One major factor for the significant increase in the proportion of PAMI students in Israeli universities is an increase in the number of PAMI students qualifying for matriculation in the PAMI education system in general, particularly in private PAMI high schools. According to the data from the Israeli CHE, the higher the quality of the high school, the larger

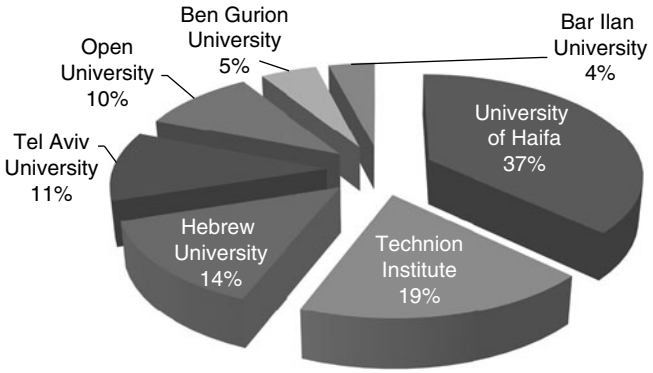

Figure 3.2 Distribution of PAMI Students in Israeli Universities, 2012 (%)
Source: CBS, 2013.

the percentage of graduates admitted to universities from that school (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). Unfortunately, with a few outstanding exceptions, the majority of PAMI high schools are listed as medium- or low-quality schools in terms of their academic achievements (Mustafa, 2007). The proportion of Jewish students meeting university admission requirements is higher than that of PAMI students (Mustafa, 2006). These data lead to the conclusion that the quality of the PAMI education system, especially secondary education, is one of the obstacles hindering the acceptance of PAMI students to Israeli universities, and their further education.

The percentage of PAMI students who completed high school and complied with admission requirements for Israeli universities rose to about 28.7% of all PAMI high school students in 2011 in contrast to 25.7% in 2003, an increase of 3% (Ghara, 2013).

Israel's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)—Psychometric test

As already noted, it is argued that the psychometric test discriminates against examinees from minority or underprivileged sociocultural backgrounds (Abu-Saad, 2006; Yogev & Ayalon, 2008). Israel is still one of the few countries in the world that maintains this exam for student admission to universities, and these tests are often given greater weight than the student's matriculation results. This is despite evidence that the psychometric test reflects a "Western" cultural dimension and is not a strong indicator of student achievement or knowledge of other cultures (Abu-Saad, 2006; Gamliel & Cahan, 2004; Mazawi, 2003). For the PAMI whose achievements in the psychometric tests are generally not sufficiently high, this is one of the factors that lead to a high rejection rate for university acceptance and a 46.5% rejection rate for the various major disciplines for which they applied.

The psychometric test is used as a selective tool and was noted in different previous reports as an unfair means of selection. Instead of pursuing an alternative selection policy, the governments of Israel are primarily responsible for the gap that is created due to this obstacle (Abu-Saad, 2006). Failure to excel in psychometric tests often leads to nonacceptance to university and especially, inability to gain access to the more prestigious faculties such as the medical and paramedical disciplines, where an especially high integrated (psychometric and matriculation) grade is required. However, PAMI students average 123–126 points less (out of 800 maximum points) in psychometric test results than Jewish Israeli students (Maagen & Shapira, 2009). As a result, many PAMI are not accepted to their preferred disciplines and consequently go on to study fields in which

they have less interest (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). The psychometric test is therefore seen as the main block for PAMI students, expressed at two levels (1) a minimum level of achievement is necessary for acceptance to study at the university (2) different higher levels of achievement in the psychometric test are needed for certain disciplines—especially the more prestigious disciplines which demand extremely high grades. It is assumed that the fact that the PAMI often have to make do with studying disciplines that are less preferred contributes to the high rate of PAMI students' dropout from HE (Arar, Masry-Herzallah, & Haj-Yehia, 2013).

Israeli universities currently make an aggregate computation of psychometric test results with matriculation exam results to assess applicants' future academic success. Several studies have argued that the psychometric test is a culturally biased evaluation instrument, which does not properly assess abilities of minorities with different culture and language, such as the PAMI, new immigrants and residents of outlying areas with poor schools (Abu-Saad, 2006; Al-Haj, 2003b; Gamliel & Cahan, 2004; Mazawi, 2003). Additionally, the psychometric test does not consider the motivational component that is usually considered to be the decisive factor when calculating the probability of students' success in university (Gamliel & Cahan, 2004).

Israeli scholars (Al-Haj, 2003a; Ayalon & Yogev, 2005; Volansky, 2005) have demonstrated that the accuracy of the predictive ability of the psychometric test amounts to 43%, the predictive ability of the matriculation examination amounts to 37%, and the predictive ability of both tools used together amounts to 55%. Applied to university applicants, this seems to indicate that the present acceptance method fails to predict success accurately for 45% of university applicants (Ayalon & Yogev, 2005; Gamliel & Cahan, 2004).

Another interesting insight regarding the relevance of psychometric tests for PAMI candidates emanates from the empirical research of Professor Rafik Ibrahim from the University of Haifa, published at the time of this writing, which has aroused strong reaction in the local media. His findings indicate that there are significant differences in the efficient reading of texts in the two languages, Hebrew and Arabic. According to his research, the source of the differences in achievements between Jewish and PAMI students stems from the speed of lexical decoding and retrieval of words in each language, something that is apparently connected directly with the formative structure of the Arabic language in contrast to Hebrew. In Arabic, there are two forms of the language, spoken and written (literary). The gap between them is large, to the extent that the acquisition of the written language can be seen as the acquisition of a second language, and it has been proven that this may influence the essential linguistic mechanisms for the acquisition of the language. Thus the predictive ability of the

psychometric test, that among other things, stipulates restricted time for thinking, disadvantages the PAMI candidate and may not accurately diagnose the PAMI candidate's true academic potential (Karletz, Bin-Simon, Ibrahim, & Avitar, 2014).

Research conducted by Mohanad Mustafa concerning the difficulties of Palestinian students in the psychometric test, found that it was difficult geographically and financially for the PAMI to take the expensive courses offered by private institutions to prepare students for the psychometric tests (about $1,500 per course). Among those PAMI students who did take these courses there was a dropout rate of about 40%. The achievements of those who completed these courses are higher by an average of 136 points than those who took the psychometric tests without any preparatory courses (Arar & Mustafa, 2011), so the courses obviously provide an advantage.

Although the percentage of rejected PAMI candidates has slightly decreased, it continues to be relatively high: while only 21.9% of the Jewish candidates' applications for Israeli universities were rejected, 38.8% of PAMI candidates' applications were rejected in 2011 (CBS, 2013). There has, nevertheless, been a clear increase in the proportion of PAMI students applying to Israeli universities. In 1990, 33.7% of PAMI applicants to Israeli universities were accepted and began their studies (while an additional 11.9% were accepted but did not eventually study in Israeli universities); this rose to 53% of PAMI students who were accepted and began their studies in 2011 (while an additional 13.4% were accepted but did not eventually study in Israeli universities) (CBS, 2013). This is a positive sign; however there is also still a large, though progressively lower rejection rate: 51.9% in 1990 and 38.8% in 2011 (ibid.). The increase in the percentage of students admitted appears to stem largely from the perseverance and the determination of PAMI students, leading to a slight improvement in numbers meeting university criteria (especially female students) and an increase in the numbers of students applying for universities and getting admission, rather than the PAMI seeking amelioration of university policies to open up the education system.

As noted above, statistics indicate that PAMI students' average psychometric test grade is 123–126 points less than the average achievement of Israeli Jewish students (Maagen & Shapira, 2009). In the last two years, the CHE have inaugurated the use of an "integration" of student achievements in certain basic matriculation exams: mathematics, English, science, the student's mother tongue, history, and civics, as an indication for acceptance to study medicine, leading to an influx of PAMI students to this discipline, rising to 52% of PAMI applicants compared with 29% one academic year before the new selection system was applied. Similarly, the

percentage of PAMI students accepted to study occupational therapy rose to 56% when the new system replaced the psychometric test as admittance criteria, compared with the previous 19%. This suggests that there may be other valid criteria that can be used to ensure high quality candidates for university entrance which are less prejudicial to weaker or different cultural strata of society. According to Abu-Saad (2006), the psychometric test is only able to predict academic success in less than 50% of cases.

As noted above, Volansky (2012) spoke about a "lost decade" when privatized HE lowered standards to increase the numbers of students. He pointed out the need to employ alternative mechanisms apart from psychometric tests to increase the acceptance rate of students, while maintaining the quality of HE in Israeli universities. The issue of the psychometric test as a selection tool for university entrance remains controversial until today: despite the declaration of the last education minister, Shai Peron, that the test should be abolished it remains in use in almost all Israeli universities, as he explained:

> We are working diligently with the Education Ministry on curriculum details and the composition of the subject groupings, which will allow students to apply to universities with scores from matriculation exams alone. However, students cannot be accepted to universities based on matriculation scores alone until these exams are significantly improved upon—to the point where they will become reliable enough that when they are examined in combination with students' grades, they will accurately reflect students' levels and abilities. At this point, there would no longer be a need for psychometric test scores. (Ben Sasson, *Jerusalem Post*, January 13, 2014)

Due to the displacement of the above-mentioned education minister in the 2015 elections, the psychometric test continues to disfavor acceptance of PAMI students (and other peripheral groups in Israel) to Israel's universities.

Acceptance to prestigious majors: The minimum age threshold

Another structural barrier facing PAMI applicants to Israeli universities is the age threshold required for certain prestigious majors. Israeli government policies have limited the inclusion of the PAMI in certain areas of work and centers of influence; for example, many high-tech and engineering industries serve military purposes and therefore require high-level security clearances that few PAMI can acquire (Ghanem, 2001). Restrictions for the PAMI in all areas, especially in the employment market,

have influenced their learning patterns and their perception of academic studies (Arar & Mustafa, 2011); so as noted above, they prefer to study free professions such as medicine and law to prepare themselves for a career in either the private or public sector, lessening the possibility of dependence on Israeli employment markets. In many other countries too, minorities tend to prefer prestigious disciplines and free professions (medicine, paramedical professions, and law) (Al-Haj, 2003a; Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b; Kettley, 2007; Modood, 2006; Reay, David, & Ball, 2005).

The minimum age requirement of 21 for commencement of studies, justified by the claim of the need for maturity for studies of disciplines such as medicine, corresponds in Israel with the end of compulsory military service for Jewish candidates (a few minority group members also volunteer for military service). For Jewish students, this age threshold does not constitute a difficulty because they are engaged in the army from age 18 to 21; some even begin their studies in medicine in a special program as part of their military service at age 18. However, the requirement of a minimum age (20) for several majors prevents the PAMI and orthodox Jewish students (both of whom mostly do not serve in the Israeli Defense Forces, though some do volunteer) from starting tertiary studies immediately after high school and matriculation exams. Age thresholds for certain disciplines force them to delay their studies. PAMI students, who do not serve in the army, find the age threshold to be an obstacle for their progress after completing high school; this may lead them to seek HE outside Israel (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013). This is especially difficult for PAMI women, who usually marry earlier than Jewish women (at an average age of 20.2, compared to 25.4 for Jewish women). Muslim women also usually begin having children at an earlier age and have a higher fertility rate than Jewish women, averaging 3.32 births compared to 2.95 births among Jewish women (CBS, 2014a). Yet it is more difficult for PAMI women to travel abroad to bypass the age threshold for university acceptance due to cultural norms that restrict their independent travel far from their homes (Arar et al., 2013). Thus, the age threshold is often one of the considerations that lead PAMI women to abandon their dreams of continuing to HE in favor of their aspirations to build a family.

Language and culture barriers

Since the medium of instruction in Israeli universities is either Hebrew or English, PAMI students are disadvantaged, especially in their freshman year, since these languages constitute their second or third languages.

However the major obstacle for PAMI students, and especially PAMI women, is the cultural barrier. Studying in Israeli university campuses exposes PAMI women to an ethnic, national, and gender mix that does not exist in their home communities. Research has shown that campus life in an Israeli HEI can constitute a "culture shock" for some PAMI women (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011).

Some PAMI students also experience a sense of alienation due to the fact that the Israeli academic world attempts to combine "Western" academic ideals with the promotion of the Zionist project, and support for the construction of the state, envisaging the formation of the prototype of the "New Jew" (Gur-Zeev, 2005). The Israeli university mostly reflects and develops the Zionist historical narrative, and an Israeli sociology which has often studied the development of the PAMI minority in Israel in a distorted manner (Ghanem & Rouhana, 2001), although post-Zionist research is beginning to show other perspectives on Israeli history and ideology.

Additionally, Hebrew is the official language used in the registration process, admissions, and tuition and PAMI students may have difficulty or fill forms inappropriately. Their first encounter with this level of academic Hebrew language may be a bit of a shock, and negatively affect their acceptance and educational attainments (Arar, 2011).

Entrance interviews

As noted above, PAMI students tend to prefer to study prestigious majors in order to prepare themselves for free independent professions. Personal interviews are required as an additional admission criterion for several prestigious disciplines in Israel. These interviews are conducted in Hebrew and do not consider differences in candidates' language and culture, so that even though PAMI students study Hebrew in school (starting in Grade 2, as their second language), candidates whose first language is Hebrew have an advantage (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). The conditions of the interview therefore constitute a structural barrier that may exclude PAMI students from Israeli academia.

It can therefore be concluded that the path to HE in Israeli universities and some other types of HEI is beset with the five types of obstacles described above for the PAMI student—a veritable Via Dolorosa (Haj-Yehia, 2002). This reality is perhaps a reflection of the Israeli Zionist narrative that has positioned the PAMI on the sidelines since the inception of the state (Arar, 2011). As noted above, from the academic year 2014–2015, a new method of high school testing will aim to reduce reliance on psychometric tests as admission criteria for HEI.

Features of PAMI Studies in HEI

PAMI students typically register for the prestigious disciplines of medicine, paramedical studies, and engineering, followed by social sciences and humanities. Despite these initial choices, they usually find that they have to compromise and study a less-preferred discipline due to the obstacles mentioned above. Table 3.3 shows the distribution of PAMI students by faculty, religion, and place of residence in their first year of studies.

Following the description of the distribution of PAMI students according to religion and place of residence, Table 3.4 relates specifically to the number of PAMI candidates for Israeli HEI and the number and percentage of PAMI students accepted to Israeli universities and other HEI from 2002 to 2011.

As can be seen from the data shown in Table 3.4, the percentage of PAMI candidates, who were accepted for Israeli HEI increased from 56% in the academic year 2002–2003 to 66.4% in 2010–2011. This was an increase of 10%. The same trend can be seen in the number of students studying for the different levels of academic degrees. Table 3.5 presents the numbers and percentages of Israeli students by nationality and type of HEI for the academic year 2011–2012.

Choosing to apply for a particular academic course does not guarantee acceptance to that course; this depends (as explained above) on a complex admission process that in addition to matriculation results may also consider the results of a psychometric test and a personal interview. As noted, despite the desire of many PAMI students to study prestigious disciplines such as

Table 3.3 Distribution of PAMI Students Accepted for First Year Studies in Israeli Universities by Faculty, Religion, and Place of Residence in the Academic Year 2011

Religion/ Place of residence	Faculty						
	Total	Humanities	Social sciences	Natural sciences and agriculture	Law, Medicine	Engineering and architecture	Paramedical
Total	5,816	935	1,751	672	794	551	1,113
Religion							
Muslims	3,987	624	1,168	460	519	338	878
Christians	976	111	265	130	192	112	164
Druze	853	200	318	80	83	101	71
Place of residence							
Galilee	4,006	566	1,404	437	563	384	652
Triangle	1,482	211	309	217	172	155	418
Negev	328	158	38	18	58	12	43

Source: Ghara (2013).

Table 3.4 Number of PAMI Students Accepted for HEI in Israel by Degree Level and Year

Category	Academic year					
	2002–2003	2004–2005	2005–2006	2007–2008	2008–2009	2010–2011
PAMI candidates for the first year of the BA in the Israeli universities	5,234	5,261	5,551	5,819	5,861	5,816
Percentage of PAMI students candidates accepted for the first year of the BA in the Israeli universities	56.0	53.6	56.4	62.5	61.2	66.4
Number of PAMI students at universities in Israel	9,369	9,967	10,718	11,364	11,978	13,360
BA	7,251	7,650	8,103	8,689	9,164	9,862
MA	1,638	1,769	1,994	2,061	2,192	2,797
PhD	244	260	310	307	366	451
Number of students in academic certificate courses	236	288	311	307	256	250
Number of PAMI students in other tertiary education institutions	–	–	11,476	12,918	14,459	17,170

Source: Ghara (2013).

Table 3.5 Students in HEI in Israel by Nationality and Type of Institute for the Academic Year 2011–2012

	Universities	Open University	Academic colleges	Teacher-education colleges	Total
PAMI	13,360	3,772	5,911	7,487	30,530
Jews	109,861	40,743	94,919	23,282	268,804
Total	124,295	44,684	101,822	31,325	302,126
Percentage of PAMI students by type of institution	11.6	8.8	6.8	25.7	11.0

Source: CBS (2013).

medicine and law the above-mentioned obstacles to acceptance mean that a large proportion of PAMI students eventually settle in the humanities and social sciences courses (see Table 3.3). Nevertheless, there has been a decline in the general percentage of PAMI students enrolling to study the humanities in the last decade, from 36% to 16% of PAMI HE students.

In light of increasing underrepresentation of the PAMI in HE during the 1990s, the Israeli CHE set up a special committee in 1999 to examine the provision of HE for the PAMI, headed by the researcher Majid Al-Haj. One of the objectives of the study was to investigate the obstacles encountered by PAMI students in their applications to Israeli universities, and to propose strategies to enable more PAMI students to participate in HE in Israeli universities (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). The recommendations of the committee were accepted in December 2002. The committee believed that the PAMI students' difficulties stemmed from a number of factors, some relating to the preacademic period, and others caused by blocks set by the universities. Its recommendations were to increase the proportion of the PAMI participating in the preacademic preparatory course, which amounted to a mere 3% before the report, and to establish a preacademic studies guidance and direction center to provide information regarding HE to PAMI communities. Additionally, they recommended an increase in the percentage of PAMI academic staff and managerial personnel in the universities (CHE, 2008). These recommendations were not implemented in full. However, the percentage of PAMI students in HE institutions increased by 220% during 1990–2001, a period in which the general increase of students in Israel amounted to 125%. By 2001, PAMI students constituted 9.4% of all HE students in Israel, 8% of all university students,

6.7% of all academic college students, and 22.5% of all teacher-education college students (Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

The decisions and recommendations of this committee have continued to have some positive impact in increasing the representation of PAMI students in HE, especially in the universities. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013), in 2011, PAMI students constituted 11.6% of all students in Israeli universities, 6.5% of those studying in academic colleges, and 25.7% of those studying in teacher-education colleges (see Table 3.5).

Figure 3.3 represents the distribution of PAMI students studying first degrees[1] in the different types of Israeli HEI from 2000 to 2013.

In 2014, 37,570 PAMI students studied at all levels of academic studies in Israel's HEI, including 6,170 PAMI students who studied at the Open University. Of the PAMI students studying in the universities, academic colleges, and academic teacher-education colleges, 25,200 studied for first degrees, 6,170 for master's degrees, and 555 for a doctorate while 275 undertook certificate studies (CHE, 2015). An increase was noted in the proportion of PAMI students among all Israeli first degree students, reaching 10% in 1999 and continuing to rise to 13% in 2014. A substantial part of this increase stemmed from the opening of colleges in peripheral areas where there are concentrations of the PAMI population. In the academic year 2013, 36% of PAMI students studied for a first degree in the main university campuses, 23% in academic teacher-education colleges, 19% in publicly funded academic colleges, 11% in annexes of major universities, and approximately 11% in privately funded colleges (ibid.). Table 3.6 shows the percentage of PAMI students at each degree level in the general student body for selected academic years from 1990 to 2014.

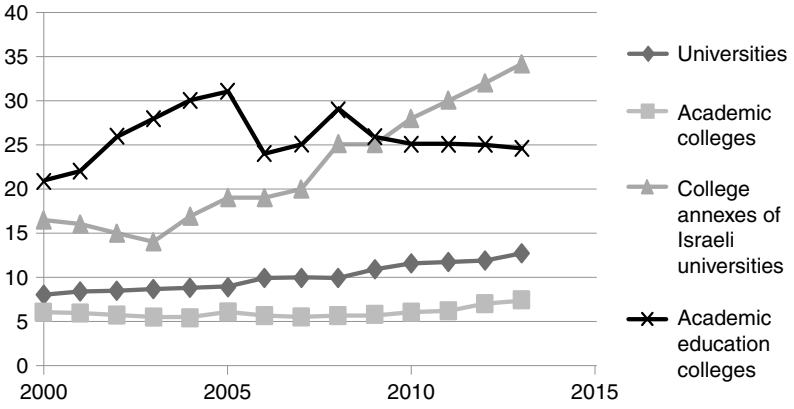

Figure 3.3 Distribution of PAMI Students Studying for First Degrees in Israel, by Type of HEI, 2000–2013 (%)
Source: CBS, 2013.

Table 3.6 Percentage of PAMI Students in Israeli Universities and Academic Colleges by Academic Level and Year

	Year				
Degree levels	1990–1991	2004–2005	2007–2008	2008–2009	2013–2014
Percentage of PAMI students among all BA students	6.7	8.4	11.6	11.5	13
Percentage of PAMI students among all MA students	3.6	5.2	6.4	6.5	10.3
Percentage of PAMI students among all PhD students	3.9	3.4	3.5	3.7	5.1

Source: Arar & Mustafa (2011), CHE (2015).

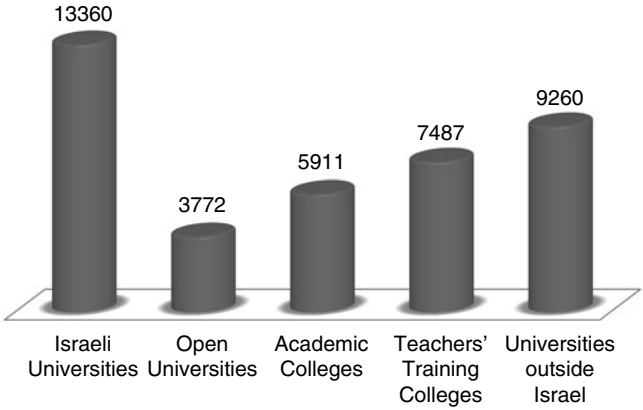

Figure 3.4 Numbers of PAMI Students Studying in HEI in and outside Israel in the Academic Year 2011–2012

Sources: Based on our analysis of the following sources: Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013; Ghara, 2013; OECD, 2013; CBS, 2013.

To summarize, the increase in PAMI students in Israel's HEI actually stems from several factors, three of them more prominent: (1) the increased rate of success in matriculation examinations in PAMI high schools, which rose from 22% in the mid-1990s to 38% at the beginning of the millennium; (2) a continuous increase in the proportion of PAMI women studying in universities, a process that began in the late 1980s and continues today (see discussion relating to women in HE below) (Arar & Mustafa, 2011); and (3) the above-mentioned expansion of the HEI system.

In the last two decades, in addition to these venues for HE in Israel, there has been an increase in the numbers of PAMI students traveling to further their studies in foreign countries such as Jordan and the universities of the Palestine territories, a phenomenon that we have researched and we extensively discuss in the chapters that follow. Figure 3.4 shows the

numbers of PAMI students studying in different HEI in Israel and abroad in the academic year 2011–2012.

PAMI Students' Choice of Academic Discipline

Several social theories, the Theory of Social Status, the Theory of Human Resources, and Critical Theory, can help to explain students' decision-making process when choosing an academic discipline to study in HEI. These theories indicate that the choice of a discipline for an academic degree course depends on the development of a person's individual resources and is influenced by their family background, social class, sex, and level of educational attainment (Altbach et al., 2010).

In the case of PAMI students, Career-Functional Theory may help to explain the motives involved in their selection of a discipline for HE. The functionalist approach indicates that education equips people to perform different functional roles in society. Functionalists view the education system as one of the more important social institutions in a society. They contend that education develops two kinds of functions: manifest (or primary) functions, such as socialization and upward social mobility, which are the intended and visible functions of education; and latent (or secondary) functions, such as communication abilities and the ability to work in a team, constituting more covert and unintended functions. Over the years, PAMI students have mostly chosen to study the humanities and social sciences for the simple reason that it is far easier to be accepted for these disciplines. This is followed by the frequent choice of medical and paramedical disciplines. The social and geographic context of the PAMI plays a role in their choice of discipline, so that in general, as we have already noted, PAMI students select professions that can help them to avoid unemployment and increase their absorption into the local labor market, assisting their social integration and economic empowerment (Arar et al., 2013).

However, as already noted, PAMI graduates access to the Israeli labor market is often restricted (due to security requirements or geographical location of the workplaces), so their choice of profession is usually a functional choice, selecting studies that will allow them to integrate into highly in-demand work that gives the largest possible remuneration or that will allow them to work independently without relying on the labor market. In periods when the local labor market offers few alternatives, they primarily choose teaching. This sometimes leads to fierce competition for the limited teaching posts in PAMI communities, especially senior posts. Thus, too, PAMI local governments can offer only limited employment opportunities to university graduates from other disciplines, especially those

who have studied sciences (Ghara, 2013). Throughout the world, students from minority groups have a strong preference for the study of medicine, a highly prestigious profession that offers a wide range of employment opportunities in both the public and private sectors (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010) and this is also true for PAMI students. The bulk of our research indicates that as a result, the PAMI acquire HE primarily for upward socio-economic mobility, and less as a social or political tool to construct their national narrative (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

A higher proportion of male PAMI students study medicine than female PAMI students and a higher proportion of Christian PAMI students study medicine than Druze or Muslim PAMI students. The large majority of PAMI students in the Negev study the humanities (63.9%) while the distribution of PAMI students between the different disciplines is more evenly spread in other regions of Israel (Ghara, 2013). Out of a total of 13,360 students in the academic year 2011, only 451 were studying for a PhD. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (2013), the number of PAMI students who studied in Israeli universities in 2012 reached 14,434.

In 2011, 9.3% of Israeli HE students graduated from nonuniversity academic institutions, such as academic colleges, teacher-education colleges, and the Open University. The number of PAMI students in all Israeli HE institutions—universities, academic colleges, and teacher-education colleges—at the end of 2011 rose to about 30,533, including nearly 13,360 PAMI students in the universities (Ghara, 2013 and see Figure 3.4). In the academic year 2011–2012, the percentage of PAMI HE students rose to 11% of all HE students in the country, so that by the end of 2012, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2013) reported that there were 33,322 PAMI students in all Israeli HEI, an increase of close to 10% from the previous year, although the increase to 14,434 of PAMI students in universities was a slightly lower percentage increase (approximately 7.4%). And as mentioned before, in the academic year 2013–2014, the number of PAMI students in all HEI in Israel, including PAMI students studying in the Open University, reached 37,570 (CHE, 2015).

PAMI Women in Israeli HEI Campuses

Despite visible modernization processes in PAMI society, traditional patriarchal norms and practices still largely exclude women from the public sphere and discourse. The majority of PAMI girls—especially Muslim girls—are usually engaged to be married at an early age and this often prevents them from gaining access to HE (Arar & Mustafa, 2009). There seems to be a clear difference in the level of conservative attitudes and

practices between rural and urban PAMI societies and between the different religious/ethnic communities (Druze, Christian, Bedouin, and Muslim), yielding differences in the proportion of females permitted to study and engage in the labor market. Yet increased awareness of the importance of HE among the PAMI minority has led to an important shift in females' roles in the Palestinian family. Girls are now increasingly allowed to study outside the home, to build a career and a personal future, in addition to developing their traditional roles as wives and mothers. PAMI females are increasingly participating in HE, even sometimes traveling outside their communities and outside the country to do so (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007).

This increase in the proportion of PAMI women participating in HE has obvious implications for the improvement of women's status in PAMI society and in the Israeli economy (Arar et al., 2013). A gradual but constant increase in the number of PAMI girls participating in school education since the beginning of the state has led to a situation where girls now constitute the majority of the school student population and even frequently attain achievements superior to those of boys in high school (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). The achievements of girl students has increased the average PAMI matriculation certificate achievements, and decreased dropout rates. PAMI women tend to choose to study the humanities and social sciences in order to integrate into the services sector of the employment market (mainly the PAMI education system and local government services). In the main, PAMI women use their HE to enable them to contribute to their family's income, rather than using it as a tool for self-realization. Although some PAMI women have managed to use their education to gain influential positions and bring about social and educational change in PAMI society, these trailblazers often pay a personal price for their attempt to challenge traditional norms (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Weiner-Levy, 2008; Arar, 2011).

The percentage of female students (PAMI and Jewish) in Israeli universities was only 36.1% in 1964–1965. By the academic year 1988–1989, the number of female students equaled that of male students and by the academic year 2002–2003, females exceeded males, constituting 57% of the total HE student population. Women made up 40% of all PAMI students in the mid-1990s, and their proportion rose to 58.3% of all PAMI students in 2009 (CBS, 2010). In 2011, males constituted 36.7% of all PAMI students, while women comprised 63.3% of all PAMI students (Ghara, 2013). Recent data show that women PAMI students constituted 66% of all PAMI students in 2014 (CHE, 2015).

Data from the academic year 2008–2009 (CBS, 2010) indicated an increase in the percentage of female PAMI students in Israeli HEI, rising from 55% of PAMI students studying for a bachelor's degree in Israeli

universities in 2011 to 60.2% of all PAMI students studying for a bachelor's degree in Israeli universities. By 2009, the percentage of PAMI women in all Israeli HEI exceeded the percentage of male PAMI students by 8.3%. However, the percentage of women declines somewhat in master's and doctoral degree studies (e.g., they constituted 54.4% of PAMI MA students and 31.2% of PAMI PhD students in Israeli universities) (CBS, 2010). This is probably the result of sociocultural considerations, as will be explained later in this book.

A bachelor's degree enables a woman to gain economic empowerment and contribute to her household's economy. There is a consistent trend toward equal access for men and women in education in recent years. PAMI women, including Bedouin women, living in more remote localities have increased access to HE as a result of the broader geographical distribution of teacher-education colleges in recent years, including the opening of PAMI teacher-education colleges such as Al Qasimi, Sakhnin, and the Arab College in Haifa, and preparatory courses for PAMI students in multicultural colleges such as David Yellin College and Ahva College, along with a special stream Palestinian Arab teacher-training course in Beit Berl College (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b).

Data from 2009 show no significant differences in the choice of departments of study at the universities by female and male PAMI students. Approximately one quarter of both female and male PAMI students chose to study social sciences, although female students tended to prefer to study the humanities in Israeli universities. Only 3.8% of female PAMI students chose to study engineering and planning in the academic year 2008–2009, and only 2.5% chose to study medicine (CBS, 2010). In recent years, female PAMI students have tended to opt for paramedical disciplines and there has been a decline in the study of law (Arar & Mustafa, 2009). Many PAMI women are motivated to study education since working in schools enables them to work close to home. Thus a high percentage of PAMI women academics work in the PAMI education system (38%) and in the PAMI local authorities' social services departments (19%) (ibid.).

The Contribution of HE to the Culture of Excellence among PAMI Female Students

The campus is the first place where the PAMI student meets and communicates with the Jewish student on a daily basis and in different circles. Before entering HE, most PAMI citizens live in geographic spaces separate from those inhabited by Jewish citizens and each group practices different lifestyles, stemming from different historical and cultural sources and narratives that help to maintain antagonism between the two groups.

Some scholars consider that the transition of PAMI students from the Palestinian village or city to the largely Western and Jewish university is a kind of cultural migration (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Weiner-Levi, 2008). Some describe the intercultural encounter on the university campuses as a type of culture shock and argue that this encounter has implications for PAMI students' identity-formation process, leading them to reexamine former norms and practices and, in some cases, to assimilate new norms and practices that they learn in the university (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007).

Identities are formed in the academic space by being exposed to each other's cultures, and through intellectual insights from academic study (Makkawi, 2002). An academic identity is formed, and new circles of association open up. In forming their personal identities, PAMI students sometimes find it difficult to synthesize their national, religious, civilian, gender, income, and collective identities, which are largely overshadowed in Israel by the segregationist distinction between "us" and "them." Yet in the HEI, the student begins to reflect on and to recognize their self through the encounter with others, and they develop a new lifestyle through this encounter (Lucey, 2003).

As we found in our interviews of PAMI students, the contents of academic courses also affect the development of the student's self-concept. For example, Bisan (all names of students cited here have been changed to protect identity) described how her experiences in college raised many questions in relation to her sense of belonging and identity:

> A course that I attended relating to relationships between Arabs and Jews, evoked many questions, such as who I am? Where I am? I have always questioned my feelings of affiliation, but in the university these questions were sharpened, I never felt that I really belonged to the State of Israel, although I have an affinity with my land and my country, I also don't feel that the symbols of the state belong to me. Education has increased my questions, and now I am more aware of my lack of clarity concerning my identity.

Bisan explained how the university experience had stimulated her search for identity and belonging on the one hand, and also described how it had helped her to begin to take a leadership role, actively criticizing PAMI society and her first circle of belonging.

Bayan, a second degree student of educational counseling at the University of Tel Aviv felt that university education had played an important role in determining her relationships with the "other":

> Education was significant in giving me self-confidence, in addition to a balanced definition of my Arab Muslim identity, as a Palestinian who lives in

> Israel, and does not receive full rights as a citizen, I feel that I lack a sense of belonging. I studied for my first degree in a college, where we couldn't express ourselves, the lecturers were the only source of knowledge. Palestinian Arab lecturers are always restricted by political concerns [in Israel], and they only see their role as a teacher; they do not help me to recognize the self I have and my personal, social, and national identity. However, the university experience gave me this opportunity [to explore these matters] and I become an ambassador for my culture and I am really proud of that.

Suhad (student of Social Affairs at the Hebrew University), clearly indicated that HE had assisted her in the process of searching for and building her self-image. She described the change that she underwent after moving from her village to the Hebrew University where she is now studying:

> I always felt that I would experience an important and positive leap forward in all aspects of my life, a personal leap forward. I work hard on myself to find the answers that I need, to feel that I am different and unique and that there is a legitimate space and presence for my differences. Life is not a steady path. Before I studied in HE, I saw life as only black and white, this balance changed seriously after a lot of questions, and I gained an inner satisfaction because I began to deal with reality from a more precise viewpoint.

During this stage of self-revelation, experimenting with belonging in different student circles and analyzing their opinions, identity is constructed and reinforced (Perry, 2000). The university's ethos and the academic contents also impact on the student's selection of affiliations, as was explained by Najah, who is studying to attain her doctorate in teaching Arabic:

> When you study a language, you learn about different cultures and historical conceptions, and the language has a human dimension which exposes you to the values of the nation who speak it. Education has introduced me to the complexities faced by human cultures and the extent of our uninterrupted cultural continuity, described by Edward Said. Now, I feel that I have a presence, value and opinions, people ask for my opinion in many situations. University has helped me to know more about myself.

The PAMI community, particularly in Israel has undergone transition and transformation for several decades in numerous aspects (cultural, social, political, etc.). This is a transition from a traditional "collectivist" rural society, with a narrow rural culture to a more individualist lifestyle (Arar, 2011). We found that one of the influences of HE on identity formation is that it stimulates greater awareness of the environment and social issues, inspiring some students to take an active role in their community, either

on the university campus itself, or after returning to their home community (Barnett, 1990).

The transition of PAMI society to a more modern culture is accelerated by the fact that education plays a significant part in extricating the PAMI from marginalization, and constitutes a lever for personal and social advancement (Abu-Asbeh, 2007), enhancing graduates' understanding of technology and allowing them to experience a more modern lifestyle and improving their understanding of the faults in contemporary social systems. Despite the gap that remains between the Palestinian village lifestyle and the weak, largely ignored Palestinian economy and the dominant, stronger Israeli economy, there is the beginning of a shift to engagement between these two worlds, largely as a result of HE (Golan-Agnon, 2006).

Research indicates the important role played by HE and university experience in the development of PAMI social, political, and cultural thought and activity (Makawi, 2002). Very few studies have investigated the role of HE as a tool, not only to receive knowledge, but primarily as a developmental stage and knowledge source for the formation of PAMI collective and individual identity and to raise awareness of their collective rights. On the academic campus and in lectures, the student gleans new scientific and social knowledge and learns about the culture and national identity and aspirations of the "other." The juxtaposition of this knowledge with awareness of their own culture and national identity and aspirations, generates a reexamination of past norms and practices as part of their individual and group identity development process (Arar, 2011).

In contrast to many minorities around the world, the PAMI are not a minority of immigrants but an indigenous minority of natives. As noted in chapter 1, the PAMI contend with a constant identity conflict as citizens of a state that is officially defined as a Jewish state (Rouhana, 1997) and their identity is formed with many different components—ethnic, national, religious, and citizenship. The PAMI student comes to the corridors of the university from within these different circles of identity. Experiences on the campus act as a comprehensive, all-encompassing academic and social experience. The student encounters courses relating to foreign cultures and lifestyles taught in a foreign language that may enhance their feelings of isolation and at other times may influence their own identity-formation processes. Kogan (2000) suggests three levels at which an individual's identity is formed: (1) the unique history and factors relating to an individual's striving to attain recognition, security, and esteem; (2) the identity "embedded within communities and institutions which have their own languages, conceptual structures, history, traditions, myths, values, practices and achieved goods" (p. 210); and (3) the notion of professional identity that is both individual and social and brings together individual

values and personal social commitments and roles derived from communities and institutions. The knowledge gained in the new campus is delivered in scientific format and the academic disciplines are highly structured to meet professional standards in accord with powerful controlling ideologies. The acquisition of this type of knowledge from the academic realm, including the adoption of scientific and explorative methods of investigation, forms what is known as an "academic identity." However, this new knowledge may resonate differently for PAMI students, since the contents often reflects an "enlisted" Zionist narrative, confronting them with a foreign and unwelcome political reality (Bourdieu, 1988).

Upon graduation from HEI, PAMI students may feel that they have a social role entrusted to them when they return to their village or town, or they may integrate within the majority dominant culture, where they may be isolated or adopt a marginal role. Alternatively, they may participate in the competitive scramble for limited vacant posts in local governments and municipalities, yet fail to use their newly acquired knowledge to motivate their society toward socioeconomic progress and cultural reform (Arar, 2011). As part of an intellectual academic community, graduates have a potential role within their society of origin, and they can contribute knowledge, insights, and inspiration in political, cultural, social, and economic domains as part of an enlightening influence. This is especially relevant in light of the trials and difficulties of the PAMI population in the Israeli state (Haidar, 2009).

A recent trend in the last two decades has been the integration of many PAMI graduates in teaching and research work in Palestinian and Israeli academic colleges, especially in light of the restricted intake of PAMI academic staff in Israeli universities. This formation of an academic elite has implications for the cultural and political future of PAMI society, facilitating and motivating the new academics to conduct research and contribute to the construction of knowledge in fields relevant to PAMI society (Arar, 2011), while either contributing to or questioning existing trends in Israeli academic and cultural literature. These academics are increasingly exhibiting their ability to investigate and point out the needs of PAMI society and to contribute to the development of various academic areas (e.g., medicine). Since few PAMI HEI graduates are accepted to work in Israel's HEI (approximately 2% of faculty staff in all HE institutions), there seems to be justification to open independent PAMI HEI, including universities.

Despite the encouraging data presented above indicating that there is a steady increase in the percentage of PAMI students who tread the corridors of universities and other HEI in Israel, the rate of rejection of PAMI candidates remains constant at almost 40% of those who apply to study and meet the basic admission conditions (Ghara, 2013). This drives many

PAMI students to pursue HE in countries outside the Israeli space, in European countries (e.g., Germany, Italy, Greece, Romania); in increasing numbers in Jordanian universities (according to our statistics in 2009, 5,400 students were studying in Jordan) (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010); and in Turkey and universities such as the American University in Jenin within the Palestinian territories (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). A special study on this subject is provided in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that PAMI students who find their way to HEI acquire important personal resources and increase their chances of integration into the wider community in Israel. They are able to form a bridge between their home community and the wider community through two-way communication: assimilating new scientific knowledge into their culture, acting as agents of change, and transferring new concepts to their community. There is no doubt that HE enables the student to form a new academic identity, increasing their ability to communicate with and deal with the "other." HE equips students with professional skills and acts as a tool to enable them to climb the socioeconomic ladder. They also act as ambassadors representing their community in the surrounding society. The PAMI graduates have the ability and knowledge to lead and to contribute to the formulation of priorities for their community and Israeli government policy and to help to achieve them (Lucey, 2003). For some students, HE inspires them to contribute services to their community, as we will explore in greater depth in Chapter 5.

As we saw, despite the challenges that PAMI students encounter in Israeli HEI, Israeli society is continually developing and this is evident in changes in the characteristics of HE and the rewards for acquisition of HE. The challenges that PAMI students face in Israel have led many of them to choose an alternative, parallel route to HE in foreign lands. This route has its own particular characteristics that we now describe in Chapter 4.

4

Higher Education Abroad: The Case of the PAMI

Introduction

The issue of migration of ethnic minority students for academic purposes has received scant attention in sociological and geographical research (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Collins, 2010). However, previous studies have shown that there is a direct correlation between discrimination, ineffective policies concerning the integration of minorities, and migration of students from ethnic minorities to study in other states (Branch, 2001; Connor, 2004; Docquier & Rapoport, 2003; Siddle, 2000).

Students' temporary migration or geographic mobility in order to acquire higher education (HE) is not a new phenomenon (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Nevertheless, it seems that the dynamics of the "global village" have empowered this phenomenon (Kenway & Bullen, 2008). In 2007, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reported that 2.7 million students studied outside the borders of their home countries; this was an increase of 5% from 2004 (OECD, 2007). Like permanent migration, temporary migration for the purpose of HE is more widespread among ethnic minorities who are susceptible to discrimination and exclusionary government policies in their countries of origin (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Connor, 2004; Sadeghi, 2008). Studies have shown that even when minority students migrate to study outside their home states, they often remain at the margins of society in the foreign campus and the host countries (Brooks & Waters, 2009). In their discussion of the current geographic mobility of young people, Dolby and Rizvi (2008) distinguished between three categories of mobile students: (1) those who move through the world with ease and by choice, typically those of dual nationality; (2) those who move under constrained

circumstances to escape political repression or because their parents seek better employment opportunities; and (3) those from a growing category of mobile youth, who seek a better education, and create new networks and circuits of identity. Both the second and third categories can be considered relevant to the PAMI, as explained below.

Theories dealing with the phenomenon of migration to acquire HE abroad assert that this type of migration is influenced by "push" and "pull" factors, the former produced by the country of origin and the latter by the host state (Siddle, 2000). "Push" factors are conditions in the country of origin that drive residents to leave their home country and move to a foreign state that "pulls" them due to historic, colonial, or cultural ties, or for financial, geographic, or political reasons. Migration theories note the tension caused by these two factors and the difficulties encountered by migrants, such as the need to cope with different languages and cultures, geographical distance from the country of origin, financial costs, and so on (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Siddle, 2000).

Extensive literature has examined the choice of studying abroad made by different students, especially ethnic minority members, in various contexts (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011; Brooks & Waters, 2009; Connor, 2004; Croll, 2009; Docquier & Rapoport, 2003; Reay, David, & Ball, 2005; Siddle, 2000). It has been found that minority groups, and as a case in point PAMI students, see HE as a tool for social mobility and to improve coexistence (Ball, Reay, & David, 2002; Bowl, 2001; Brooks & Waters, 2011; Heller, 2001; Iannelli, 2007). Nevertheless, there has been little research concerning specific constraints that shape the choice to study abroad among minorities in general, let alone in an indigenous national minority such as the PAMI (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010).

The Case of PAMI Students Studying Abroad

For PAMI students, both internal and international mobility are characterized by movement from predominantly rural to urban areas. PAMI students who study in Israeli universities may have a similar citizenship to the other students in these universities, but they can be considered internal migrants since they move to a cultural environment that differs from their own linguistically and by nationality, and one that has different norms and values (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011).

PAMI students face more difficulties in Israeli higher education institutions (HEI) than the Jewish students: (1) rejection rates for PAMI applicants to Israeli universities are high; (2) once accepted for an academic course, PAMI students find it harder to graduate and hence have a high

dropout rate (Al-Haj, 2003b); (3) certain prestigious disciplines (e.g., economics, computer science, business administration) may not be as attractive to PAMI students as to the Jewish students (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010) since these disciplines qualify students for jobs that are mainly within the public sector or private Jewish firms and corporations in which PAMI students find it difficult to integrate, especially jobs requiring a high-level security clearance (Haidar, 2009); this is elucidated in greater detail in Chapter 6. Thus, PAMI students tend to prefer disciplines that provide them with an independent profession or will qualify them for jobs within the PAMI community, and this limits the pool of attractive and available disciplines that they can consider (Al-Haj, 2003b; Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). This makes the search for alternatives to the Israeli HEI more urgent, as noted in previous chapters.

It might be assumed that PAMI students would prefer to study in Arab states such as Jordan because these offer a similar ideological and cultural milieu to their own. However, throughout the world it has been demonstrated that practical considerations are primary motives when students choose the venue for their HE (Croll, 2009; David, 2007; Gorard, 2008). In this context, it has also been shown that there is a correlation between ethnic minority members' temporary migration for HE and improvement of their subsequent career potential and socioeconomic mobility (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Brooks & Waters, 2011). Like members of other ethnic minority groups, when PAMI students migrate for revenue benefits they primarily consider the availability of employment opportunities in local markets both during their studies in the target country and upon their return to Israel (Brooks & Waters, 2009; Modood, 2006; Tripcony, 1999).

Discussion concerning the migration of the PAMI usually relates to internal migration within Israel, mainly moving from villages and the countryside to large towns, whether these are purely Palestinian populated or mixed (Palestinian-Jewish) (Khamaise, 2013). There is also another phase to this migration—PAMI students' migration from Israel. This often includes graduates who migrate to East Jerusalem and other towns in the regions governed by the Palestinian Authority (PA) to join the universities there as lecturers and professors, or those who work in those regions as lawyers, engineers, physicians, and choose other independent careers (Abo-Tabickh, 2010; Hirzallah-Masri, 2004).

There is a new trend of migration which began early in the 1970s and increased dramatically toward the end of the previous century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, namely the migration or movement of PAMI students to foreign states for the specific purpose of acquiring HE. This provisional relocation of PAMI students to target states outside the country where they were born and raised can be considered as a

circular migration. It is classified in the relevant literature as "temporary migration," indicating that students spend a certain period of time in the target country to acquire HE and then they return to their homeland.

The motivations for the temporary migration and geographical mobility of PAMI students and graduates from Israel to further their education differ from the motivations of other international students moving from developed countries to study abroad, but are more similar to the motivations of students from other minorities, marginalized by the majority in their home country. This phenomenon therefore warrants profound and comprehensive research to clarify its unique characteristics and the particular motivations that prompt this mobility. As occurs in any other case of students' temporary migration for HE, PAMI students are motivated to search for their education outside Israel by push factors in their own country and attractive or pull factors in the destination states. They are pushed by difficulties involved in access to HEI in their own country and limited opportunities to study and progress, and have to cope with restricted employment opportunities on completing their studies. On the other hand, pull factors that tempt them to move to other states include easier access to HE, a wide range of opportunities to complete studies in a variety of disciplines, opportunities to work and finance themselves during studies, and offers of financial assistance and increased probability for future employment prospects (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013b).

An examination of PAMI students' considerations, preferences, and attitudes concerning HE can prove helpful. First, it can pinpoint the difficulties PAMI students face when applying for access to HE in Israel. Second, the clarification of PAMI students' attitudes toward foreign and Israeli HE systems and their academic preferences can help expose sociocultural influences that shape these preferences, and may indicate ways to improve their access to and success in Israel's HE institutions.

Palestinian Arab Students' Studies Abroad Before 1948

Palestinian Arab students traveled abroad for HE long before the establishment of Israel, and this phenomenon was rooted in Arab and Islamic traditions. Already during Ottoman rule, Palestinian students, who belonged to well-to-do families, were sent to study in neighboring countries at prestigious institutions such as the Beirut University in Lebanon, the historic al-Azhar University in Cairo, or Dar al-Fonoon University in Istanbul. A few even traveled to Paris, France, to further their education. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the imposition of the British mandate for Palestine between the years 1920 and 1948 created difficulties for Palestinian students seeking to continue their university education

due to the absence of local universities, suspension of HE in Istanbul, and the marginalization policy which the Palestinian people suffered under the British mandate. In view of these circumstances, Palestinian students began to head for the American University in Beirut, al-Azhar University, and Dar al-'Ulum in Cairo. In the academic year 1928–1929, it was noted that 91 Palestinian students were studying abroad; most of them were studying humanities disciplines and literature, while the rest chose to specialize in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. About 35% of the Palestinian students were Christians, and nearly less than half were female students (Al-Haj, 2006; Mustafa, 2006).

PAMI Students' Studying Abroad Since 1948

In 1948, the number of Palestinian students who studied abroad was nearly 1,352 students, 500 of them studied in Beirut universities, 107 in UK universities, 435 in US universities, 112 at al-Azhar University, 147 at Cairo University, and 51 students at King Farouq University in Egypt (Mustafa, 2006; Nakhleh, 1983). In addition to studying abroad, Palestinian Arab students studied in teacher-education colleges and institutes in Palestine, mainly the Palestinian College in Jerusalem, the women's Teacher Training College in Jerusalem, Jerusalem Institute of Law, and the Khadouri Institute in Tulkarm (Mustafa, 2006; Tibawi, 1956).

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and during the enforcement of military rule on the PAMI from 1948 to 1966, PAMI students who became Israeli citizens were not allowed to travel to Arab countries to continue their HE. As a result, in the academic year 1963–1964, about 70 PAMI students traveled to acquire their HE from universities in the United States (Sariya, 1973). Toward the end of the military regime and after the removal of restrictions of movement and travel which were imposed on the PAMI, there was a gradual increase in PAMI students

Table 4.1 Distribution of Israeli Students in Selected OECD Countries in 2011

Country	No. of Israeli students (PAMI and Jews) studying in OECD countries
United States	2,412
Italy	1,619
Germany	1,533
Canada	189
United Kingdom	508

Source: UNESCO (2012).

traveling to obtain HE abroad, so that by 2012 33% of all PAMI students acquiring HE were studying outside Israel. See data in Table 4.1 (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

Today it is difficult to obtain exact data concerning the numbers of PAMI students who study outside Israel, due to three main reasons:

1. PAMI students, who study abroad, can be categorized as "Israeli" students, and therefore it is quite difficult to distinguish between Palestinian and Jewish students in official statistics. Official data provided by international organizations, such as OECD, UNESCO, or HE institutions in the countries where PAMI students receive their education supply data on Israeli students, but does not distinguish between PAMI and Jewish students from Israel, and therefore PAMI students are not categorized according to their nationality.
2. It is not possible to distinguish whether statistics relating to PAMI students traveling abroad relate only to those who are traveling for HE or for other purposes such as employment.
3. It was also difficult to obtain accurate data for our research from official Israeli institutions, mainly the Israeli Ministry of Interior, because apart from selected data published by government agencies (such as the Central Bureau of Statistics), very complicated arrangements and approvals were required to access particular detailed data which distinguishes between students on the basis of nationality.

In order to explain the significant phenomenon of PAMI students' studies abroad it is very important here to highlight the differences between the unique features of PAMI students and Jewish students from Israel. Although these two groups are both Israeli citizens, they essentially have different motives, choices, and aspirations due to their different backgrounds and potential for future integration into the Israeli labor market.

Recent official data issued by Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in 2013, show that 18,000 Israeli students (Jews and PAMI) studied abroad in 2012 (CBS, 2013), compared to 13,858 in 2011 (UNESCO, 2012). About 12,300 Israeli students study in OECD countries, amounting to 0.9% of the total foreign students in these countries (OECD, 2013). The percentage of Israeli students in Hungary and Italy has increased in recent years, so that by 2011 the percentage of the Israeli students in Hungarian universities was about 4.8% of all foreign students, and in Italy, Israelis constituted 2.2% of all foreign students. According to OECD data, large numbers of students from Israel travel annually to the OECD counties to study medicine. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of Israeli students studying in some OECD countries in 2011.

Students from Israel study in small numbers in other countries all over the world (UNESCO, 2012). Official international sources indicate that half of the students from Israel study in non-OECD countries, mainly the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and these were nearly 17% of the total students from Israel who study abroad. These students can definitely be identified as PAMI students, as Israeli Jewish students do not usually study in Arab countries (OECD, 2012). Thus, in 2011, 3,060 (PAMI) students from Israel studied in Jordan.

As already noted in previous chapters, like minority members in many other countries (Connor, 2004; Modood, 2006), PAMI students usually prefer to study prestigious disciplines like medical and paramedical disciplines (such as physiotherapy, optometry, speech therapy) or veterinary medicine, and they seek higher university degrees abroad, especially master's and doctorate degrees in Arabic language, and in the Islamic religion (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). Jewish students from Israel tend to travel abroad to study different subjects, such as business administration, economics, biotechnology, law, and computer engineering, and other subjects such as cookery (in France), various arts, architecture, and interior design (in Italy), Chinese medicine (in China), and theater and cinema (in the United States) (CBS, 2013).

Jewish students from Israel who study abroad are characterized by certain features that distinguish them from PAMI students studying abroad. Some of these features are:

1. There are certain countries which attract Jewish students from Israel: the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Spain, Romania, Hungary, Germany, and the Netherlands.
2. Most Jewish students who travel abroad for HE are second- and third-generation Israelis whose families originated from Europe, Australia, and North America.
3. Jewish students from Israel mostly have different motivations to study abroad than PAMI students. Jewish students often seek to escape from the burden and lack of freedom involved in compulsory military service and reserve duty. Moreover, they primarily seek prestigious elite universities, particularly in the United States. That is why a high percentage of the Jewish Israeli students abroad can be found in the universities of Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, and New York.
4. Israeli Jewish students usually begin undergraduate studies abroad between the ages of 22 and 26, after they complete military service.
5. Nearly 40% of Israeli Jewish students studying abroad study postgraduate degrees—master's degrees and doctorates—mainly in the United States and the United Kingdom.

6. Many Jewish students from Israel studying abroad receive encouragement, financial support, and counseling from supporting Jewish organizations and grants in the host countries.
7. Jewish students from Israel seek HE in countries where teaching is provided in English. In addition to the Anglophone countries, they prefer to study in East European countries, such as Bulgaria, whose universities provide teaching in English (Western European countries use their relevant official languages in teaching).
8. Restricted budgets for natural sciences and technology in Israeli universities along with attractive scholarships from foreign countries' universities encourage Israel Jewish students to study these subjects abroad, as in the United States, allowing them to pursue global careers. (Among the Nobel Prize winners in science are Jewish students who studied in American universities and stayed there due to the abundant funding and the availability of scientific infrastructure).
9. Jewish graduates from humanities faculties of Israeli universities prefer to continue their HE abroad due to difficulties involved in obtaining scholarships and in career development in Israel, and aim to gain postgraduate qualifications abroad that can help them to attain senior posts in Israeli universities.
10. Although Jewish students from Israel have in the past preferred to receive HE in US universities, data provided by OECD indicates that Jewish students from Israel have recently tended to prefer geographically closer countries in Western Europe. (CBS, 2013)

Against this background, we now describe the distinctive motives and the constrained choices of PAMI students who decide to study outside Israel.

The Rationale for PAMI Studying Abroad

PAMI students who study abroad are characterized by special features which make them differ from other international students. The unique push and pull factors that lead them to study outside Israel are as follows (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013b; Haj-Yehia, 2002; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007):

1. Highly restrictive and selective admission procedures in Israeli universities, especially for disciplines that qualify students for the free professions such as medicine, law, paramedicine, pharmacology, and dentistry, make it very difficult for students to access these studies in Israel. Admission to these faculties depends on high average

matriculation (Bagrut) grades and excellent achievements in the psychometric test, which the Council of Higher Education (CHE) has noted as an impediment for PAMI students and students from other marginalized groups.
2. Other structural impediments set by the Israeli HEI that hinder access for PAMI students include a minimum age (20 years) for commencement of studies in medical and paramedical studies. This delays the commencement of studies immediately after school for the PAMI, who unlike the Jews, are not drafted into military service.
3. Even when PAMI students meet the admission requirements and attain high scores in the matriculation and psychometric tests, they still have to overcome exacting acceptance interviews which are mostly conducted in Hebrew and English and often relate to contents and procedures unfamiliar to the PAMI.
4. Some PAMI students feel that studying abroad allows them freedom from mobility restrictions by Israeli authorities. Further, in Israeli universities, PAMI students often have a sense of alienation and difficulty because they are a minority.
5. There is a lack of scholarships, counseling, and guidance for HE in PAMI society, whether at undergraduate or postgraduate HEI. HE guidance policy concerning access to foreign universities is conducted by mediation offices that coordinate with the universities outside the country, and these offices mostly work on a commercial basis rather than adopting an educational or counseling approach (Mediation Office for Jordanian Universities, 2010).

There are also pull factors which attract and encourage PAMI students and other foreign students to study abroad. The especially attractive factors for PAMI students include (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013a; Haj-Yehia, 2002; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007):

1. PAMI students search for prestigious universities where they can obtain postgraduate diplomas that will equip and qualify them for the Israeli labor market, particularly in academia. Access to doctorate and postdoctorate certificates from highly reputable universities is a decisive, attractive factor since these degrees improve their prospects in the Israeli labor market.
2. PAMI students are now able to study in the universities of Islamic countries, such as Jordan, the PA territories, and Turkey, where a common culture, the Arabic language, and geographical proximity make their stay familiar and enjoyable.

3. Foreign students, including PAMI, are sometimes eligible for scholarships, mainly from the United States, Germany, and Jordan (royal grants).
4. HE abroad can satisfy the students' curiosity to know new cultures, acquire new languages, and master global professions.
5. PAMI students are often encouraged to study at universities in other countries, where admission requirements for medical and paramedical studies may be easier than in Israel, despite cultural and language barriers and a different cost of living in these countries, such as Moldova, Romania, and Germany.

In the main, PAMI students study medicine, pharmacy, and paramedicine, as well as social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences outside the country in order to obtain master's and doctorate degrees. While PAMI students from Israel tend to prefer to study medicine abroad, Jewish Israeli students tend to study scientific and futuristic technologies, with up to 22% of Israeli Jewish students preferring to study medicine abroad. It is noted that PAMI students' (both male and female) preferences for medical studies abroad is voiced even during their secondary school studies. These aspirations for a "medical" career are not linked to any career guidance or counseling, but they almost certainly stem from what are recognized as "minority higher education motivations" for socially respected, economically viable, and independent careers. In fact, it is an individual as also a family dream that they wish to realize, for medicine is still a highly esteemed profession (Haj-Yehia, 2002; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007).

An additional reason for PAMI students' preference for medicine is that there is a shortage of doctors in Israel, and a doctorate in medicine may give them the opportunity to integrate easily into the Israeli Ministry of Health jobs despite the Israeli government's hard-to-pass entrance test and a recent official statement proposing to "import" doctors from India due to the severe shortage of doctors in the country. It is clear that consistent shortages of pharmacists and doctors in Israel, since the 1990s, have been a primary motivator for PAMI students to study these professions in universities abroad. Structural impediments and restrictive admission policies set by Israeli universities teaching pharmacology, such as the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Ben Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba, mean that only 140 students (Jewish and PAMI) graduate each year from the colleges of pharmacy. Since this number cannot meet local market demands, PAMI students have been motivated to travel abroad to countries like Jordan, Romania, and Moldova to study this subject (Arlosoroff, 2011; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Three examples verify PAMI students' preference for studies of medical and paramedical professions:

1. In the academic year 2007–2008, 932 PAMI students (males and females) studied at the University of Science and Technology in Irbid, Jordan, of which 281 were studying medicine and dentistry (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2009).
2. In the academic year 2006–2007, of the 387 PAMI students (male and female) who studied in Romanian universities, most were studying medicine, dentistry, and pharmacology (Haj-Yehia & Ya'kobi, 2007).
3. In the same academic year (2006–2007), 32.1% of the PAMI students studying in German universities were studying medicine and dentistry (Haj-Yehia, 2007b).

In parallel, a considerable number of PAMI students studied these disciplines in Israeli universities after overcoming the various impediments with hard work, persistence, and excellence.

Nearly 1,400 Israelis (PAMI and Israeli Jews) complete their studies in medicine each year, approximately 400 of them graduating from European faculties of medicine (Amstrademski, 2014). Recent data from the Ministry of Health show that 88% of those graduating from foreign universities and who passed the state medical practice test were graduates of Jordanian universities, while the percentage of medicine graduates from Moldova was 11% (Israel Ministry of Health, 2012).

In the past ten years, there has been an increase in the number of PAMI students studying pharmacology in universities in Israel or abroad. About 35% of these students are enrolled in Israeli schools of pharmacy, while 45% of them study in Jordanian universities (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007). In addition, a large number of PAMI students study pharmacology in universities in European countries such as Romania and Germany. This large number of PAMI pharmacology graduates has flooded the local labor market with a "tsunami" of male and female professionals to the extent that for the first time there is now a surplus of candidates for a limited number of jobs in this market sector in Israel.

According to the Ministry of Health data, the number of qualified pharmacists in 2009 was nearly 7,272, representing a 28% increase from 2000. In 2009, the Ministry of Health issued about 508 licenses to new pharmacists, the largest number of licenses ever given over the previous five years. It is noteworthy that 55% of these pharmacist licenses were given to PAMI graduates from Jordanian schools of pharmacy, while only 20% of them were given to graduates of Israeli universities. This means that the number

of pharmacology students studying abroad was larger than those studying in Israeli schools of pharmacy. In 2009, there were 309 licensed PAMI pharmacists in Israel out a total of 500 licensed pharmacists and 300 of the PAMI pharmacists were graduates of Jordanian universities (Arlosoroff, 2011; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

The Phenomenon of Increasing Numbers of PAMI Students Studying Abroad

Nakhleh (1979) noted that while 2,000 PAMI students studied in Israel universities in the 1970s, a further 800 to 1,000 were studying abroad. Most of them were studying medicine, engineering, and natural sciences. Nakhleh adds that nearly 300 of the 2,000 students received scholarships from the Israeli Communist Party. The first destination for PAMI students beyond Israel in the 1970s was the socialist states of the then USSR. These were among the first HEI to embrace foreign students on a large scale, especially students from Africa, Asia, and the Arab states (including the PAMI). Many PAMI students received scholarships from states of the former USSR with the help of the Israeli Communist Party (Haj-Yehia, 2002). According to Al-Haj (1996), the Israeli Communist Party then granted between 50 and 60 annual scholarships to PAMI students to complete their HE in the states of the then USSR. These states offered a low cost of living and relatively easy HE admission requirements. During the years 1986–1996, 1,096 PAMI students completed their university studies in socialist countries. The data provided by Al-Haj (1996) indicate that 60% of those students studied medicine and 20% studied various specializations of engineering, and the rest studied law, political science, and economics. As a result of these studies in the then USSR, today more than 60% of Palestinian (from Israel and PA territories) health and medicine professionals, and a large number of Palestinian lecturers in the Palestinian universities, are graduates from former Soviet Union universities. Today, the Russian Federation still grants scholarships to foreign students. Out of 10,000 scholarships allocated by the Russian government to foreign students, 150 are offered to the Palestinian Arab students inside and outside Israel. Despite recent economic changes in Russia and widespread stereotypical views about bribery and the "purchase of certificates" along with nonrecognition of Russian certificates, there has recently been a revival in the number of Palestinian (including PAMI) students studying at Russian universities (Tahqiqat, 2012).

After 1991, due to the collapse of the USSR, the granting of scholarships for East European universities was suspended and PAMI students

no longer traveled to these countries to study. Conversely, the demand for HE in Western countries increased, mainly in the former Republic of West Germany (Haj-Yehia, 2002). Many PAMI students began to travel to Western Europe, especially Germany, Italy, Greece, and the United Kingdom for HE. The United States continued to welcome excelling students who received scholarships for doctorate degree studies in its universities. In Western Europe, as a second preference after Germany, early in the 1990s, there was a strong demand for Romanian universities, and it was reported that there were 282 PAMI students at the universities of Iasi, Romania. In, 2006 approximately 387 PAMI students studied in Romanian universities (Haj-Yehia & Ya'kobi, 2007), and by 2012 the number of PAMI students in Romanian universities was closer to 600 (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

Recently, a large number of PAMI students (1,650) have tended to study medicine in other European countries, the target countries mainly being Moldova, Ukraine, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Turkey, and Poland (OECD, 2013). This trend is driven by the fact that the universities in these countries have easier admission procedures for studies in medicine, pharmacology, and paramedicine.

However, the most significant change in destination for PAMI students' studies abroad occurred in the late 1990s, following the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1995, when PAMI students were able to travel to Jordan and study in its universities and various academic institutions. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has now become the preferred destination for PAMI students. It has also become the target destination for Palestinian students from the Gulf States who desire to study free professions in its universities (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a, 2013b). Following renewed access to Jordan, from 2007, PAMI students also began to study at Palestinian universities in the regions governed by the PA and this has become an emerging phenomenon that continues to develop till date.

The data assembled in Table 4.2 was collected from reports of international organizations and statistics from Councils of Higher Education (CHE) in different countries, with the help of Arab and international student organizations and PAMI student organizations, and shows the distribution of the PAMI students who studied abroad in 2012. These data allow us to conclude that the number of PAMI students studying abroad grew to nearly 9,260 students in 2012—about 51% of all Israeli students abroad and about 29% of the total PAMI students studying in Israeli universities and colleges (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). Table 4.2 shows the PAMI students' preferred destinations for HE in 2012.

Table 4.2 Distribution of PAMI Students Studying Abroad by Destination in 2012

Country	No. of PAMI students studying in the country	%
Jordan	3,060	33
Palestine Authority	2,500	27
Moldova	1,650	17.8
Romania	600	6.5
Germany	550	6
Italy	400	4.3
Other countries	500	5.4
Total PAMI students studying abroad	9,260	

Sources: OECD (2013), CHE, Planning and Budgeting Committee (2013), Arar and Haj-Yehia (2013, p. 14), UNESCO (2012), CBS (2013).

According to data that we have collated from various sources (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b; CBS, 2013; Ghara, 2013; Haj-Yehia, 2013; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014, OECD, 2013) for the academic year 2011–2012, approximately 23% of PAMI students were studying abroad in that year (in the same year, 34% of PAMI students studied in Israeli universities, 9% in the Open University, 15% in academic colleges, and an additional 19% in teacher education colleges).

Today, additional countries are chosen by PAMI students for HE studies, but in fewer numbers. In recent years, Turkey has drawn the attention of PAMI students to its universities. To attract foreign students, including PAMI students, to its universities, Turkey has removed the obstacle of the requirement for the "Yös"[1] admission test for foreign students. In addition, Turkey attracts foreign students with the offer of scholarships from the Turkish Ministry of Education and financial support for housing costs; it remains to be seen whether these policies will attract more PAMI students (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). However, a new wave of PAMI mobility for HE has been observed during the last year, this time toward Armenia and Georgia which have opened their medical and technical colleges to PAMI students. To date we have no concrete data regarding the dimensions of this new phenomenon.

PAMI Women Studying Abroad

Female PAMI students are subject to distinctive pressures when they aspire to study HE, necessitating special consideration to help them realize their aspirations (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). Despite trends toward

modernization and liberalism, PAMI society largely maintains a conservative and patriarchal view of women's status (Arar, Shapira, Azaiza, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2013). Since the modern culture of Israeli campuses can be perceived as a threat to Islamic values concerning women, some families prevent their daughters from attending HEI in Israel or send them to study in institutions that are viewed as more appropriate for their daughters (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011; Erdreich, 2006). The woman's family often asserts pressure to ensure that the HEI that she attends is geographically close to home, partially because of anxiety concerning the sensitive issue of unisex dormitories. A similar phenomenon was reported with regard to Muslim women students in the United Kingdom and Iranian women in Canada (Reay et al., 2005; Sadeghi, 2008; Shiner & Modood, 2002).

As already noted in Chapter 3, some departments in Israeli universities require a minimum age of 20 for commencement of studies (e.g., in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem: nursing, social work, and occupational therapy). The aim of this regulation is to ensure that students are more mature. As already noted, this poses problems for PAMI women, who want to study before marriage and usually marry at a relatively young age (mean marriage age of the PAMI is 22.2, compared to 25.6 among Jewish women) (CBS, 2010). Despite their successful academic achievements, Muslim students often experience tension and a sense of alienation in European and US campuses where they encounter various negative perceptions of Islam and its religious practices (Sadeghi, 2008; Watson, Terrell, & Wright, 2002). They may find themselves in a constant struggle with fellow students and teachers, striving to correct their misconceptions (Peek, 2003). This is especially true for Muslim women because of their external appearance. Their religiously prescribed clothing immediately designates and marks them, in the eyes of prejudiced people, as part of a dark, backward, and repressive culture (Abu Lughod, 2002; Cole & Ahmadi, 2003; Modood, 2006; Sadeghi, 2008). Similar experiences were reported by PAMI Muslim women in Israeli campuses (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011).

The experience of female PAMI students who pursue HE abroad deserves special mention. Until recently, the number of female PAMI students who studied abroad was relatively small, due mainly to restrictive conservative cultural and religious customs and traditions prevalent in PAMI society. However, the possibility of studying in Jordanian and the Palestinian territories has afforded new avenues to PAMI women in universities with a more familiar and traditional atmosphere, and the number of PAMI women studying abroad has therefore increased. This is because these female students travel to and study in neighboring Arab countries with similar cultural, national, and religious norms and practices, where

the universities largely teach in Arabic. While PAMI women studying in Israel tend to opt for disciplines for which admission requirements are not too difficult, such as education, social sciences, and humanities, Jordanian and Palestinian universities have become a popular destination for many ambitious PAMI women, striving to study free professions subjects previously restricted to PAMI men (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2012). By traveling to study in Jordanian and Palestinian universities, PAMI women are also able to overcome the minimum age requirement for free professions in Israel. This is especially attractive to PAMI women undertaking these professions as they require long years of study, and because they would have to wait several years to gain admission to Israeli universities, a process that might clash with plans for early marriage (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2008).

In light of the above, it could be hypothesized that in response to questionnaires investigating PAMI students' motives for studying in Jordan or in Israel, PAMI women would give more weight to statements asking about their preference for studies in a Muslim–Arab context, as was indeed found in previous studies investigating the opinions of minority Muslim women studying in Western countries (Modood, 2006; Reay et al., 2005). However, in the research conducted by the authors (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013) this hypothesis was not confirmed. PAMI women generally gave greater emphasis to most items representing their motives in our questionnaire (that investigated motives for studying in Israel or Jordan) than men, regardless of the items' content, while the only significant difference between genders was that women were more indifferent than men to the preference for language of instruction. While PAMI women attribute much significance to studying in a safe environment that complies with their social norms (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011), just like the men, they still give ultimate importance to practical considerations, when debating where to study: Jordan or Israel. As noted above, the fact that they can study free professions immediately after high school in Jordan and in the PA territories empowers PAMI women, enabling them to improve their socioeconomic status without severely postponing their aspirations for marriage and a family. The consequent improvement of PAMI women's status in their society of origin resembles the improvement of women's status found among minority students in the United Kingdom, United States, and Canada following HE studies (Ball et al., 2002; Bowl, 2001; Modood, 2006; Sadeghi, 2008; Shiner & Modood, 2002) and may in the future lead to greater gender equality in their society (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011).

Although PAMI women travel abroad to study for postgraduate and doctorate degrees, mainly from US universities, they rarely travel to

American and European countries for undergraduate studies. Available research indicates that there are various reasons motivating this journey for higher degrees (Abo-Tabickh, 2010):

1. Promoting PAMI women's socioeconomic standing and reputation with prestigious postgraduate degrees.
2. Enabling PAMI women to attain suitable and profitable jobs, which contribute to their individual and familial financial and general wellbeing.
3. Facilitating the establishment of a nonofficial social network—what is called "chain migration" culture—whereby the women open the way for other women and men from their home society to migrate for further studies.
4. The phenomenon is facilitated when there are close family relatives outside the country who could support them when abroad.
5. Studying abroad often enables women to attain personal autonomy and greater freedom.
6. Availability of scholarships acts as an encouraging factor to study abroad.

The ages of PAMI women postgraduate students studying abroad range from 25 to 46 years, and most are unmarried. Yet in some cases, PAMI female students accompany their husbands abroad, who are often traveling for the same goal. Undoubtedly, PAMI women studying postgraduate degrees abroad defy many cultural and social obstacles, assisted by geographical, economic, and social mobility. They are clearly looking for cultural and social independence when they are abroad. This appears to be a model that holds true for many Arab females migrating to different parts of the world in order to obtain HE (Abo-Tabickh, 2010).

Another investigation of PAMI women's migration for the purpose of postgraduate studies abroad pointed out additional motivations for their move: for example, the restriction of their freedom in the Israeli universities, failure to integrate them into the teaching staff, and their ongoing search for high-quality HE. PAMI women's migration for further education is generally a temporary migration. Most PAMI women students indicated that they would prefer to return home after completing their studies abroad, although a PAMI interviewee in one study claimed that a woman "would find it better to become a Western lady than a Palestinian Arab woman in Israel" (Ibrahim, 2010, p. 216). Despite their yearning to return home, this evidence reflects PAMI women's feelings of alienation due to policies of marginalization and discrimination which the PAMI endure in Israel.

PAMI Students Studying in Germany

Germany has one of the most advanced HE and research systems in the world. Nevertheless, for a long time it was unsuccessful in attracting foreign students because of the high level of competition with the strong academic programs of other countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. These latter countries utilize tools of globalization and mass media in order to transform HE into a competitive market sector and an important element in their economies. There is another reason behind Germany's inability to compete for foreign students: most German universities are state-owned and the state is the only funding authority responsible for HE. Despite the fact that the quality of Germany's universities for HE and scientific research is well recognized, the country gradually felt the negative consequences of competition in this market sector.

Nevertheless, since 2005, Germany has invested huge sums to turn itself into a competitive academic hub while other countries have been cutting back on education, and in recent years Germany has become the third preferred target country for HE for foreign students, after the United States and Australia. In Stuttgart University in northern Germany, for example, one in every five students is a foreign student (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2000–2013). In the academic year 2011–2012, nearly 194,312 foreign students enrolled in German universities, while nearly 7,787 foreign students studied in academic colleges, and about 2,481 foreign students studied in German colleges of arts. In the academic year 2012–2013, the number of foreign students in Germany reached 254,580, and foreign students amounted to 11.3% of all German university students, compared to 9.2% in the academic year 1998–1999 (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2000–2013), constituting about 6.3% of the total foreign students in the world (OECD, 2013). These percentages are fairly constant because German universities are, as previously mentioned, state-owned. Foreign students studying in German universities come from almost all parts of the world. In the academic year 2011–2012, China was ranked the first in the list of foreign students studying in Germany with about 23,883 students, while Russia held second place with about 10,401 students. Arab states "export" a large number of students to Germany; Morocco is ranked highest with about 4,860 students, while 1,440 Israeli students studied in German universities in the same year.

Several German organizations and institutions play a role in marketing German universities abroad in order to attract outstanding foreign students. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is one of the most famous of these organizations. In 2005, approximately 5,300 foreign students were enrolled by this organization, rising to 13,000 foreign students in 2008, distributed among 28 German HEI (Isserstedt, 2011).

As noted, Germany is ranked third in attracting foreign students after the United States and Canada, and it is the first among the non-Anglophonic countries (where English language is not the mother tongue) in attracting foreign students. Germany is also the country which attracts the highest number of foreign students in the EU. However, as we also noted above, it faces fierce competition in the world academic market in attracting foreign students (Altbach, 2006; Ertle, 2005; Isserstedt, 2011; Spiess & Wrohlich, 2010).

The popularity of Germany as a destination for PAMI students has altered over time. In the 1970s and early 1980s, a significant number of PAMI students studied in the universities and academic institutions of the Republic of West Germany, and this trend increased after the collapse of the USSR, when the strong flow of PAMI students to the communist bloc ebbed. Following the unification of East and West Germany in the early years of 1990s, the migration of PAMI students to Germany dropped for many reasons, but was renewed in the first decade of the twenty-first century, but although not in such large numbers as it used to be (Haj-Yehia, 2002).

It is difficult to certify the exact number of PAMI students, who studied in Germany in the past. It is also not possible to know the number of those studying at German universities and colleges today because there are no statistics that distinguish the national identities of Israeli students studying there, so that the statistics relate to both PAMI and Jewish students from Israel. The number of PAMI students in Germany can only be estimated from data from various sources: These include:

1. The German Federal Ministry of Education.
2. Various German scholarship funds which support PAMI students, especially PAMI graduates who are willing to continue their HE at German universities to obtain higher degrees, such as MA and PhD. The major German funds providing scholarships are: DAAD, Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AHF), and the Carl Duisburg Society (CDS).
3. Official data is provided by OECD and UNESCO through their annual reports on the number of foreign students in the world. As we previously mentioned, these data do not differentiate between PAMI and Jewish students so that they do not provide specific information on PAMI students from Israel.

These sources therefore cannot provide the exact number of PAMI students studying in Germany or in other countries in the West (Teschner, 2014). According to the German Federal Ministry of Education, only 379 Israeli students studied in German universities in 1975, but this rose to

nearly 1,670 Israeli (PAMI and Jewish) students who studied in German universities in 2000 (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, 2000–2013), and according to a statistical survey, most of them were PAMI students (Haj-Yehia, 2002). Several factors led to a reduction in the number of PAMI students in Germany from the 1990s until the early twenty-first century. These were:

1. The unification of East and West Germany led to a high cost of living in the new state, huge investments in German unity, and the emergence of the phenomenon of "hostility to foreigners," causing adverse effects on PAMI and other foreign students' willingness to travel to Germany.
2. PAMI students began to prefer other countries for HE over Germany, such as Jordan and Romania.
3. The opening of academic colleges in Israel gave PAMI students improved access to HE, allowing them the opportunity to study disciplines, such as law, engineering, and paramedical disciplines, which were previously difficult to access at Israeli universities due to tough admission requirements.

In 2000, the number of PAMI students who studied in Germany reached 1,000 out of 1,670 Israeli students studying there, and at that time Germany remained the primary destination for HE for PAMI students above all other foreign countries (Haj-Yehia, 2007b).

A statistical survey conducted in 2005 in the PAMI community allows us to estimate that the number of PAMI students from Israel who studied in Germany is very large, amounting to about 2,000 graduates in 2002 (Haj-Yehia, 2007b). This estimate is supported by data obtained from the German Embassy in Tel Aviv for the year 2002 that between 1,500 and 1,700 PAMI students studied in Germany and returned home (Haj-Yehia, 2002). According to official Israeli data, 10,400 Israeli students studied abroad in 2004, 66% of them in four countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy (The Knesset Official Website, 2007).

In 2012, there were 1,533 Israeli students (PAMI and Jews) studying in German universities (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2013). According to all the information we obtained and analyzed, it was clear that nearly 550 PAMI students were studying at German universities in 2012, representing 35.8% of all students from Israel studying in Germany in that year (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). The number of PAMI graduates from German universities is far larger than the number of PAMI graduates from other foreign states (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Today, there are a number of factors that attract foreign students, including the PAMI, to Germany (Haj-Yehia, 2002, 2007b; Isserstedt, 2011). First, the German universities' strong reputation for high-quality HE and scientific research; there are unique specializations in German universities, compared to other international universities, especially in the areas of natural and technological sciences, electrical engineering, computer engineering, mechanical engineering, and economics, all of which are attractive to foreign students in general. Second, German people are globally well known for their deep interest in learning, research accuracy, and perfection in work and production, and this feature encourages foreign students to study at German universities. Third, the tuition fees at German universities were and remain very inexpensive when compared to the high tuition fees in Anglophone countries (before the 1990s, and before the unification of both eastern and western parts of Germany, HE was even free of charge). Fourth, there are support programs available for foreign students studying at German universities, making pass results of foreign students the highest in the world. Germany's new "culture-welcome policy" for foreign students offers an increased number of scholarships and helps students to manage their personal affairs during their university studies through their "Wilkommen" reception centers. In addition, the German government strives to strengthen relations with foreign students so that they can become ambassadors for German scientific and cultural values in the future, and act as models to encourage other students to follow them to study in Germany (Altbach, 2011; Fallon, 2012; Hufner, 2002; Isserstedt, 2011). Overall, in Germany, foreign students learn German and become familiar with German culture and civilization.

Further motivation for Arab students choosing to study in Germany is due to Germany's favorable relations with the Arab world in the modern era. Another reason for Israeli students to favor studying in Germany, which emerged from research findings, was the Israeli students' belief that Germany would give them especially good consideration due to Germany's desire to compensate for Nazi crimes against the Jews during the Holocaust (Haj-Yehia, 2007b).

Although, as seen above, there have been fluctuations in the number of PAMI students studying in Germany, it still remains a preferable destination for the PAMI. In addition to the factors that pull foreign students to Germany in general, there are other factors specifically attractive for PAMI students (Haj-Yehia, 2002):

1. Easy processing arrangements for visas to Germany due to good Israeli–German relations. PAMI students are granted entry visas to Germany due to good relations between the two countries.

2. The special status of PAMI students in Germany on the grounds of historical events linking Germany and Israel (Mueller, 2011).
3. PAMI students are allowed to work while studying.
4. Geographical proximity to Israel.
5. Strong Arab–German relations, mainly with the Palestinian people who have been severely affected by German–Israeli events (ibid.).
6. Another pull factor for PAMI students is the fact that German universities' admission requirements are fairly easy, although some strict requirements have been imposed on some subjects of study in recent years due to high competition between foreign students for these disciplines.
7. Studies indicate that about 32.1% of PAMI students in Germany choose to study medicine and dentistry since, as noted above, these are the preferred disciplines for study among the PAMI. The next most popular discipline for PAMI studies in Germany is engineering. Paramedical and IT subjects introduced by German universities have especially drawn the attention of PAMI students. German universities are very attractive for Arab students in general and PAMI students in particular, mainly because of their proven skills and pioneering in the fields of medicine, engineering, and technology (Haj-Yehia, 2002).

Recent data show a noticeable increase in the number of students from Israel studying in Germany in recent years, perhaps indicating that Germany which was a traditional destination for PAMI students in the late 1970s and the 1980s continues to be popular with them (Haj-Yehia, 2007b). However, studying in Germany is not altogether easy. PAMI students learn English and Hebrew during their secondary education, in addition to their native Arabic. German constitutes a fourth language and is very difficult to learn. Another difficulty relates to differences in academic level and organization of the subjects of study and examinations, usually leading to an intense and crowded curriculum. There are also several differences between the German and Israeli education systems (ibid.).

Many foreign and PAMI students find it difficult to get assimilated within German society and culture. This also depends on the willingness of native Germans to interact with foreign students (Baron & Smith, 1987). Also, PAMI students from Israel try to find a balance between the openness and modernity they encounter during their stay in Germany and their desire to adhere to the traditions of their homeland.

There are an insufficient number of German institutions and cultural offices to provide information concerning life and culture in Germany for the PAMI in Israel, which means that students traveling to Germany lack

knowledge concerning Germany before they travel there. The opening of German language institutions in Israel could assist students to learn the language before they leave to study in Germany.

As noted, it is expected that German universities will again become a favorable destination for PAMI students from Israel in the near future, like the universities in Jordan and Moldova. But language will remain a most decisive factor in PAMI decision-making. PAMI students from Israel prefer to study in English, Hebrew, or Arabic, with which they have had at least some familiarity since childhood.

According to studies conducted by Haj-Yehia (2002, 2007b) on PAMI students graduating from German universities, they are dispersed between various German cities. Yet Berlin, the German capital, is the most attractive city for a large number of PAMI students because it has two large universities.

Studies investigating the motivation of PAMI students found that the majority of PAMI students in Germany chose to study there because of the availability of work and their ability to fund themselves during study in addition to scholarships granted by Germany (Haj-Yehia, 2007b; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). German law allows foreign students to work during their learning vacations. This law gives foreign students an opportunity to fund their university studies by themselves either partially or wholly, thus relieving their families from the burden of transferring monies to Germany.

PAMI students also believe that studying in Germany would give them the high professional skills they need in their branch of study, being influenced by the prevailing image that German society always aims for perfection and accuracy in all aspects of life. Additionally, PAMI graduates from German universities, who manage to gain profitable employment after their return home, gain social status and can serve as a model for young PAMI adults, especially high school students. However, recent unemployment among PAMI university graduates (including those from German universities) has tainted this outlook (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

To summarize: Undoubtedly, political factors also play a central role in the selection of Germany as a destination for HE, although this is an "underlying" factor and it does not directly affect PAMI students who study there. Germany has a history of good relations with the Arab world and the Middle East region. It also supports Palestinian Arabs through donations and grants and helps the PA to strengthen its economy. Despite the hard economic recession during the early twenty-first century, the widespread phenomenon of hostility to foreigners, and limited job opportunities for foreign students in factories and various services sector, PAMI students still have a positive image of Germany and continue to choose

to study at its universities though today they often depend on financial support from their family to do so unlike in the 1980s when German universities provided HE free of charge. Finally, Germany's leading role in modern Europe, which reflects its rich and diverse culture, philosophy, science, literature, and architecture always makes it a destination for foreign students in general and PAMI students in particular, who want to pursue HE and obtain highly respected academic degrees along with a taste of a new foreign culture.

PAMI Students in the United States

A small number of PAMI students select the United States as a destination for their HE, mainly in pursuit of postgraduate studies: master's, doctoral, and postdoctorate degrees. Most of these PAMI students receive scholarships, such as the Fulbright. Research has shown that PAMI students travel to study in the United States to develop themselves professionally, culturally, and socially, to improve their integration in the labor market, to be able to positively affect their community, and to improve their community's prestige. A study by Haj-Yehia (2012) of PAMI students studying advanced degrees in the United States found that PAMI lecturers chose to study at US universities to obtain PhDs because of the excellent academic reputation of US universities and the availability of scholarships. As Phil Baty, editor of Times Higher Education, noted: students "want to be sure that they have got a big global brand on their certificate that's going to be a passport to their future" (Duncan, 2015, p. 6). Since the average age of PAMI students in the United States is 28.2, these are adults who know what they need to achieve from their purposeful travel. According to research findings, PAMI students feel they are respected for their intellect in US universities; they are capable of independent thinking, forming independent opinions, and able to make professional decisions. Overall, they are aware of their status and how they are perceived in the Western society (Haj-Yehia, 2012; Shalabi, 2010).

In 2011, the number of students from Israel (Jewish and PAMI) studying in the United States was about 2,700 (OECD, 2012). According to the CHE in Israel, the United States has been the main destination for Jewish postgraduate students after undergraduate studies in Israeli universities (CHE in Israel, 2013). The United States is the known as the country of limitless potential. It is also considered one of the most exciting places in the world for HE. US universities' higher degree courses are regarded as a "springboard" for advanced scientific research. There are many different kinds of HEI in the United States, including community colleges, four-year

colleges, and universities. Community colleges grant diplomas and four-year colleges grant bachelor degrees, while universities grant all advanced degrees—MA, PhD, and postdoctorate.

Every year, the United States receives 600,000 foreign students to study at its academic institutions and universities, 50% of them study for a first degree and the rest study for other academic degrees and diplomas. Foreign students amount to 4% of the total students in the US higher institutions and 10% of the foreign students enroll in HE programs to obtain MA and PhD degrees (OECD, 2012).

Israel is ranked first among Middle East countries in the number of students studying in US universities. In 2011, 3,458 Israeli students studied in the US universities, (including many PAMI students who hold Israeli citizenship), 45% of them were studying for a first university degree, and the rest were studying to obtain other advanced degrees. Since 2000, the number of Israeli students studying in world-renowned US universities such as Harvard, Columbia, and Yale has been increasing. Israeli students also study in US public universities such as University of California at Berkeley and New York University. Preferred branches of study for students from Israel in the US universities include the arts, theater, and cinema. This is followed by medicine, engineering, biotechnology, business management, law practice, humanities, social sciences, and psychology. In the academic year 2011, 31 Israeli students studied at Yale University, and they were the fifth largest foreign contingent at the university after students from European countries (according to The Princeton Review cited in Yediot Ahronot, May 11, 2003 online at: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-2812936,00.html#n).

The United States provides scholarships to students for doctoral research in all disciplines through the Fulbright (academic excellence) scholarships for candidates with proven leadership skills in community service. Since its establishment, the Fulbright Scholarship program has granted more than 1,300 scholarships to Israeli scholars, including PAMI scholars, for HE and research. Since 2007, Fulbright has granted follow-up scholarships dedicated to PAMI students and every year, out of more than 40 students who apply for these scholarships, 8–10 students are selected. The fund aims to foster intercultural relations between the PAMI and the American nation, and prepare a group of PAMI academic leaders who pursue graduate academic degrees in relevant fields of study in the hope that on their return home they prove their excellence in social, civil, and academic fields (Shalabi, 2010). Overall, foreign students who receive scholarship reflect the global awareness and cultural diversity of universities in the United States, which has helped to develop a highly competitive environment of scientific and academic excellence valued by the US government.

Moreover, the fund supports HE in-kind academic projects in Israel. Many Fulbright scholarship graduates have become leading figures in the PAMI community in Israel in the national and academic scenarios (Fulbright United States-Israel Educational Foundation, 2006).

Previous research (Haj-Yehia, 2012) clarifies that the United States is the most attractive destination for PAMI graduates to obtain a PhD, with Germany being the second preference. It appears that PAMI PhD students prefer to pursue HE in economically well-developed countries, with the aim of improving their "vertical mobility," or in search of prestige. In this context, PAMI academics believe that HE at prestigious universities in the United States, for example, is an "honorable substitute" for Israeli universities because it is easier for US graduates to enter the Israeli labor market. Notably, a number of female PAMI academicians from Israel also study in the United States. These women face unique challenges due to the traditional cultural resistance and criticism that they encounter when they travel to the United States and on their return to their home society, as well as difficulties in absorption into suitable employment in Israeli society, despite their prestigious degrees from US universities (Abo-Tabickh, 2010).

However for both male and female graduates, it is clear that a PhD degree from a US university improves the status of the PAMI lecturer in international academic groups and in interactions with international lecturers and scholars. This strengthens the PAMI lecturer's academic identity and the academic status of the institutions where they work (Arthur, 2000). The internationalization and globalization of HE provides the PAMI lecturers with improved opportunities to become active players in the interwoven and networked global society. The United States and other Western countries encourage global scientific initiatives, develop global learning programs, promote the coordination of university degree requirements and credit hours, develop English language as a global language, and produce global networking (Tubin & Lapidot, 2008).

Nevertheless, following failings in the US economy, there are signs that the American model is not working as well as it did. According to Duncan (2015):

> Tests suggest that many students do not learn enough these days. They work less than they used to. The average performance of America's graduates compared with those of other countries is low and slipping. Higher education does not increase social mobility but reinforces existing barriers. At the same time, costs have nearly doubled in the past twenty years. The enrolment rate is falling. Technology offers the promise of making education both cheaper and more effective, but universities resist adopting it. (p. 4)

PAMI Students Studying in Jordan

As we noted above, PAMI student mobility oscillates between "internal" and "international" migration. In the context of PAMI students, "internal migration" could be considered to include temporary or transitional migration to Jordanian universities, which are located nearby and in a familiar linguistic, nationality, and cultural environment with similar values and norms, and "international" mobility could relate to moving to an unfamiliar country or a region with another culture and different norms (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010).

Until the end of the 1990s, PAMI students were not allowed to enter any of the Arab countries to study in their universities for reasons linked to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Although PAMI school graduates search for alternative venues for HE in various countries, it is Jordan, a neighboring Arab country which shares a cultural background with the PAMI, that has become the main target for their tertiary education since the Israel–Jordan peace treaty was signed in 1994. For many PAMI students from Israel, this was a dream come true when they found themselves studying in neighboring Arab countries in the Arabic language and in a familiar cultural, civil, and national environment, with the added incentive that Jordanian academic certificates are mostly recognized by the CHE in Israel (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2009).

Jordan has become the focus of a large section of PAMI students who wish to study socially and economically reputable free professions. In 1998, the number of PAMI (referred to as "1948 Arabs" by the Jordanians) students in Jordan was between 80 and 100 students (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). But this number has increased rapidly, reaching 1,654 students in the academic year 2004–2005, including 498 female students (Haj-Yehia & Ya'kobi, 2007). In that year, PAMI students who studied in Jordan constituted 16.57% of the 10,078 PAMI students who were studying in the Israeli universities, and 8.1% of all PAMI students in all Israeli HEI, including universities and colleges (Haidar, 2005).

By 2006, according to recent data from Jordan, about 2,155 PAMI students were studying in Jordan—nearly 20% of the total PAMI students studying at Israeli universities (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2007; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2007). In the academic year 2007–2008, the number of PAMI students in Jordanian universities and HEI rose dramatically to 5,400 students (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2009), the largest number of the PAMI students studying abroad since the creation of the Israeli state. In 2011–2012, the number of students studying in Jordan dropped to 3,060 (OECD, 2013; UNESCO, 2012) as students began to consider other destinations for study, such

as the Palestinian universities, and Moldova, mainly because of the high tuition fees in the Jordanian universities.

PAMI students study in all 24 Jordanian universities and HEI, which are supervised by the Jordanian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. The universities are divided into public-government universities (government funded) and private universities (not government funded). Government universities restrict admission numbers for specific fields of study (such as medical and paramedical disciplines) while private universities have no such restrictions for these disciplines. Jordanian HEI admission requirements vary with the level of study. For example, a student who wants to study medicine in a public university needs an average of 85% in their high school diploma results, but 80% in private universities. Additional requirements may include fluent use of English or computer efficiency. Most medical and paramedical programs at these institutions are delivered in English. The HE system in Jordan employs the degree system used in the United Kingdom and United States for university degree awards. All Jordanian universities are open to foreign students, including non-Arabs, and in 2006, there were approximately 23,000 foreign students studying in Jordan. Foreign students are admitted in line with cultural agreements between Jordan and their countries. University fees are very high compared to Israel, but many foreign students receive Jordanian government grants to cover these fees (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010). Table 4.3 shows the numbers of PAMI students in Jordanian universities for selected academic years.

PAMI students also choose Jordanian universities as a destination to study master's and doctoral degrees, particularly in the fields of religion, Islamic doctrine, Arabic language, and literature. In the academic year

Table 4.3 Numbers of PAMI Students in Jordanian Universities by Academic Year

Academic year	No. of PAMI students in Jordanian universities
1998	100
2004–2005	1,645
2005–2006	2,155
2007–2008	5,400
2009–2010	5,000
2011–2012	3,060

Source: Arar and Haj-Yehia (2013), OECD (2013), UNESCO (2012).

2004–2005, there were 41 male and female students who studied for these higher degrees in Jordan (Haj-Yehia & Ya'kobi, 2006).

Other pull factors that encourage PAMI students to continue their HE in Jordan include geographical proximity, cultural and social proximity, attractive marketing of the colleges, and internationalization of education. Some PAMI students receive "royal grants" donated by the King of Jordan and distributed by PAMI political parties in Israel. On the other hand, various considerations may deter students from studying in Jordan, such as the lack of preacademic guidance for the planning of studies in Jordan, high education fees, and the costs for travel and living costs away from home, in addition to uncertainty whether the Israeli official institutions and labor market will accept particular Jordanian qualifications in certain disciplines.

PAMI high school students know very little about Israeli HEI, yet they do know that the psychometric test is liable to prevent their access to these institutions (Haj-Yehia & Ya'kobi, 2007). The outcome is that a high percentage of PAMI school students begin to plan for HE in Jordan in Grade 12 in order to avoid the psychometric test and also to avoid the high age threshold required in Israel for some socially prestigious disciplines (Mustafa, 2006). Jordanian universities accept foreign students based on their general secondary school average grade (matriculation), and do not require other standard tests like psychometric tests. They also have no minimum age stipulation for medical and paramedical disciplines as commonly required by Israeli universities. For example, in Jordanian universities, foreign students who desire to enroll in the medicine colleges are required to have at least 85% average in the scientific stream of Israeli matriculation exams.

Results of a research questionnaire administered by the authors to PAMI students studying in Jordan (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b) to discover their considerations when deciding to study in Jordan rather than Israel, show that the strongest considerations for preferring HE in Jordan were the easier admission requirements and the probability of successful completion of the degree, while items that dealt with similarities between PAMI students and Jordanians were less important for their preference to study in Jordan (see Figure 4.1). The items that were most often associated with preferring to study HE in Israel were those that dealt with immediate financial considerations relating to ability to work during studies and lower tuition fees, while items that dealt with long-term financial considerations and matters of comfort, such as opportunities to engage in the Israeli job market and geographical proximity (respectively), were less associated with the preference to study in Israel. The weight given to the different considerations is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

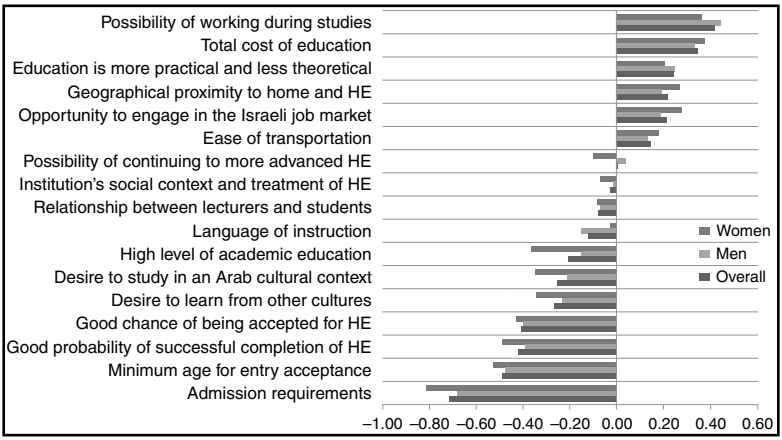

Figure 4.1 Comparison of PAMI Students' Considerations for Preferring Studies in Israel (>0) or in Jordan (<0) (Mean Difference from Indifference Score)
Source: Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013.

We found that the nine items associated with acquisition of HE in Jordan could be assembled into four categories in descending order according to the category's strength of the respondents' preference to study in Jordan. These categories were (in descending order): (1) admission requirements; (2) minimum age threshold, good probability of successful completion of degree, and good chance of being accepted for prestigious discipline; (3) desire to learn from other cultures, desire to study in Arab cultural context, and high level of academic education; and (4) language of instruction and relationship between lecturers and students.

These quantitative findings were confirmed in the interviews we conducted with male and female students who had studied HE in Jordan through field research in Jordanian universities (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2011, 2013; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). We found that there were two main categories of PAMI students who want to study in Jordan: the first, the largest group, consists of secondary school students, who migrate temporarily to study for a first degree in free professions. The second group consists of holders of bachelor's or master's degrees from Israeli HEI who travel to Jordan to study for postgraduate degrees, and who are strongly motivated by their guaranteed admission without stringent admission requirements. They study disciplines such as English language and another foreign language, and conduct research, for example, in Arabic language or Islamic doctrine, highly respected disciplines in PAMI society, which the students

prefer to study in Arab or Muslim countries. Due to the geographical proximity of Jordan, most of the students in this postgraduate group work in Israel and travel for a few days each week to Jordanian universities.

As one of the students explained:

> By the end of my secondary education, there was no need to wait or study and prepare for the psychometric test. Jordan was not one of my options, but because I didn't get the required result in the psychometric test and because of my desire to study pharmacology, I chose a place where students with a lower secondary school average were accepted, I was forced to study in Jordan.

Another student who moved to Jordan to pursue his studies in pharmacology noted that:

> In Jordan, it's quite enough to pass your matriculation exams in the scientific stream, 4 math units, 5 units in one of the scientific subjects, and an 80% average in the matriculation certificate to be accepted to study the most prestigious subjects at Jordanian universities.

A third student remarked:

> I met students who had achieved grades of 650 and 720 in the Israeli psychometric test following years of preparation, but they were not accepted to study pharmacology in Israel. Israel doesn't want them, but Jordan does. They learn, pass, and excel [in Jordan]. Jordan welcomes us in its universities. It doesn't exclude us.

These examples reflect the structural impediments which PAMI students face when they apply to Israeli universities. For, as we have noted, like other minority groups, the majority of PAMI students prefer to study medicine, pharmacology, movement therapy, speech therapy, and psychology, disciplines which in Israel universities require high scores in the psychometric test and a minimum age of 20. These impediments form a strong motivation pushing them away from and denying them the opportunity to continue their HE at Israeli universities. As a result, they seek a haven in Jordan. This was confirmed in our interviews with students. One of them said:

> Today, fathers are saving money to send their sons to Jordan. There are no admission tests there, except for an English language proficiency test and another simple computer test. No admission requirements frustrate students there; simply attend the university and prove your abilities. Moreover, the semester is divided into three parts; you just need to get 50% of the total mark to pass in each examination. That's what we experience at Al-Zaytoonah University.

Similarly, another PAMI student, studying pharmacology in Jordan, gave his critical view of admission requirements in Israel for his major:

> In 2001, 50 PAMI students attended Al-Zaytoonah University to study pharmacology and there were others, who studied law, movement therapy, communication therapy, and psychology, particularly females. Of course, there are some who quit studying there and moved to other universities. When I finished my studies in 2005, 84 students attended Al-Zaytoonah University to study pharmacology. Pharmacology is the most attractive discipline, which it is possible to complete in Jordan.

As noted above, PAMI students also study for master's and PhD degrees in Jordan, especially in the disciplines of Arabic language and Islamic doctrine. Requirements are easy and flexible as one of the postgraduate students noted:

> Admission requirements to study Islamic doctrine include a matriculation certificate, a certificate of good conduct, a recommendation by a local authority, such as a local council or a mosque and a senior teacher certificate, which I obtained from Al-Qasemi College in Baqa al-Gharbiya [Israel].

And another postgraduate student of Islamic religion explained:

> I went to study Islamic doctrine from the main source in Jordan. The subject is not available in Israel and the highest academic degree [PhD] is very important. I wanted to continue studying for a second degree and PhD—God willing—and to learn Islamic studies from Muslim scholars, not orientalists. I wanted to understand my religion purely and objectively away from suspicion and uncertainty. This is not available in Israeli universities, not to mention the Hebrew language barrier and other requirements.

The Arabic language and culture common to both Jordanians and the PAMI constitute strong pull factors for PAMI students. When PAMI students study at other foreign universities, they usually need to study and pass proficiency tests in a new additional language, and this may require intensive study of at least one year. There is often no need for this in Jordan, despite the fact that the language of studies in Jordan is English. PAMI students arrive with sufficient knowledge of English and do not need to pass any language proficiency exam, such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) in the United States; thus PAMI students can save one year of their studies. This is especially attractive for female PAMI who wish to commence studies as early as possible as is confirmed by the high percentage of female students who study in Jordan (31.1%). The interviews

verified the importance of cultural, religious, and geographical proximity in Jordanian HEI as strong pull factors for female PAMI students. One of the female students said:

> I did not need to study another foreign language or to adapt to a new society. Jordanian society, traditions, and language are closer to ours, especially those who live in Amman. We have much in common and less difference. Their lifestyle is not different from ours, so I encourage students to go and study in Jordan.

Similarly, another Muslim female student stressed cultural affiliation as a strong reason for choosing to study in Jordan;

> I felt my Arab affiliation there. Most Jordanians are Palestinians. I felt I received personal consideration. My husband, my child, and I were studying there. They even helped me to rear my child. All my neighbors used to help me; they'd look after my son and assist me when I was studying for exams. I felt as if I was their daughter and they made me feel as if I was living in my own home.

Although, studies in medical and paramedical disciplines are in English, the language spoken on campus and in Jordanian society is Arabic, and dormitories are single-sexed, a fact which female students found convenient, as one explained:

> People in Jordan are simple. You study pharmacology in English but you talk to people in your own language. You feel comfortable with the language that is being spoken there to the extent that you do not need to inject your language with Hebrew words. . . . Female students naturally live in strictly monitored and protected dormitories within the university campus. They are not allowed to leave the dormitories after eight o'clock at night. I am not talking about female students who choose to live outside the university. I felt secure there and that was in harmony with my traditions and beliefs, in addition I was comfortable maintaining my style of dress as a conservative female. Being a conservative female there is seen differently than in Israeli universities.

Yet, despite the cultural-linguistic similarities and the fact that more than half of Jordan's population is of Palestinian ancestry (Minorities at Risk (MAR) website, 2010), it seems that PAMI students may also sometimes feel the same sense of alienation in Jordan that they might have felt in Israeli campuses (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). This sense of alienation both in Israel and in Jordan is a phenomenon dubbed by Erdreich (2006) as a "constant minority" state (p. 136). In Israel, PAMI students

feel alienated as a demographic minority. In Jordan, despite being a part of the demographic majority, PAMI students still experience the uneasy feelings of a group distinguished as "others" (labeled as "48 Arabs" and also as "Palestinians") in the Jordanian campuses, against a background of ongoing tension between Palestinian-Jordanians and Hashemite-Jordanians. This phenomenon was described in our previous research findings (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010).

In order to encourage students to study in Jordan, as already noted above, King Abdullah awards 135 royal grants every academic year to excelling students through the mediation of PAMI political parties in Israel. The Jordanian embassy in Israel endows 65 additional scholarships every year. Students eligible for such grants apply to coordination and registration offices in Israel. They can also apply for partial or full scholarships from PAMI political parties in Israel, or from the representative body of the Druze sect (ten scholarships annually). In the academic year 2005–2006, the Palestinian Movement for Renewal (political party) distributed about 82 of the royal scholarships (according to information we obtained from the movement). PAMI political parties market themselves through their support for students from this source and compete for the number of scholarships they distribute among students, as one of the students told us:

> Every year, especially in the month of Ramadan, we meet around the Iftar dining table with Member of the Knesset Tibi, the head of the Palestinian Movement for Renewal. We listen to various speeches that motivate us to continue to HE and we observe the increase in the number of students every year.

A student explained how the royal grant encouraged him to pursue his HE journey in Jordan:

> In Jordan, I received a royal grant to study medicine at the University of Jordan as a reward for my academic excellence.

These grants have attracted many students, as one interviewee explained:

> I travelled to Jordan to study because I received a royal grant that would fully cover the university fees at the University of Jordan. Some students whom I met received partially funded scholarships—half or a quarter scholarship. Of course, this would still help to moderate the high living costs.

These scholarships form a significant pull factor that reduces the financial difficulties involved in studying in Jordan. Coordination offices play a role in guidance and registration of individual students. These are commercial

offices established to meet the needs of those who wish to study in Jordan that have profited from the increase of this phenomenon.

Our interviews also confirmed that the geographical proximity of Jordan is an important consideration in PAMI decision-making when deliberating whether to study in Jordan (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). The interviews revealed that a high percentage of students who study for master's degrees and PhDs in Jordan are able to remain resident in Israel and continue their normal work and travel for only two days a week, or several times a year to study in Jordan, as one of the students explained:

> Geographical proximity has been a crucial factor in my decision to study in Jordan. I travel six times a year to Jordan and my family visits me with their own car. I never thought of studying in Europe. I feel as if I were at home. My family visits me and brings me different kinds of food from home. Whenever I feel homesick for my family and friends, I take the bus back for two days.

The words of one of the students succinctly illustrated the concept of the "proximity" of Jordan's universities.

> Which is closer to Umm Al-Fahm, (a PAMI village in Israel), Beer Sheva University in Israel or Al-Ahliyya Amman University? It's 100 km from Umm Al-Fahm to Amman, even closer than the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I travel for two days and return to my wife and children. That's great!

Although excellent students may be awarded grants, the expensive costs of HE in Jordan are among the basic challenges that students and their families encounter. As we noted, Jordanian universities are divided into government universities and private universities. In all Jordanian universities, foreign students pay more tuition fees than Jordanian students, not to mention the other costs of living. As one student says:

> I felt they exploited us, because they think that we have purchase power. We pay for housing and municipal rates, electricity and water bills. I paid $4,500 annual tuition fees to study pharmacology, $110 for each credit hour and $4,000 for annual costs of living ($160 per month for housing and the rest for food and transportation)—equivalent to about NIS 60,000 annually.

His colleague comments:

> In Jordan, you feel everyone is exploiting you. In spite of the fact that I received a partial scholarship, I still paid much more than the Jordanian student does. Where is the scholarship, then? As a foreign student, you have

> to pay for each service: your student card, every piece of paper you take from the secretariat, Internet fees, library use. Outside the university you pay taxi drivers, and landlords, because most Jordanians believe the "1948 Arabs" [Palestinians from Israel] are very rich and can pay.

Another female student described the experiences of one of her colleagues:

> I have a friend who switched from medicine to pharmacology after four years of study because he was not able to pay the costs of medicine studies. Each medicine credit hour costs $235, which means $9,400 tuition fees annually, equivalent to NIS 40,000 for tuition fees alone. Housing requires an additional monthly outgoing of NIS 2,500. My friend paid NIS 400,000 for four years' study and was unable to continue. Therefore, if a student decides to study medicine in Jordan but has even a slight doubt that he or she won't be able to complete these studies, then they should reconsider their decision. And the student who fails should immediately withdraw. It is pointless to continue and lose a lot of money.

One of the difficulties encountered by PAMI students in Jordan, which emerged from the interview findings, involves the Jordanians' negative view of the PAMI embodied in the term "48 Arabs." Jordanians are skeptical about the national and religious identity of PAMI students. For example, Jordanians ask the PAMI student about his/her engagement in the Israeli establishment, Jewish ideology, and Islam. A few of them, for example, believe that Muslims from Israel permit the consumption of swine flesh and that they do not have mosques or churches. Yet sometimes the PAMI are shocked by Jordanian students' own behavior. As some PAMI male and female students reported:

> I was affected by the division of Jordanian society into social classes. The university where I studied attracts upper-class students. Most females from the Jordanian upper class smoke and they don't fast during the month of Ramadan. Although we live in a modern society in Israel, we behave like other Arabs with a lesser degree of openness.

Also PAMI students spoke critically about the Jordanian teaching style:

> Jordanians use a frontal teaching style and the lecturer is the focal point of the lecture. The lecturer delivers what he/she wants to teach and the student has to consent. Discussion with the lecturer is almost forbidden and you have to start your discussion by addressing the staff with titles like "Sir" or "Mr." or "Your Excellency." I was never asked me to do any research. Everything depends on memorizing and examinations. I found it difficult to complete my second degree in Israel because the field research and applied aspect [I had studied in Jordan] is too weak there.

A number of students moved from Irbid and its outskirts after they encountered other challenges. One of them explained:

> The informal dialect there was too hard for me and I couldn't understand Bedouin dialect, either. There was also deep-rooted bureaucracy in the university which affects almost every request and service. To get a piece of paper, I had to pass through several offices in the university.

It is clear from the official data we collected and the demographic details we gathered in the research that we conducted (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2011, 2013) that the majority of PAMI students at Jordanian universities are males (69%; against 31% females). The students' average age is 21 years. Most of the PAMI students are unmarried and study medicine or pharmacology (47%). The collected data show that there are equal percentages of male and female PAMI students studying medicine and dentistry at Jordanian universities, while in Israeli universities the percentage of male PAMI students exceeds that of female PAMI students who study medicine and dentistry. Data also show that the majority of female PAMI students studying in Jordan study medical and paramedical disciplines. In contrast, the majority of female PAMI students studying in Israel study social sciences. Further, the data show that average age of female PAMI students at Jordanian universities is less than the average age of female PAMI students studying at Israeli universities because they are admitted to medicine, dentistry, and paramedical subjects without any minimum age threshold (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

To summarize the trends reported above, our research confirmed that PAMI students migrate for HE to European countries, such as Germany, Greece, Italy, and Romania; however, the flow of PAMI students to Germany receded following the unification of Germany and the rise in Germany's cost of living. This was replaced by an increase in the number of students traveling to Jordan to continue their HE (Haj-Yehia, 2007b). We are now witnessing a fairly new phenomenon with an increase in the number of PAMI females seeking to study in Jordan, constituting 31.1% of all PAMI students in Jordan in 2011. Research reveals that more than 50% of these female students study medicine, dentistry, pharmacology, and various paramedical disciplines (speech therapy and communication therapy). In addition, PAMI students study for master's and doctoral degrees in Arab language and Islamic doctrine in Jordan and travel to the United States for higher degrees in other disciplines. Our research results also show that various push factors, such as high admissions requirements, minimum age threshold, and the psychometric test demanded by Israeli universities for prestigious disciplines prompt PAMI students to migrate to universities that have easier admission requirements. This is particularly

so for female students, who wish to take the opportunity to complete their studies before an early marriage and childbirth (Haj-Yehia, 2002).

Disadvantages involved in studying in foreign universities include a lack of preuniversity guidance during decision-making regarding the options available for choice of university for further education and the quality of these options, expensive university fees, mainly for students of medicine, and the high cost of living abroad. Nevertheless, families of PAMI students try their best to overcome these difficulties in order to achieve the Palestinian family's dream of HE for their young adults. Other difficulties relate to the learning stage itself as there are disciplines that are not available for the PAMI in Israel, such as those associated with military and security professions.

Yet as the students explained during their interviews, one of the most challenging issues facing PAMI students is the coordination of Jordanian universities' academic requirements and qualifications with those of Israeli universities and Israeli Ministry of Education requirements after graduation and the value-added of their studies there:

> After I had graduated and obtained a first degree in psychology [from a Jordanian university], it was clear to me that I had to study for the second degree if I wanted to find employment in Israel. But the master's degree in psychology in Jordan is without specialization and does not include clinical qualification. Therefore, studying for the second degree in Jordan was not an option for me. I went to Tel Aviv University to continue my studies, and although I completed my Israeli high school education with 89% average, the admission department in Tel Aviv University required that I had to pass the psychometric test and I also had to sit for the English proficiency test (Amir). Tel Aviv University did not recognize my previous English studies background and so I have to learn more courses and undergo conditional admission requirements. What should I do in the future? I am not sure.

Another problem concerning recognition and approval of foreign certificates and employment in Israel was explained by one of the graduates:

> Not all foreign universities and courses are recognized in Israel. After I had finished the first academic degree in physical education, I was asked to study for a teaching certificate at one of the colleges in Israel although my studies in Jordan included practical training. I trained at one of the schools in Israel for two years to obtain a teaching certificate. I then sat for an admission test at one of the colleges and when I passed it, I was required to study two additional years although physical education requires three years of study. In the fourth year, you can teach and learn.

A similar problem was encountered by a graduate of Islamic doctrine:

> I was accepted for the second degree [in Jordan] in Islamic doctrine based on my graduation from Al-Qasemi College [in Israel] with a senior teacher diploma. However, after having completed my studies for the second degree in Jordan and submitting my certificate to the Ministry of Education, they refused to recognize it because I hadn't completed a bachelor's degree before registration for the second degree. A year later, I reattended Al-Qasemi College to complete my studies for the bachelor's degree. After I had begun this path, it took me 7 years and I am still struggling to attain the second degree [in Israel]. I am therefore reluctant to study for the PhD in Jordan.

It is dubious whether PAMI students gain much cultural and social enrichment during their studies in Jordan. According to research by Mustafa (2006), PAMI students' attitude at Jordanian universities tallied with what researchers have noted as the "minority HE attitude." Students did not tend to interact with the Jordanian society and they did not participate in special evening events, such as the university's "Iftar party" during the month of Ramadan, sponsored by various benefactors. Despite the increasing enthusiasm by minority students to attain HE as one of the tools for the struggle against majority domination (Branch, 2001; Heller, 2001), our interviews revealed that the attitudes of PAMI male and female students studying in Jordan reflected a kind of insularity and they refrained from full engagement in Jordanian cultural, political, or social life, except in few cases where PAMI students married into Jordanian society.

Among the cultural benefits of studying in Jordan is the experience of "purification," as many students call it, of their diction of their mother tongue. Despite the fact that many prestigious disciplines are taught in English, Arabic is the predominant language for social communication. This means that PAMI students must endeavor to avoid using the Hebrew language or any of its vocabulary in the Jordanian social or cultural domain. And even in this predominantly familiar context it is sometimes impossible to avoid the negative effects of "cultural shock." Some students complained about undesirable consequences of their imperfect use of Arabic by lecturers, especially at government universities. And some felt they had to continually justify their positions and beliefs as "48 Arabs" as Jordanians name them. Yet lateral interaction with some students who come from other Arab neighboring countries generated an exchange of ideas and mutual enrichment (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

One of the challenges that occupy PAMI students during their studies in Jordan is their future involvement in the Israeli labor market. The teaching of medicine or pharmacology, for example, is provided in English.

The teaching in English increases the prestige of these studies. Some universities, such as Jordan University of Science and Technology in Irbid, apply European-based curricula and have links and available interchange opportunities with European countries. Meanwhile, the Israeli establishment and employment markets demonstrate anxiety and uncertainty, both in the public and private sectors, concerning the quality of education in this neighboring Arab country (which holds different political perspectives) stating it does not equal the quality of European education. This attitude does not do justice to the quality and prestige of Jordanian universities.

Even without these attitudes, the integration of PAMI graduates into the Israeli labor market and HEI, when they complete their studies in Jordan and return to their country as university graduates, involves further government approval before they can begin to search for work. All graduates from universities abroad (except graduates from the United Kingdom and the United States), who have studied free professions and engineering have to pass a special Israeli government exam in order to have their certificates recognized and receive approval to begin work in Israel. For graduates of medicine this may also include a requirement for practical exams (Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

It therefore seems clear that PAMI graduates from Jordanian universities do not have similar employment prospects in Israel as those graduating from Israeli universities. The status and quality of many Jordanian academic degrees is still unclear. We do not know what will happen when hundreds, even thousands, of PAMI graduates from Jordanian universities return to search for employment in their home country, and no research has yet been conducted on this topic. The issue of accommodating PAMI graduates does not only reflect the state's relations with the PAMI, but it also reflects the circumstances of the PAMI community and its various dilemmas in Israel. The Israeli macrostructure of economic, social, political, academic, and school systems controls the integration and positioning of PAMI graduates. The integration of PAMI graduates in the Jewish labor market, regardless of the country of origin of their degrees, is always a test for Jewish–PAMI relations, and is indicative of the civil status of the PAMI, especially with the increase in numbers of PAMI graduates and their at least superficial affiliation to the middle class (Al-Haj, 1996; Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

In conclusion, although the costs of studying in Jordan are much higher in comparison to tuition fees in Israel and some other European countries, even poor PAMI families enlist resources to assist their children to study in Jordan and attain degrees that will assist them to develop an independent career that will ensure a secure income; yet the actual results of this effort are often disappointing.

However, female PAMI students benefit from the possibility of studies at Jordanian universities. The percentage of female PAMI students at Jordanian universities rose to 31% of all PAMI students in Jordan in 2011. This percentage was not echoed among PAMI students studying at European universities. This is attributed to social, cultural, and religious pull factors which encourage female PAMI students to study at Jordanian universities.

PAMI Students Studying in the PA Universities

The mobility of PAMI students to PA universities since 2007 marks an emerging phenomenon. Recent data indicate that the number of PAMI students studying at the Arab American University in occupied Jenin rose from a mere 160 in 2007 to 300 in 2008 and by 2011 amounted to 800 students (Vurgan, 2012). Dentistry and various paramedical subjects are among the preferred disciplines for most PAMI students at this university. The university is attractive especially due to the relatively easy admission requirements for prestigious disciplines such as medicine, engineering, and paramedical studies in comparison with the highly demanding requirements of Israeli universities. Unlike PAMI students studying at the Arab American University in Jenin, PAMI students at Hebron University tend to choose educational-pedagogical specializations, such as education, Islamic doctrine, and school teaching methods. A large number of PAMI students also attend Palestinian universities to study Arabic literature, social sciences, and disciplines relating to religion in order to qualify and be well prepared for the teaching profession in the PAMI education system in Israel. Approximately 300 PAMI students chose to study pedagogy in Palestinian universities in 2011 (Vurgan, 2012).

Data from Hebron University show that 80% of the "Palestinians living inside the Green Line" (i.e., in Israel, since the Green Line is the armistice line that divides Israel from PA territories) studying in this university come from the Negev region, about 420 students (Vurgan, 2012).

There has not yet been any comprehensive research on this phenomenon that would explain the motivations of PAMI students who choose to study in universities in the Palestine Authority territories, it seems clear that in addition to easy admission requirements that do not need a psychometric test they are attracted by relatively low living costs. Tuition fees for social sciences are relatively low when compared to the fees in Israeli universities and other HEI (even teacher-education colleges) and lower than in other universities abroad. Additionally, the high academic level of teaching in cultural and religious disciplines, such as Arabic language and literature, Islamic doctrine, and history, are strong pull factors.

Table 4.4 Distribution of PAMI Students in Palestinian Universities by Academic Year, 2006–2012

	Academic year					
University	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012
The Arab American University in Jenin	36	62	100	252	593	800
Hebron University	14	44	48	70	–	502
Other universities and colleges	4	21	12	14	26	6
Total	54	127	160	336	619	1,308

Source: Vurgan (2012).

The common cultural, social, and national backgrounds of PAMI students with students and staff of the Palestinian universities also encourage PAMI students to study there. Table 4.4 shows the distribution of PAMI students in Palestinian universities by academic years from 2006 to 2012.

According to information obtained from the office of the dean at Al-Najah National University in Nablus, 2013, an additional 400 PAMI students attended the in the academic year 2012–2013, and in the following academic year 2013–2014, 400 PAMI studied in this university, most of them studying medical and paramedical disciplines. These statistics were not included in Table 4.4 as they refer to a more recent period.

Conclusion

This chapter identified factors that PAMI students consider most important when deciding where to study HE abroad. These include university admission requirements, the probability for successful completion of studies, and the financial cost entailed. Similar factors influence immigrant minorities in Europe and the United States when deciding where to study HE (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Reay et al., 2005). The authors' interviews with PAMI students studying abroad reveal that the cultural and linguistic similarities between the PAMI and Jordanian and Palestinian societies do not constitute the strongest considerations in this decision-making process (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013; Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). Conversely, PAMI students did not think that the lack of cultural and linguistic similarity was so problematic when choosing to study HE in Israeli institutions.

The PAMI are underrepresented in Israeli universities relative to their proportion in the general population, due to the various barriers outlined

in this and previous chapters. These barriers push many PAMI students to find different alternative venues for their HE, namely in foreign countries (Haj-Yehia, 2013). Similarly some Jewish-Israeli students choose to study similar prestigious disciplines overseas in such countries as Italy, Hungary, or Rumania (Ayalon & Yogev, 2005). Both of these populations are driven to study abroad by the tough admission requirements demanded by faculties teaching prestigious disciplines in Israel, which are sustained due to high demand coupled with shortage of supply: for example, the four Israeli university accept only 400 medical students annually out of thousands of applicants (Medschools, the Israeli Portal for Medicine Studies in Israel and Overseas, 2010) despite Israel's dire lack of doctors. This difficulty has not been significantly ameliorated by the opening of academic colleges.

This chapter provides unique and specific knowledge concerning students from an indigenous ethnic minority, who choose to migrate to study outside their state. Previous studies have indicated that the motives of ethnic minority students to migrate for HE include economic, historic, colonial, and cultural ties, and a common lifestyle with the target country (Ball et al., 2002; Brooks and Waters, 2011; Gorard, 2008; Modood, 2006; Reay et al., 2005). However, the evidence presented here shows that PAMI students mostly choose their temporary migration target for HE on the basis of practical considerations: easy acceptance, good prospects for successful completion of studies, which they construe as reducing costs (since they would not have to repeat years of study, etc.), and the ability of degrees in the chosen disciplines to improve their future employment potential. Similar motives drive other foreign minority students from different states who choose to study in the United Kingdom and the United States (Brooks & Waters, 2011; Croll, 2009; David, 2007; Gorard, 2008). Related utilitarian reasons also motivate some Israeli-Jewish majority students to choose to study abroad.

In conclusion, the underrepresentative proportion of PAMI students in Israeli universities in general and in prestigious disciplines in particular indicates the need for diversified programs and reforms that will bring more PAMI students into Israeli campuses as we noted in Chapter 3. According to Crow and Dabars (2015), it is the role of educators to produce master-learners from all sectors of society, in large numbers at low cost without relinquishing quality. They envisage that universities should employ staff from diverse backgrounds, who would enrich ways of thinking and research with different traditions and perspectives. At a time when knowledge is the key resource for a robust and prosperous society, Crow and Dabars argue persuasively that we must design a new type of university rededicated to the public good and modified to meet present and future challenges. They envisage universities with students of diverse

backgrounds and faculty energized to serve society and their communities. Crow and Dabars (ibid.) suggest that we should revise the way in which we support discovery, creativity, and education combining both humanistic insight and scientific understanding with technological innovation.

An affirmative policy should be considered to increase the entry of PAMI students into Israeli universities, in medicine, pharmacology, and paramedical disciplines, which are especially attractive for PAMI students, who are a minority, since they offer independence from reliance on government jobs, and, in the case of medicine, could serve to fill the need for these professionals in Israel (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Reay et al., 2005), a point on which we will elaborate in Chapter 7.

Until now, we have described the development of HE for the PAMI in two parallel streams: in HEI in Israel, and in foreign countries. The next chapter investigates the contribution of HE and the informal and formal encounters on Israeli campuses between the PAMI and the Jews to the shaping of the personal and group identities of PAMI students.

5

Higher Education and PAMI Students' Identity Formation

Introduction

The increasing popularity of higher education (HE) among the PAMI has been explained in the previous chapters of this book; we now turn to examine the effects of this HE on this population. As discussed in previous chapters, early studies on the effects of HE on the PAMI clarified student behaviors and perceptions of the role of the academic sphere (Mar'i, 1978), while other research has reviewed the developing popularity of HE among Palestinians, investigating the effects of adoption of approaches to integration, exclusion, and multiculturalism in Israeli higher education institutions (HEI) (Al-Haj, 2003b). A more recent study investigated the national identity, intergroup relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel, and attitudes concerning the desired political solution for the Arab-Jewish dispute between Jewish and Arab undergraduate and graduate students of HE (Kaplan, Abu-Saad, & Yonah, 2001). Kananah (2005) attempted to clarify the process that PAMI academics undergo, on returning to their home communities after acquiring HE, in local politics and social relations, coping with tension between the culture of the academic world and the culture of the hamulla in PAMI villages in Israel. One of our earlier studies (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010) traced the path to HE taken by PAMI who went to study in Jordan, including the advantages and disadvantages they encountered in these studies, and their difficulties on returning to Israel. We later tried to construct a conceptual framework for the HE studies of PAMI students in universities abroad (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a). Abu-Rabia-Queder (2008) discussed the influence of HE on the shaping of Bedouin Palestinian women's gender identity.

Undoubtedly HE and the academic campus experience have a profound influence on social, cultural, and political dynamics in any population

(Arar, Masry-Herzallah, & Haj-Yehia, 2013b; Brooks & Waters, 2011). HE helps to form new elites, providing experience and a source of knowledge for PAMI students, who are able to use the HE experience in Israel or abroad for their personal and community development. The academic space is substantially different from the familiar spaces in their home communities (Haidar, 1994), creating and sharpening a sense of foreignness for the PAMI student. Since the Israeli academic world relies on and is enlisted for nationalist ideological thinking that is awarded legitimization by Jewish society and the Jewish state (Mustafa, 2010), PAMI students quickly become aware of the gap between their social reality and historical truth and the "reality" that is portrayed in academic learning contents that influence the shaping of their gradually developing knowledge foundation (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). Their own ideological, historical, cultural, and political sources often contest with the different sources of knowledge that they encounter in the academic world, especially in Israeli academia (Volansky, 2005). Recent studies have begun to try to understand the identity dilemmas posed for PAMI students, in the context of their marginalization in Israeli society (Khoury, Da'na, & Abu-Saad, 2012) and have discussed the use of the Hebrew language by PAMI as a factor in the formation of PAMI identity that can assist in the exposure of their narrative to a Jewish audience (Harris, 2014).

The above brief review of extant research points to some of the practical difficulties and identity dilemmas posed for the PAMI in the context of Israeli HEI, indicating that there is a need to understand these issues in greater depth. The present chapter reflects our in-depth qualitative investigation of the influence of HE in Israel on the shaping of the identity of the PAMI student, citizen of Israel. We attempt to understand PAMI identity development in the academic space, where PAMI students are granted the tools of information, knowledge, and research, which can assist their social, economic, and political mobility. We use testimony collected from the PAMI students to describe their perceptions of the HE system in Israel and its effect on the development of their awareness and the formation of their personal, academic, sociocultural, and national consciousness and identity formation. In short, the contribution of this research is the attempt to trace the way in which the PAMI's personal and collective awareness develops in Israeli university campuses.

Higher Education and the Shaping of Awareness and Social Identity

As noted above, many studies have indicated that ethnic minorities attribute greater importance to HE than do majority populations (Kettley, 2007; Shiner & Modood, 2002). HE assists minority students to come

closer to the decision-making centers and often enables them to escape from marginality. The issue of the interaction between minorities and HE has been studied in various minority populations around the world, including Muslims in the United Kingdom (Modood, 2006) and ethnic minorities in the United States and Australia, as mentioned in Chapter 2 (Brooks & Waters, 2011; McAfee, 2000). The findings of many studies indicate the influence of HE on the students' personal and collective lifestyles (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011; Ahmad-Fauzia, 2001), on participation in the employment market and social activities (Perry, 2000), on the development of personal and social awareness, and as an influence altering graduates' socioeconomic positioning and creating a shift in the age of entry into conjugal relations (Lucey, 2003).

In addition to providing academic learning and enabling the acquisition of knowledge, the university offers an opportunity for the shaping of personal meaning (Oplatka & Tevel, 2006). HE is considered a fertile bed for the blossoming of awareness and identity, through the encounter with and exposure to other cultures and identities with different norms, values, and practices, forcing the individual to conduct a continual reexamination of their original identity and personal culture and the norms and values of their different circles of affiliation (Barnett, 1993; Perry, 2000).

The academic campus casts doubt on concepts such as "correct" and "incorrect," "good" and "bad," "truth" and "power," disrupting coherent identity and leaving room for dialectical deconstruction and reconstruction of identity. In the case of minority students, this encounter often constitutes a place for confrontation between the demands and expectations of their ethnic origin communities and those of this new domain (Nasir & Saxe, 2003). In other words, beliefs and personal and collective values constructed in the individual's past homogenous environment are confronted by questions of substance, challenging affiliations with coherent social circles. Thus academic education influences interpersonal dynamics and the formation of identity and the adoption of new lifestyles, often leading to detachment from previous life practices (Brooks & Waters, 2011). Research studies also indicate that HE and the academic campus experience play a strong role in the construction of collective social and political consciousness, and this is also true for the PAMI (Haidar, 1994; Makkawi, 2002). Academic experience facilitates the development of coping strategies and interactions with novel viewpoints on social, political, and national issues (Arar, 2011).

As noted, the PAMI have for several generations undergone profound changes in various domains: cultural, social, political, and so on. This has included signs of a gradual transition from the traditional collectivist village culture to a more individualist culture promoting self-realization and the individual's autonomous development (Jai'ussi, 2004; Knaana, 2005).

In addition to some personal gains for individuals, these changes have often created difficult consequences bringing weakness, fragmentation, a sense of loss, and social disintegration of the traditional social structure. Like many other societies in the modern era, the PAMI has not invested significant thought and action on creating a vision for their "ideal society" that could be attained through a gradual development process; rather they have hurtled unthinking toward the unknown, a process that has often led their society into a state of confusion including rising waves of violence (Makkawi, 2002). These processes may have various effects on the formation of the individual identity of PAMI students studying and working in the academic world (Abu-Asbeh, 2012).

The source of the Palestinian–Israeli conflict stems from the existence of two national groups contending with each other for the same territory. At root, the conflict is based on Hobbesian concepts, according to which "natural" dispute may arise between two ethnonational entities fighting for their birthright. This perception tends to dominate the consideration of the encounter between the two peoples involved (Adiv, Mor, Azaiza, & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2013). Yet, several studies have related to the political and national identity of PAMI and Jewish students as one Israeli identity. A comparative study by Soen, Davidovitch, and Kolan (2007) discussed the perception of Israeli identity among PAMI and Jewish students in two academic colleges and found that the PAMI students were in a state of conflict between their religious, national, and civil identities, whereby the civil element of their identity was weaker in comparison to the other dimensions of identity, including religious and national identity. In another dimension, a study by Diab and Mi'ari (2007) that investigated the social identity of Jewish and PAMI students in the David Yellin College in Jerusalem, and the students' desire to interact with the "other," found that PAMI students were open to and desired interaction with their Jewish colleagues while the Jewish students largely rejected the possibility for interaction with PAMI students and preferred to choose segregation.

The study of identity is a phenomenon that has often occupied philosophers, especially in the era of globalization when individuals and societies struggle to cope with the different challenges it raises. The study of identity necessitates the examination of the nature and roles of different circles of affiliation and their type, understanding that each human collective has a set of identifying rituals and values relating to behaviors that distinguish it from other groups. Affiliation constitutes an important layer in the construction of personal identity and perception of the collective self in the face of rejection by the "other," or the desire to recognize the "other" (Bishara, 1999). The development of an individual's personal identity is partly characterized by denial of the "other" and concentration on a

collective self distinct from "others." This process emphasizes the struggle with the "other" on the one hand and sustains the collective self on the other. Despite desires to adopt a multicultural approach in postmodern states, society's increased awareness of minority groups and sensitivity for the preservation of their cultural characteristics and their collective rights has actually enlarged the space for contradictions and clashes between different cultures, and led to renewed struggle for resources that in turn, reinforces the collective awareness of different groups (Perri, 2007).

Ethnic identity is defined as a set of ideals, values, behaviors, and attitudes one holds regarding one's identity as a member of a distinguishable social group or in other words, it is the individual's subjective experience of belonging to an ethnic group (Phinney, 1990). According to French, Seidman, Allen, and Aber (2006, p. 2) "in the process of developing positive ethnic identity, individuals redefine what it means to be a member of their ethnic group and no longer allow society to define it for them." Phinney and Ong (2007) suggest that ethnic identity involves two elements (1) the level to which an individual is aware of belonging to a group and recognition of the group's values and customs and (2) an emotional aspect of acceptance or rejection in terms of belonging to a certain group.

Identity is a central component of human existence, and any individual will strive for recognition and self-definition and will act in line with their identity. Concepts such as "authenticity," "self," and "self-realization" represent the desire to actualize this human experience and shape personal and collective identity (Mi'ari & Diab, 2005). The researcher Miller (1963) distinguished between two different definitions of identity: (1) human–humanistic definition, indicating that everyone has a human identity and (2) specific definition that is influenced by the collective history and context to which the individual belongs; Rousseau (cited in Perri, 2007) felt that there should be a balance between man's individualism and his collective affiliation. Kierkegaard (cited in Eilat-Yaguri, 2008) argued that man's identity is formed through a commitment to dynamic historic and cultural processes, so that a person's reality exists even before their definition of their identity and its form. Kierkegaard indicated that it is important to belong to a past, while noting that the individual must use choice in the present in order to create openness to be able to function in the future (Perri, 2007).

Khoury et al. (2012) point out the importance of context in the formation of personal and group identity. They relate specifically to the Israeli context and its marginalization of the PAMI as an important influence on Palestinian individual and national identity. In this context, the anthropologist, Taylor (2005), indicated that identity is a crosscultural creation, and constitutes a foundation for dialog between individuals from different cultures.

He argues that our identity is shaped by the recognition of others, so that nonrecognition or misrecognition by others can be harmful and an injustice, "imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (pp. 25–26). He indicates that this is especially true in the postmodern era, when concepts such as "nation" and "nationalism" are weakened in light of the "recognition" given by the Liberal state that has replaced the nation state. In the opinion of Waltzer (2007), these changes have weakened coherent identity, since the culture of globalization has loosened the space of time and location and also helped to weaken and often even to deconstruct concepts of collective identity.

Rosenberg (1965) distinguished between a core coherent identity and subidentities. The basic core identity is created during the human's initial development and it is difficult to release or alter it, while secondary subidentities depend on social status and collective affiliations and are influenced by interaction between all the characteristics that are outside the core. A person can belong to many circles including religious, linguistic, cultural, and natural circles. Each one of these circles of affiliation is a place for the consolidation of collective identity: civil identity, national and local identity, familial or hamulla identity, religious identity, and professional identity. Similarly, Stephan and Stephan (1996) discerned two types of identity: personal identity that is shaped around personality traits, alongside social identity that is formed through the influence of circles affiliated with a particular group. They argued that there are sometimes contradictions between personal and social identities so that individuals can sharpen their personal identity, while simultaneously denying their social identity and vice versa.

The PAMI is a special minority in that it was suddenly transformed overnight from a majority to a minority (Cohen, 2000). In contrast to minorities that developed through a process of immigration, this minority emerged from entanglement in an international conflict (Nakhleh, 1979) and the State of Israel often sees it as a "fifth column" in the war that it is waging with the Palestinian people (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007).

As we have already noted in previous chapters, Israel can be seen as an "ethnic democracy" and not a state for all its citizens (Rouhana, 1997), since despite its democratic mechanisms, its policies actively exclude the PAMI from participation in many aspects of the state's life (Suleiman, 2002). This reality augments the difficulties involved in the conceptualization of the identity of the PAMI. Their collective identity is composed of different elements: nationality (Palestinian), ethnicity (Arab), religion (Muslim, Christian, or Druze), citizenship (Israeli) (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007; Rouhana, 1997; Smooha, 2005). Additionally, as noted previously, the

deliberation concerning PAMI identity is exacerbated in times of active conflict between Israel and the Palestinians and with dynamic changes in the sociopolitical status of the PAMI (Diab & Mi'ari, 2007). PAMI identity is also challenged by the definition and practices of ethnodemocracy, the multicultural nature of the state (Yona & Shenhav, 2005), and ethnocentric perceptions relating to this indigenous minority.

Lowrance (2005) argues that when minorities identify with the state, more stable ethnic relations ensue; however identifying with the state becomes difficult when state institutions are used to marginalize or ignore the needs of minority groups. According to the International Crisis Group Middle East Report (ICG, 2004), different PAMI citizens hold radically different views of their position and role in Israeli society. They cite Professor Majid Al-Haj, a professor of Sociology at the University of Haifa, who explained that the PAMI belong to a "double periphery—located on the margins of both Israeli society and the Palestinian national movement" (p. 21) so that they often combine strong Palestinian identity with an equally powerful desire for full and equal recognition as Israeli citizens (ibid). While Jewish Israelis see this as a contradiction, they do not. They aspire to receive their rights in the state of Israel and, in parallel, to preserve their affinity with the Palestinian people, and they do not view this duality as an impossible act (Rabinowich & Abu-Baker, 2002).

> While quick to blame the government for their predicament, Palestinian citizens of Israel also express widespread dissatisfaction with their community's inability to develop a coherent strategy and organise effectively against discrimination and what they describe as the government's "Judaisation" schemes, especially at the local level. The most common criticism is that the leadership has failed to form a unified front to press communal objectives and articulate a consistent approach. (ICG, 2004, p. 21)

For this reason, and because of their disapproval of the Israeli regime, the proportion of the PAMI who have used their right to vote for the Knesset has traditionally been low (averaging 55%). However, the increase in the electoral threshold for the 2015 elections in Israel has led, as explained in Chapter 1, to a decision by four Palestinian Arab political parties (with different political and religious beliefs) to join together to form one single party, the United Arab List, and this persuaded more Palestinian voters to vote and increased their political power in the Israeli Knesset (Zahriyeh, 2015).

The above-mentioned scholars agree that the development of the PAMI society in Israel is not a natural development; rather it is a complex one.

The existence of different circles of affiliation often influences the solidarity of Israeli society that is also subject to dynamic change due to the different types of interaction between the majority and minority and the prevailing political conditions (Achdut, Davidovitch, & Heilbrun, 2012; Rabinowich & Abu-Baker, 2002).

PAMI students arrive at the academic campus with the sociopolitical baggage entailed in their relations with all the above-described different circles of affiliation and identity in a complex, conflict-ridden environment (Arar, 2011). They enter the academic "breathing space," a campus experience that includes academic studies that mainly express a narrative, heritage, history, and language that are foreign to them, and a new and different culture and lifestyle. They arrive with their own cultural and national knowledge often drawn from an actively hostile Palestinian historical narrative or a sense of supremacy regarding their own heritage. The new knowledge offered in the Israeli academy is intended to support and is supported by a different ideology and Palestinian students mostly see this as an ideology and culture that exercises control and power over the Palestinian people (Bourdieu, 1988), and this entire experience is absorbed and conceptualized, while they develop their "new academic identity" (Arar, 2011).

Lam (1996) argues that "those who are unable to develop a critical view of the culture within which they live, cannot develop a tolerant view of the cultures of others" (p. 21). PAMI graduates encountering this conflicting knowledge return to their village or town and are often impressed by the large gaps between the two possibilities, reintegrating as a critical observer or attempting to lead change in their own society. This renewed encounter stimulates questions and deliberations concerning the role of PAMI academic graduates in outlining the political, social, and economic future of their people and their position in constructing an enlightened awareness, especially given the deterioration of the state of PAMI society in Israel (Bishara, 1999).

Simultaneously, it is possible to see that in recent years, PAMI doctorate graduates have begun to integrate within the academic teaching staff in Israeli and Palestinian academic institutions and colleges, especially when previously the gates of university faculties largely remained closed to them. An academic elite has therefore begun to evolve, able to influence political and social processes in PAMI society (Haj-Yehia, 2011), often playing a significant role in the construction of collective awareness and in the leadership of their society.

We now describe the findings from an explorative study that attempted to identify factors influencing the formation of personal and collective

identities of PAMI students in the Israeli academic sphere. To identify these factors, the first author of this book conducted 15 interviews with eight male and seven female PAMI students studying in Israeli universities, including the University of Haifa, Tel Aviv University, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Thematic analysis of the findings revealed the following three basic organizing themes.

The academic experience and its role in identity formation

The academic sphere usually constitutes the first place where the PAMI student meets his Jewish peer in a direct encounter and in such a continuous manner. In general, the PAMI and Jewish populations inhabit separate geographical spaces in the state in almost all areas of life, including separate education systems, and this enlarges and maintains the area of difference and the split between the two national groups, often feeding in to the historical, cultural, and political conflict between them (Al-Haj, 2003a). As the PAMI student passes through different circles and categories of identity and belonging—national, religious, gender, and social status—social identities form as part of a process of differentiation of "us" from "them" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These identities are questioned and reshaped in the academic sphere due to the development of openness toward the culture of the other and also exposure to academic discourse that allows the existence of a range of "truths" (Makkawi, 2002). Adoption of this manner of discourse allows an academic identity to form within a new circle of affiliation, added to existing former circles of affiliation.

Findings from previous studies have shown that HE influences the perception of self and the perception of the other (Lucey, 2003). This is facilitated by the confrontation between the different circles of affiliation and sources of knowledge acquired in different academic courses.

When I asked Bisan which identity that was? How would you define it? She answered:

> Do you think that the symbols of the state and its laws invite me to feel that I am a part of it, to feel that I belong? Here the language acts as an important medium, but it is not the whole story, I see huge gaps. [The university presents it] as though all human history revolves around the history of the Jewish people. I ask difficult questions such as whether since the State of Israel was established, a single church was built for the Christians. Why is there a church in every Palestinian town for Christians? Because the Muslims were in control here and without knowing the word multiculturalism they

> gave a place to everyone. Yes I define myself as an Arab woman, Palestinian, educated and holder of an identity card that perpetuates my disadvantaged status since I was born.

In contrast, Ramzi (in the fifth year of medicine in the Technion) described his identity with a sort of self-confidence, yet expressing contradictions reflecting the complexity in which he lives in the Israeli space:

> I have always related in a level-headed way to issues of identity. I'm not one of the Palestinian minority; I'm not an Arab living in Israel, I'm a Palestinian Arab living in the State of Israel. Sometimes I feel that it's difficult to co-exist with the "other" with this identity. This feeling stems from issues associated with my rights, [for example] certain fields of work are closed to us. I also point an accusative finger at us ourselves, we don't need to be eternally dependent on them, I accuse those who are just warming their seats [Palestinian representatives in the Knesset] and don't look after the needs of the next generations, of their sons.

Despite Ramzi's simplified description as if he had a settled identity, it is evident that he relies especially on negating the other as part of his strategy of self-definition as suggested by Gergen (1992). His presentation of his identity, built on his existential experience, challenges conventional political discourse.

Raawi, studying for a doctorate in education at the University of Haifa, described how his academic experience had broadened his circles of identity and the way in which it had reinforced the connection between the different circles, at first developing self-realization, recognition for the other, and finally acquiring an active and critical academic identity:

> Higher education contributed to strengthening the coherency of my different circles of belonging. When I arrived my circles of affiliation were restricted and less united. After I began my studies I began to be aware of myself in a more profound manner, to respect myself, and I added a quite important component to my affiliation, which is being an academic. The academic sphere is very broad; here I got to know students from different cultures and this opened a window for me, no longer chained in the village to restrictive practices and a culture of silence.

In another part of her interview, Bisan also described how the academic experience had shaped her identity, comparing her own sense of belonging with the powerful sense of belonging that others have, not only at the level of definition but also in action.

Suhad (a student in her third year of social work at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) also noted the role of HE in her investigation and construction of self-identity.

In addition to investigating the role of academic studies in general in the search for the "self," we also attempted to clarify the students' different circles of affiliation (Perry, 2000). We found that the subjects of PAMI students' studies and the different courses they took had a significant influence on the clarification of their affiliations. Linguistics was one of the disciplines that sharpened identity awareness in the academic world, as was evident from the words of Najah (studying for her doctorate in Arabic teaching):

> In my field of specialization, the field of linguistics, you get to know different cultures, different historical developments, and language is a human dimension.

The academic experience did not only help the students to clarify their circles of association but also their civil commitments, emphasizing the need to take an active part in social change and giving them tools to do so. HE helped them to form an independent personality and to outline their relationship with their society to become more altruistically active (Barnett, 1993). This was obvious from the words of Muhamed, a second degree student of law at Tel Aviv University:

> Higher education broadened my awareness and widened my horizons. I began to take part in debates, public demonstrations, and discussions in and outside different courses. They led me to know who I am and who they are. It is clear to me that for the most part they want us to assimilate. They have outlined who is a good Palestinian and who is a bad Palestinian and what a Palestinian should look like. This led me to reduction, I believe more today and am faithful to my tradition and values. However I have become more liberal and open to discussions. But I define myself as a Palestinian, something that was sharpened by getting to know not a few Christian friends and I respect them and they respect me. Higher education led me to return to my roots.

While HE helps to clarify the circles of personal and collective affiliation and forms a fertile bed for investigation of the substance of the self, the findings of this and other similar studies show that the HEI also constitute a space for the consolidation of gender identity among female PAMI students, empowering them and improving their coping mechanisms and

enlarging the space for their autonomy (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). This was succinctly expressed by Maryam:

> Experience in the academic world has made me more skeptical. As you know we graduated from a high school that did not allow us to discuss questions concerning who we are, their purpose was to fill the bottle with the ultimate knowledge that the teachers had. I don't remember a teacher discussing questions of who we are with us or what our role should be. In the university this happened in a big way. For the first time you face the possibility of not believing in social norms. Everything can be questioned and clarified. The Jews sometimes act as if they don't know us, so you are required to present yourself, to expose yourself. Often I choose to listen to them and that allows me to know them and to ask questions concerning myself, something that caused a conflict for me concerning who I am and why I am like that.

Sausan (studying for a first degree in biology at Tel Aviv University) describes how her exposure to other cultures improved her coping strategies. This was her response to the interviewer who asked her about the influence of the academic sphere on the shaping of her identity:

> Here, you are exposed to many things, you read many books, articles and pamphlets and finally in a place to which you are referred, you reach things by yourself, discover things that you choose yourself, reach personal decisions. You feel your mind turning around; you participate in discussions, in meetings, symposia. You examine your thoughts and opinions in the light of those of other people, and you begin to feel that something is burning in your bones and you want to change something. Today I am more mature and have the ability to decide for myself autonomously.

HE plays an important role in the shift of a minority from a passive marginal status to social activism. Academic experience improves the strategies of the minority to cope with majority rule, empowering them and acting as a socioeconomic lever (Ahmad-Fauzia, 2001). An academic education is therefore highly valued by minorities. Ahmed, a third-year student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, spoke about the prestige attributed to his image as an academic in his village and the sense of responsibility that this created:

> Higher education plays a central role in the shaping of identity. Each time I returned from the university to my village, my grandfather looked at me with a sort of pride. He always asked me "How did it go, when will you finish

> and come back to us?" I heard the same question from my mother who often noted "thank the Almighty all my sons are studying in the university." It gave me a sense of mission, a personal and social duty.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) distinguish personal identity from social identity that relates to the individual's affiliation with a specific social group and the values and feelings relating to this affiliation. We define ourselves through such affiliations and this process helps us to organize ourselves personally and collectively. Amara (2010) added that our social identity delimits our reality within a social network. Helms (1990) noted people's tendency to continually conduct comparative evaluations, by weighing the quality of their social affiliations, something that constitutes the basis for the development of stigmas, while Rouhana (1997) argued that conflicts between groups accelerate the blurring of personal identity and emphasize collective identity. This means that exposure to the "other" during academic studies emphasizes the differences between the collective identities of PAMI and Jewish students, differences that are exposed even more through discussions that take place in courses and on the campus grounds. Samar, studying political science for a second degree at the University of Haifa, explained these processes:

> Arguments arose between us on the campus, because each one came here with their own luggage of party affiliation. I didn't belong to any party. But it was perversely here, because of the model of the behavior of others, that I knew that if I want to have an influence and to change things I would have to become a member, so I joined the party in which I am now active, in order to provide leverage for the pressing issues that concern us and to bring them to the forefront of public discussion at every possible opportunity. I learnt this from them, and this made me look inwards, let's say I imitated them but in an opposite direction.

Samar's words, like the testimony of many other interviewees, support the impression that the academic campus in Israel represents and reinforces the power foci in Israeli society (Al-Haj, 2003b). PAMI students who enter this new space may well become involved in a clarification of their relationship with the "other," contributing to the construction of their personal circles of affiliation. The academic world improves the student's abilities to clarify things with themselves and to discuss things with the other through their own cultural and national traditions (Jai'ussi, 2004). The academic sphere strengthens the student's personality and develops their autonomy and activism, and it is this that helps the student to construct their new "academic identity" (Shahada, 2001). This identity provides the student

with a new personal and social role that may result in collective activity or personal-utilitarian socioeconomic mobility as is seen in the examination of the next emergent theme.

Empowerment in the academic sphere

Research which studies minorities in HEI has shown how the experience woven within academic campuses empowers the student's personal and social development (Modood, 2006; Sadeghi, 2008). Already in the 1970s, Mar'i (1978) noted that for PAMI students, HE produced two main contributions: the first was the economic value of academic studies that enabled minority group members to improve their marginal economic status and the second was the acquisition of social and political tools. Those interviewed in the present study noted the importance of their academic experience for the shaping of their personality, but also the economic value of their studies, as explained by Bisan:

> Higher education, especially for us Palestinians, is a sort of personal capital in the absence of material capital. It is important for us to develop our human capital and to use it to obtain economic means. We must always remember that we are a minority without any resources.

Similarly Ramzi indicated the significance of academic education and related it to the role of the academic:

> The academic has a role as a critic, he has to ask the correct questions and he has a role as someone who indicates what is wrong and helps to improve tools for resistance and the empowerment of others. We should respect the society in which we live and work hard to build that society. We need to make our lives significant.

Muhamed also voiced a similar opinion regarding the empowerment that he had acquired in the academic world that had made him more active on both personal and collective levels:

> Higher education is an important process in my life. It has helped me to get to know the other. The university improved my tools, it gave me power that I did not have, especially in the political dimension and improved my understanding of the public sphere and gave me strategic tools to cope with the other and to pose the right questions in an intelligent and confident manner. So, this experience is important for the formation of the self and active coping in public life.

Like Muhamed, Ayman told us how she had learned to know about the wider world through the HE process and this had empowered her:

> My higher education has stopped me from going with the herd. I'm exploiting this period in order to build myself and my path of action as a Palestinian woman. Today I have the ability to cope with diversity in my society and in other societies. Instead of engaging in gossip and inactivity, I am a creative person, a changer, well-connected socially. The university has seriously weakened my social affinity circle in the village; I have new Palestinian women friends from the north to the south of the country.

While the PAMI school conveys subjection and a culture of silencing, when PAMI students reach the academic sphere, they notice that the Jewish student is already equipped to cope with different ideas and ideologies and in contrast they have a sense of inferiority (Abu-Rabia-Queder & Arar, 2011). This gap is strongly felt in the academic campus as Suhair (a social work student) noted:

> We arrived at the university and encountered various opinions and questions. Our experience is poor, restricted, our preacademic studies added very little to our consciousness. We arrived with a very blurred picture of who we are, and what we are and we lacked critical skills and a sense of responsibility. In the university, my critical thinking became sharper and also my sense of personal responsibility. I am aware of the tools available for me and how to use them. I can also explain the difference between Islam as a religion and the behavior of Muslims, which are two different things.

Najah emphasized the huge gap between the social values she had acquired in her early life and those of the university that provided the female PAMI student with a broad space for expression:

> In the university I read quite a lot about the roles of women and their position, and I asked many questions. Until now my thoughts had been rather blind, but reading about gender and feminism undermined [previous] norms concerning the woman's role and clarified the discrimination that she experiences. Now I understand what we suffer and why, I have a vision that I want to implement.

These findings allow us to understand that the PAMI student becomes aware of a serious gap on arrival in the Israeli university campus: a gap in knowledge, culture, extent of belonging, and in choices for the shaping of their identity and active coping strategies in social and public spheres

(Nasir & Saxe, 2003). The experience and trials of the academic world close these gaps to some extent through the dynamic processes of acclimatization and the development of coping strategies, through intrapersonal and interpersonal discussion.

The new identity and an elite culture

As more PAMI students enter HEI, the PAMI community becomes even more aware of the importance of HE. This is especially so among what Abu-Baker (2008) calls the contemporary "upright generation" of PAMI society (that she contrasts with the post-1948 "survivor" and the subsequent "washed-out" generations). HE becomes an important tool to assist the PAMI to cope with their sense of disintegration and lack of a compass following the establishment of the Israeli state and as the result of the disappearance of its former elite (Mustafa, 2010). The social, political, and cultural structure of PAMI society has altered as a result of PAMI students' increased participation in HE (Suleiman, 2002). The last four generations especially have been marked by greater perseverance in high school education and also by increased demand for HE, leading to the doubling of the number of university graduates in this society to close to 80,000 in 2010 (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Khamaise, 2011). Undoubtedly, an elite with strong personal resources has an influence on Israeli society in general and sociopolitical processes in particular (Mustafa, 2010; Shahada, 2001). Yet what is the social status of this educated elite in PAMI society? And how do they envisage their role in their society?

The findings of our research teach us something about the role of an academic education and its implications for the shaping of personal awareness and the acquisition of tools for social involvement and initiation of social change. Sausan emphasized the clash between traditional social values in PAMI society and new academic values:

> The academic arena led me to life in conflict, recognizing the contradictions in my society. I now have a social mission and yet also the expectation that it is actually I, who will maintain traditional practices; something between the liberalism that we see here and the values according to which we were raised. Sometimes I say that liberalism and globalization have opened us up and sometimes I say that they have destroyed the social structure of PAMI society. I have reached a sort of balance between the characteristics of the present century and my personal perceptions and beliefs. We must always negotiate, we must not be unwilling to listen, but we should not adopt everything without discretion.

Ahmed told us how studying in the academic world had influenced his social awareness, so that he was now able to think outside of the box, and had become committed to social change:

> I had a very critical approach to our society. Today I am aware that we do not need to rush to adopt ready-made recipes, or familiar solutions. We must abandon the culture of gossip and [stereotyped] thinking about the other, I strive to reinforce values of social involvement and civil commitment within my community. Instead of creating a gossip group, I have established a discussion group. Today we have our own club, we invite lecturers once a month and once a week we meet to discuss local issues and suggest necessary practical solutions and the way to carry them out. I got to know these friends when I was in Haifa University and from there we set out on a path of action.

Bisan also told us how her coping strategies had improved as a result of disputes and discussions during her studies and noted how she had enlisted the tools and awareness she had acquired to initiate corrective processes in her society:

> When I began my academic studies I was rather in despair due to everything happening around me. I found I was politically unaware, but today I have moved on to a place of enlightened awareness and I have a strong desire for change, leaving behind slogans and going on to make a social contribution. I have acquired an action strategy and tools to enlist others. I want to lead change in measured and assured steps.

This viewpoint was elucidated further in an interview with Samar and Raawi. Samar explained:

> As an academic I have tools that enable me to contribute more to society than I did before, but this role requires organization and team work to unite forces and unify goals. But each time that I try to lead in the public and social fields, I encounter political resistance from people that think that I am trying to be better than them or to compete with them, representatives of the old paradigm that see academics as a rising power and a real threat.

Raawi criticized the way in which academics try to appropriate an elitist status for themselves and ignore their affiliation to their society:

> If we look for a moment at our village, 15 years ago we did not have one doctor; today we have more than ten doctors, engineers, lawyers, pharmacists, educators, people with advanced degrees. Their education is often perceived by them as something very personal, and they are often very detached. As a doctor in our society you improve your living standard, change your status and become a permanent critic of the society, evaluating and analyzing.

Contrastingly, Ahmed detailed his work with an academic cadre in his home community:

> We set up an association that supports higher education. We began with five academics who had studied in various universities. We hold a meeting once every two weeks. Once a month we hold an educational lecture for a broader audience on a particular subject: globalization, children's education, mental health. We also enlist academics to support needy students in the community. However there are many who fear us and are suspicious of our intentions.

The interviews presented above clearly indicate that these PAMI students found many ways to turn their personal knowledge into social and civil activities. Personal skills acquired in the academic sphere increased their ability to integrate within the broader society and some of the students were even able to bridge relations within the majority society assisted by the acquisition of scientific tools and the expansion of their cultural repertoire. This helped them to fulfill their sense of social mission and to participate in the determination of an order of preferences for the PAMI (Lucey, 2003), although they were sometimes treated with suspicion by those in their communities who feared their influence and the changes they might bring.

Conclusion

The PAMI are a national minority group, linked with majority populations in other places, whose members find themselves on the wrong side of the border after it was determined by others. They stand now facing a state that reflects and imposes the culture of its national majority, turning its language into the language of public discussion, and teaching its history. Like other minority groups that endure marginalization and exclusion, the PAMI must find ways to cope as best as possible with the vacillating tolerance and exclusion that is inconsistently expressed in the state's policies toward them.

The PAMI try to conduct a meaningful life in their homeland and they need a community culture that reflects and supports their national identity, created over generations with its own values and circles of affiliation. The painful question that remains unsolved is: how can the historic yearnings of the Jewish majority be reconciled with the equally valid historic yearnings of the Palestinian minority? According to Taylor (2005), it is impossible to separate the individual's values from their identity or to separate the individual's identity from that of their community. Individual

identity is interwoven within group identity since it evolves and is created to be realized only in the contact and discussion between individuals and their groups. The creation of identity involves an ethical vision and moral norms and these are clarified through language and shared discussion. Nevertheless, without a common political space with mutual recognition between different peoples, this vision cannot be realized. According to our findings, rational deliberation between different identities is not only possible but it is in fact unavoidable, because each identity, however unique and different, is shaped through negotiation with other identities (Tanhumi, 2005). Encounters between the PAMI and Jews in the universities generate transition from a stable identity defined by a permanent location on a social scale to an unstable identity that evolves as a result of dialog and mutual recognition within the academic connection. Social relationships and academic discussions can facilitate engagement between different cultures that stimulates a dynamic process of identity formation through continuous dialog and interpretation (Sagie, 2005).

This chapter has pointed out the important role played by HE in the construction of personal awareness and in the reinforcement of feelings of belonging and personal and social identity through processes of integration within the new academic world. The academic space also provides initial exposure to academic discourse enlisted for the Jewish national narrative, constructed against a history of a violent dispute with the PAMI students' nation (Cohen, 2000). This discourse redefines circles of identity and leads PAMI students to question this appropriation of their own history, identity, and culture and to develop their own narrative (Arar, 2011). Moreover, PAMI students undergo a process of self-revelation and gender clarification in Israel's HEI (Perry, 2000), and acquire tools that help them to deconstruct norms that restrict their space for expression and their participation in the academic experience. This enables a process of self-empowerment and development of a collective identity (Helms, 1990).

Undoubtedly PAMI academics in Israel, who pass through the academic sphere, construct a new identity that strengthens their capabilities, coping strategies, and skills. Some of the PAMI academics perceive HE as a source for personal economic advancement enabling them to climb the social ladder, while others see it as a source for the construction of a more authentic awareness that leads them to enlist as agents for social and cultural change. In our interviews for this study we found that the Palestinian Arab element of their identity appears, in every discussion with PAMI students concerning their civil identity, as a dominant element in contrast to their marginal Israeli identity. The alienated identity that the PAMI education system fosters (Al-Haj, 2000) positively develops in the HEI as a more coherent national identity. Despite predictions that processes of modernization

and globalization would lead to a weakening of collective identities in the modern era, it seems that these identities contribute to the attainment of a sense of positive self-worth, which is a valuable personal and group goal in itself (Suleiman, 2002).

As part of the academic and research discourse in Israel's HEI, it is important in a state with multiple cultures to develop academic courses relating to the consideration of the "other" and to encourage discourse and debate between different cultural groups based on the principles of equality, mutual recognition, and respect. In conclusion, we also recommend that a broader comparative study should be conducted to clarify the identity of Jewish and PAMI students in Israeli universities and the willingness of students from both groups to participate in complex meetings and discussions to improve practices of coexistence.

As we have been able to witness in this chapter, HE alters the PAMI graduate's consciousness, improving social tools and skills and empowering the individual, enlarging their area of movement, and allowing them improved access to local employment markets. In Chapter 6 we investigate what happens to the PAMI graduate when they search for employment in Israel.

6

Employment Prospects of PAMI Graduates

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze data concerning the absorption and employment of PAMI academic graduates into the Israeli workforce. The data are derived from various resources, mostly recent studies on this subject published in Arabic and Hebrew, including consideration of reports by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in Israel, the Israeli Ministry of Economy, the Council for Higher Education (CHE) in Israel, and reports of international agencies such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 2007, 2013b) and PAMI and Israeli Jewish researchers (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Ghara, 2013; Hai, 2013; Haidar, 2005; Haj-Yehia, 2007a; Jabareen, 2010; Lis-Ginsburg, 2013; Sikkuy Report, 2011; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). These studies will be the main sources for the data used in this chapter. It should be noted that all the above-mentioned reports and studies use the CBS as their main resource. Most of the reports also consider the studies conducted in this field by the researcher Majed Al-Haj (Al-Haj, 1996). All the studies clearly show a concerning picture, indicating that discrimination obstructs the employment of PAMI academic graduates in various fields of employment in Israel, in general, and in government institutions, in particular.

In this chapter, we compare new findings with findings from previous years in order to fully comprehend the significant changes that have occurred in employment of the PAMI in Israel; this is followed by a discussion concerning the issue of PAMI academic graduates' employment. We point out the lack of suitable employment, and the effects of this situation on PAMI academic graduates and society, with an analysis of the causes of the present problem. Finally, we examine current data pertaining to the

employment of PAMI academic graduates in the Israeli job market, in an effort to link this data with current educational and cultural phenomena in the PAMI society in Israel.

Content analysis, comparative analyses, and statistical analyses were used to understand the documentation mentioned above. In content analysis, we analyze documents which express specific social, economic, and educational phenomena in order to draw conclusions or make generalizations pertaining to the topic of study. The documents may be statistical and/or numerical tables (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

We have already noted that the PAMI regard higher education (HE) as an important element in their national and political struggle in Israel (Nakhleh, 1979) and as an element supporting the absorption and integration of Palestinian citizens into the Israeli workforce. Higher education institutions (HEI) are also seen as contributing to the development of PAMI social and cultural involvement, which consequently leads to an improvement of their economic, social, and political status (Al-Haj, 1996; Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a; Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Landau, 1993; Rekhes, 1981). The importance of HE has become more evident as a tool for socioeconomic mobility in recent years, so that PAMI parents invest many financial and other resources (including support for the construction of preparatory centers to guide and prepare their students toward academic studies) to ensure that their children further their studies, expecting that academic degrees will serve as a means for social, economic, and political leverage (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013). These centers, though few, reinforce prospective students' academic abilities preparing them to comply with the admission requirements of Israeli HEI.

PAMI academics or university graduates are generally regarded as their society's elite. This distinctive group is ready to contribute to all aspects of modern life, such as the economy, including the technological sector (Al-Haj, 1996, 2003b). Thus, it serves as a spearhead driving PAMI society toward development and achievement of goals. PAMI youth have been found to have two main motivations to study HE: a collective desire to contribute to their society in Israel and also an individualist personal desire for self-improvement, including the desire to acquire a profession that will secure social and economic benefits (Haj-Yehia, 2007a). These individual aspirations are evident among PAMI high school graduates who plan to study prestigious free professions, such as medicine, engineering, and paramedicine, in order to secure a better future economically and socially.

The PAMI constitute approximately 17% of the total population of Israel, but only 13.1% of those employed in the Israeli labor market. The patterns of the participation in the labor market of the PAMI are characterized by low rates of participation of women and by relatively early

retirement from the labor market among PAMI men (Lis-Ginsburg, 2013). The low levels of Arab women's participation can be clearly seen in Figure 6.1.

HE has a significant effect on an individual's ability to integrate in the labor market. With professionalization of the labor market, HE became an unequivocal prerequisite to advanced, high-quality employment. The Israeli Authority for Economic Development concluded that "the weakness of the PAMI formal education system and the absence of an informal education system are the main basis for the inadequate integration of the PAMI into the general job market, and for the extreme difficulty involved in being accepted into the higher education system in particular" (Shaviv et al., 2013).

In 2001, 43,000 PAMI had an academic degree (27,000 men and 16,000 women). They constituted 7.2% of the PAMI aged 18–67 (9.1% men and 5.2% women). By 2011, the percentage of academic graduates increased to 12.4% of the PAMI population in Israel (12% men and 12.8% women). Of particular note was the increase in PAMI women graduates, whose number increased 3.3 times and amounted to 52,680, while the number of the male university graduates aged 18–67 increased 1.8 times and reached 48,256 (Lis-Ginsburg, 2013).

However, the proportion of the PAMI who have an academic degree is still lower than that of the Jewish population in Israel. In 2001, 22.6% of labor-market age Jews were HEI graduates and by 2011, this percentage had risen to 30.5%. Although the rate of increase in the proportion of PAMI graduates in the labor market is higher than the rate of increase in the proportion of Jewish graduates (1.72 vs. 1.34, respectively), nevertheless

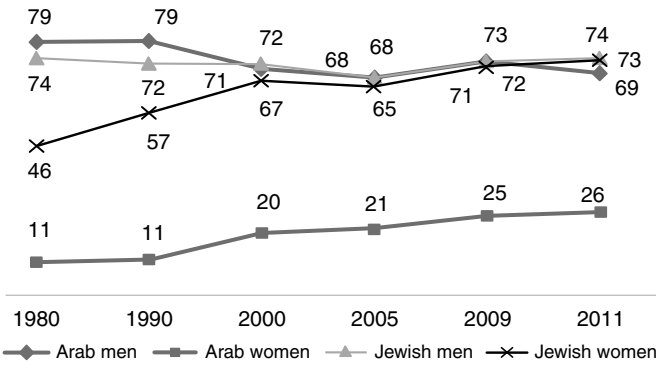

Figure 6.1 Rates of Participation in the Israeli Employment Market, for Ages 18–88, by Nationality and Gender, 2011
Source: Hai, 2013.

the gap in percentage points between the two populations has increased (a gap of 15.4 points in 2001 compared to 18.1 in 2011) (ibid.).

In recent decades, there have been several changes in the integration of the PAMI in Israel's labor market. Many more of the PAMI are trying to integrate into the labor market and to enter new sectors of employment. To improve their skills and chances in this market many PAMI further their education, gaining academic degrees and professional qualifications. These efforts have led to an improvement in the proportion of employed PAMI, but the inequality in proportion of those employed between Jews and the PAMI has remained and has even grown larger. This is largely because, despite the growth in the number of PAMI graduates in Israel, the number of the opportunities which suit their qualifications has not grown at the same pace. Although Jewish graduates also find it difficult to find appropriate employment immediately after graduation, PAMI graduates encounter more and different difficulties when searching for appropriate jobs (Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

There is a dire lack of available professional jobs for PAMI graduates in their community or in towns and areas that are geographically close to their villages. In addition, many jobs offered in the Israeli employment market are closed to PAMI graduates because of the requirement for high security clearance (usually only given to those who have served in the Israel Defense Forces). In these circumstances, it is not surprising that many PAMI graduates rely on and compete (sometimes fiercely) for work in the few available posts in public services and teaching (in elementary and high schools) in the PAMI employment market in Israel (Haj-Yehia, 2007a). Entering prestigious academic professions can liberate PAMI graduates from dependence on teaching-oriented professions and public service jobs (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996).

The PAMI society's academic graduates feel that the knowledge and awareness they gain in academia enables them to articulate a social message and that they carry a responsibility toward their society. In addition, the society in which they live has high expectations of them, anticipating that they will undertake roles in social and national leadership and represent the struggle of the PAMI to achieve equal rights, respect, and status in Israel (Al-Haj, 1995; Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2007; Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Mar'i, 1978). PAMI university graduates are regarded as agents of change and symbols of progress and prosperity within traditional PAMI society, a society that is considered to be undergoing transition from a "traditional" culture to a "modern" culture in all facets of life. Notably, these young PAMI graduates usually achieve their academic status due to their individual merits and achievements without traditional hamulla support that was, and still is, the accepted influence system in PAMI society (Abu-Baker, 2003; Al-Haj, 1987; Herzog & Yahya-Younis, 2007; Kananah, 2005; Rabi', 2007).

Factors Restricting PAMI Academic Graduates' Access to Suitable Employment in the Israeli Job Market

The issue of PAMI academic graduates' employment has become a main concern in the scale of priorities in PAMI society. This is clearly visible in the political platforms of PAMI political parties in the Knesset election campaigns and the issue has been researched and discussed in various academic periodicals in many languages (Haj-Yehia, 2007a). Some studies have described it as a "mountain of fireworks about to explode" (Stendel, 1992, p. 192). The results of numerous studies on this topic show that there are limited employment possibilities offered to PAMI academic graduates of Israeli or foreign universities (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996; Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

It therefore seems that HE does not contribute much to the fulfillment of young PAMI's aspirations to be more fully integrated into Israeli society. These findings also point to the fact that insofar as the PAMI graduate attains higher levels of academic prowess, their chances of entering the Israeli workforce may actually decrease (Al-Haj, 1996). Most PAMI academic graduates acquire minor positions that are not on a par with their academic qualifications. Partial findings in recent years indicate that HE does not award the PAMI graduates in Israel with an effective tool in order to compete with their Jewish colleagues in the Israeli labor market in general (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). The findings show that PAMI students avoid studying academic disciplines in which their chances of finding a job are low. The participation of PAMI men in the Israeli market has decreased, while the participation of PAMI women has increased. Similar changes have been noted in many Western countries. One possible explanation for the intensified decrease in the rate of male PAMI participation in the labor market may be the decreased demand for unskilled workers (Lis-Ginsburg, 2013).

The sharp decline in the rate of participation of PAMI men in the Israeli employment market actually began in the 1990s and was dramatically influenced by the entry of foreign employees to Israel (Haj-Yehia, 2007a). PAMI men have suffered consistently from higher rates of unemployment than Jewish men, but the gaps in levels of unemployment between these two populations have altered over time. In general it has been shown that the rate of unemployment decreases in many countries when the rate of HE increases (Lis-Ginsburg, 2013), but the increase in HE studies among the PAMI men does not seem to have improved their general unemployment rates.

With regard to PAMI women, several studies published in 2013 identified different obstacles which make it difficult for PAMI women to integrate in the Israeli employment market: the need to take care of many

children at a relatively young age, difficulties concerning the acquisition of HE and languages, absence of access to transport, cultural aspects, informal discrimination of employers, lack of vocational guidance for young adult women aged 18–20, low wages, and lack of the enforcement of labor laws (Hai, 2013; Lis-Ginsburg, 2013; Shaviv et al., 2013).

An extensive recent study by Eran Yashiv, head of Tel Aviv University's Department of Public Policy, and Nitza Kasir, of the Bank of Israel's Research Department, investigated the participation of the PAMI in the Israeli labor force. The study pointed out urgent problems and suggested policy changes (Yashiv & Kleiner (Kasir), 2013), reinforcing the statistical descriptions of PAMI employment difficulties mentioned in this chapter and noting that:

> Israel essentially has within it two separate states, [one Arab and one Jewish] with different standards of living, incomes, quality of education, and employment rates. On the one hand the Jewish state of Israel is a developed Western nation, and on the other the Arab minority is a Third World Country.

According to the researchers who conducted this investigation, it would be good business for Israel to close that gap. They say that the State of Israel pays a huge price for being two countries within one state.

> [Israel] loses tens of billions of shekels because of the employment and educational backwardness of Israeli Arabs. . . . [I]f Israel would succeed in closing the gap that causes suffering to the Arabs, the state would benefit from an additional NIS 40 billion through 2030 and some NIS 120 billion by 2050. [It is estimated] that some NIS 8 billion would be necessary to invest in the next five years in the Arab community and that the annual return on that investment would be 7.3%. (Arlosoroff, 2013)

The main reasons constricting PAMI academic graduates' access to suitable jobs in the Israeli market can be summarized as follows:

1. Government policies openly discriminate against PAMI academic graduates. This is manifested in the low number of positions they hold in government offices and public institutions (severely underrepresenting the proportion of the PAMI in the general population) (Haj-Yehia, 2007a).
2. The policy of budget cuts in public sector jobs is seen by the PAMI as being discriminatory and favoring the Jewish sector. Much of Israel's industrial manufacturing sector is devoted to "sensitive" production (producing goods for Israeli and foreign armies). Security clearance

requirements usually exclude PAMI academic graduates from the possibility of working in these industries. Scholars have shown that the PAMI holding academic degrees do not have equal opportunities to compete with their Jewish colleagues in the academic job market (Levin-Epstein, Al-Haj & Semyonov, 1994; Shavit, 1992).

3. Huge waves of Jewish immigration from the countries of the former Soviet Union to Israel since the 1980s have included a large number of university graduates holding advanced academic degrees with varied academic and work experience. Israeli society gave preference to the employment of the new Russian immigrants, thus pushing PAMI academic graduates further down the ladder and further away from job opportunities (Al-Haj, 1996; Erdreich, Lerner & Rappaport, 2005).
4. The number of places available for studies in the faculties of the free professions such as medicine, pharmacology, paramedicine, law, and engineering in Israel is extremely low (Haj-Yehia, 2007a). This means that there is fierce competition for these places to the disadvantage of PAMI students. As noted, many PAMI students therefore choose to study abroad. However, graduates who received their degrees abroad have to pass special government qualification examinations in order to receive recognition of their degrees and a permit to work in their profession in Israel. Due to the difficulty of these exams, especially in medicine, it takes a long time to be able to pass them successfully and PAMI academic graduates cannot work in their fields of specialty until they pass the exams. The problem has become critical for graduates of medicine who are the majority of PAMI graduates from abroad (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010, 2013). This is despite the fact that there is a shortage of doctors in public medical institutions in Israel.
5. The problem of employment for PAMI academic graduates is seriously influenced by the general economic situation and the situation in the local PAMI job market. The severe lack of an industrial infrastructure in PAMI towns and the economic dependence of PAMI towns on the Jewish metropolis influence the daily wage that PAMI workers can demand. The social and geographical distances of PAMI communities, far away from the center of Israel's economic activity, create an additional barrier to the vocational integration of PAMI academic graduates. Government policies fail to address the needs of PAMI towns and villages for the development of a proper infrastructure providing insufficient budgets and rarely referring industry and high-tech firms to these areas (Abu-Asbeh, 2007). Most PAMI academic graduates work outside their home localities. This is

because there is no recognized need for their professional expertise within PAMI towns. Al-Haj claims that the higher the PAMI students' academic degrees, the less likely are they to find work in their place of residence (Al-Haj, 1996). Developing PAMI towns, creating jobs for PAMI academic graduates, and taking advantage of the local workforce can help advance the economy of PAMI localities and this, in turn, would encourage PAMI students to continue to study HE. The feeling of PAMI academic graduates is that the policies presently enacted stem from the wish to retain the job market in Jewish hands. This was substantiated by the results of a survey conducted by the researcher, Smooha (1988). The survey indicated that about 65% of Jews polled believe that the state should prefer Jews over the PAMI in the workforce and that the job market should be under Jewish control (ibid.). The increased number of PAMI academic graduates and their attempt to integrate into the Jewish workforce and into the middle class has always been a test of Jewish—PAMI relations and the civil status of the PAMI.

6. Smooha (ibid.) suggested that an indirect reason for the problem of PAMI academic graduates is the lack of proactive campaigning by PAMI political parties' representatives in the Israeli parliament, who in some ways cooperate with the ruling coalition parties. Smooha claims that political affiliation has an important influence on employment of Jewish and PAMI academic graduates. He claimed that "the parties who are part of the ruling coalition share the loot" (Smooha, 1988, p. 43). In other words, since PAMI political parties are permanently outside of the ruling government coalition, they are denied the necessary influence to contribute to solving the problem of PAMI academic graduates' employment in contrast to the religious parties, or the parties associated with the Russian immigrants which have strong lobbies and often participate in the ruling coalition.
7. While about 40% of Israeli Jews are employed in academic professions, only 15.2% of PAMI men are employed in these professions. The PAMI are preponderantly employed in professions and branches which do not require academic degrees. In comparison, Israeli Jewish men are more frequently employed in professions and branches which require academic degrees. Among PAMI women, we can see a dichotomy. Although like Israeli Jewish women, a significant proportion of PAMI working women are employed in academic professions, there is also a very high proportion of PAMI women employed in the lowest level of unskilled employment, which does

not require academic degrees. Male PAMI employees are more evenly distributed over the range of jobs from highly skilled professional work to the lowest level of unskilled employment.

8. Among the PAMI holders of university degrees and professional qualifications in science and agriculture, 25% of them are not employed in professions which match their expertise. In law, medicine, engineering, architecture, social science, and the humanities, 40% of them are not employed in work appropriate for their qualifications (Hai, 2013; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).
9. Another important issue that relates to the participation of the PAMI in the Israeli employment market is the fact that PAMI graduates tend to be concentrated in certain fields due to the fact that only the education and health ministries give them jobs, yielding to overrepresentation in certain professions (e.g., in 2011, 42% of all pharmacology students and 36% of all nursing students were from the PAMI), and underrepresentation in fields that are often in high demand (only 6% of most engineering students and 3% of all business and industrial administration students are from the PAMI) (Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).
10. Employment-oriented education and career counseling are almost nonexistent in PAMI schools in Israel. PAMI students must therefore learn to navigate the system on their own, even while they are trying to forge their path within it, often resulting in decisions that are not optimal for a future career in Israel (ibid.).
11. Employers tend to recruit from their own networks. This seems to be especially true in the relatively small and intimate Israeli society. Most of the professional and informal networks and personal relationships that often connect Jewish Israelis to available positions within companies may not exist for PAMI candidates (ibid.).
12. PAMI graduates face prejudice in the Israeli employment market. The Authority for Economic Development conducted a study in 2011 among Jewish employers and employees in which 80% of the respondents said that it is important for PAMI citizens to find jobs; 22% admitted to openly discriminating against the PAMI, and 53% described the problem not as discrimination but as "objective" conditions making the PAMI "unfit" for the Jewish labor market. In addition to such prejudice, according to NGOs working in the field, many employers are unaware of the PAMI talent pool and the opportunities for their businesses that lie within the PAMI communities (Hai, 2013; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).

Several studies have related to specific characteristics of male and female PAMI employees. PAMI women have particular characteristics and issues which affect their status in the labor market, such as low participation and employment concentration in education, health, and welfare branches. A minority of PAMI women workers have less than 12 years of education; they prefer part-time jobs; on average they prefer to work a short distance from home; and few of them are willing to work outside their villages and towns, which limits their mobility for employment (Shaviv et al., 2013; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).

Male PAMI employees have been identified as having the following characteristics: being concentrated in employment which requires low skills and strong physical fitness, retiring from such jobs at an early age, working for relatively low wages, and being employed in jobs which are inappropriate for their academic degrees (ibid.).

The structure of the job market and its relevance for positioning in the class structure in Israeli society poses difficulties for PAMI academic graduates seeking employment. PAMI academic graduates and Jewish academic graduates originating from Afro-Asian countries face difficulties since they need to compete with Ashkenazi Jewish (originating from Europe and America) academic graduates. Recently, the situation of Jewish academic graduates of Afro-Asian origin improved when they gained electoral power and parties representing their interests were included in the ruling coalition. At the same time, PAMI academic graduates were pushed further down the ladder of economic opportunities because of Jewish nationalist sentiments and massive Jewish immigration from the countries of the former Soviet Union (Al-Haj, 1996).

It is claimed that PAMI students now feel that HE is no longer a lever for social mobility. The Israeli job market that openly discriminates against the PAMI no longer fulfills the students' expectations for desired positions or a good income (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996). In other words, HE may not generate proper monetary compensation for the PAMI graduate, especially if one compares the level of income they can attain to the income in other nonacademic professions in recent years.

The lack of government policies to improve employment prospects of PAMI academic graduates may be one of the reasons that 16.5% of the PAMI students accepted to Israeli universities in the academic year 2011–2012 did not continue to graduation for one reason or another (CBS, 2012). The difficulty involved in finding a job after graduation may also perhaps be a factor affecting PAMI students' decision to change their fields of study. In 2011–2012, 32% of the PAMI students dropped out of the university and/or changed their fields of training (ibid.). As a result, it seems likely that their aspirations to find suitable jobs were not realized or delayed causing them to feel a loss of self-esteem. Nevertheless, thousands

of PAMI high school graduates continue to flock to HEI in Israel and abroad (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

In the past, PAMI students mostly studied the humanities and social sciences in HEI. But, in recent years, they are beginning to show greater interest in science, technology, and IT, in addition to their interest in medical and paramedical disciplines. This shift is due to the increasing demand for graduates in electrical engineering, computer sciences, and electronics (Abu-Asbeh, 2007). Graduates of the new technological fields expect to be able to integrate into the industrial and high-tech arena but soon find that this job market is largely blocked, especially in any security-oriented industry, since in most cases they have no military background and cannot obtain the required security clearance. A similar shift to studies in the fields of science and technology is evident among PAMI students studying abroad.

An increase in the number of PAMI graduates in law and civil engineering makes it more difficult for them to be absorbed in their areas of specialty. This is also true for medical graduates, who mostly study at foreign universities (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b). Despite a deficit in doctors in Israel's public health services and despite their increasing absorption in public medicine, PAMI medical graduates face difficulties finding positions in government hospitals and medical institutions soon after they successfully pass the Israeli qualification exam. In addition, the difficulty in obtaining work in Palestinian towns has increased in recent years due to flooding of new PAMI professionals in medical professions, despite the increase in private clinics in these towns (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010).

The dilemma of PAMI students also exists regarding professions that are important to PAMI society, for example, in local government social work departments. The increased weakness of the extended family as a source of economic, social, and moral support for its members, leads to the appearance of new problems in the PAMI family, unknown before. This means that the position of the social worker is now considered a high status profession in PAMI society. However, budget cuts and lack of funding by the Ministry of Welfare and Social Work have not contributed to an increase in job opportunities for graduates in this field in the PAMI communities, and PAMI social workers often face cultural difficulties when practicing social work in the Jewish sector (Rabi', 2007).

It is therefore not surprising that there is an increase in the number of PAMI students who continue their academic studies to attain a master's or doctoral degree, due to the lack of work opportunities, in addition to their personal aspirations to advance themselves academically. Yet even after they attain advanced degrees, PAMI academic graduates who aspire to integrate into the academic staff of the different HEI are often unable to find suitable employment. A report by Israel's CHE in 2013 found that the

percentage of PAMI faculty staff employed by Israeli universities was only between 2% and 3% (CHE, Planning and Budgeting Committee, 2013, 39). The reason given for the low number of PAMI academic staff is the lack of positions available for new lecturers or faculty in Israeli universities. Until today, teaching posts in Ministry of Education–funded PAMI schools have been considered the last bastion for PAMI academic graduates. In the academic year 2011–2012, 46% of PAMI graduates held teaching positions (CBS, 2013). Despite the increasing "academization" in this area compared to previous years (Al-Haj, 2003b), the integration of PAMI academic graduates into the field of teaching has become a difficult challenge in light of the Ministry of Education's budget cuts. Competition for existing posts has become intense, especially since the opening of two new teachers colleges, Al-Qasimi College for Teacher Education and Sakhnin College for Teacher Education, that produce increasing numbers of qualified PAMI teachers (Aghbaria, 2010) and supervisors often cut posts into part-time positions to accommodate the surplus teachers. Small-scale projects have been initiated by organizations such as Keren Avraham and Merchavim and adopted by the Ministry of Education to employ PAMI teachers in Jewish schools where there is a deficit of teachers, but difficulties have already been revealed in the integration of PAMI teachers in this Jewish environment (Merhavim Institute, 2014).

Given all the above, the result is that many PAMI academic graduates eventually take jobs for which they are overqualified and there is also a high rate of unemployed PAMI graduates. The fact that the official statistics show a relatively low percentage of PAMI academic unemployment does not mean that their employment aspirations are satisfied, but mostly that many of those graduates who despaired of finding a job requiring academic qualifications settled for unqualified work. Table 6.1 shows the employment characteristics of PAMI academic graduates compared with Jewish academic graduates in 2012.

Table 6.1 Level of Employment of PAMI and Jewish Academic Graduates in Israel in 2012

	PAMI academics			Jewish academics		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total numbers in thousands	89.7	47.9	41.8	899.7	395.8	503.9
Percentage employed	79.9	85.4	73.6	84.3	87.7	81.7
Percentage unemployed	1.8	–	–	4.8	4.7	4.9
Partially employed as percentage of all employed	39.2	17.6	67.9	19.0	8.5	27.8

Source: Yashiv and Kasir (2013).

The Status of PAMI Graduates' Employment

New statistical data, examining the status of PAMI academics in the Israeli job market, indicate that there is a significant difference in the rate of participation in the job market between PAMI and Jewish academics (CBS, 2013; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). The main cause of this difference is the relatively low numbers of PAMI female academic graduates in the job market compared to Jewish female academic graduates.

The percentage of participation of PAMI female academic graduates is slightly lower compared to the Jewish female academic graduates (75% of PAMI women graduates were employed in 2008, compared to 77% of Jewish women graduates). There are many reasons for this difference, the main one being the lack of suitable positions for PAMI women academic graduates in PAMI towns (Arar & Abu-Asbeh, 2013). Due to high admission requirements for prestigious disciplines, the disciplines that PAMI female students study at Israeli universities are limited. Generally, they study the humanities or social sciences which conform to the needs of the local PAMI towns especially in teaching or public services, but as noted earlier, these services are seriously oversupplied by the large numbers of qualified female PAMI teachers. Table 6.2 shows the subjects studied by PAMI female students at Israeli universities in 2010–2011.

As already noted in Chapter 3, a current social phenomenon in the context of HE is the registration of female PAMI students for Jordanian and Palestinian universities. These female students enroll in great numbers to study paramedical disciplines and speech therapy, professions needed in the Palestinian communities. For example, recent research shows that there is a need to fill 400 positions in speech therapy in PAMI communities (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013b).

Table 6.2 Disciplines Studied by PAMI and Jewish Female Students at Israeli Universities

Discipline	Distribution of female PAMI students by discipline (%)	Distribution of female Jewish students by discipline (%)
Medical and paramedical subjects	12	8
Math and computer science	3	3
Science	4	4
Engineering and architecture	4	9
Social science and humanities	33	39
Education	37	19
Business management and law	7	18

Source: CHE in Israel (2013).

An indication of the difficulty that PAMI graduates face in the Israeli employment market is the fact that the amount of time they spend searching for work is very long, averaging 45 weeks, compared to 31 weeks among Jewish academic graduates (CBS, 2013). Research studying PAMI academic graduates of German universities shows that returning graduates succeeded in finding work only after one to two years of searching (Haj-Yehia, 2007a).

The statistics clearly show that there are real barriers which prevent the absorption of PAMI academic graduates immediately after graduation, such as government qualification examinations for those who studied abroad. In 2012, the percentage of PAMI academic graduates who give up looking for work in their profession after a long period of time reached 24%, compared to 3% among Jewish graduates. The percentage of female PAMI academic graduates who stopped looking for work in their profession reached 28%, a high rate that deserves further examination of its causes (CBS, 2013).

According to Jabareen (2010) there is an underrepresentative number of PAMI citizens employed in Israeli government departments and offices. This is a further indication of the PAMI's marginal status in the public sector. This low representation is a serious problem confronting PAMI academic graduates searching for work that suits their academic qualifications (Haidar, 2005). Although the percentage of PAMI in public service has risen, they are still underrepresented in these services in relation to their proportion in the population. In 2008, the government employed 4,955 civil servants only 578 of whom were the PAMI, representing 11.7% of the total personnel in the civil service despite the affirmative actions of the Israeli governments.

There are no PAMI employees in public financial authorities at all and their representation in the other authorities, such as the courts administration (3.1%) and educational TV (1.8%) or the Israel Land Administration (3%), falls far below their relative percentage in the State of Israel. Table 6.3 shows the percentages of PAMI employees in different economic branches in Israel in 2011. It is evident from these data that male PAMI employees (who are most likely not academic) are mainly employed in the field of construction (26%). In the fields which require academic qualifications, most of the PAMI are employed in education and health services, welfare and community services, and social services. These fields are considered to be the main areas of absorption for PAMI academic graduates.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show the distribution of PAMI employees according to occupation including academic occupations. According to the

Table 6.3 Percentage of PAMI Employees in Different Economic Branches in Israel, 2011

Economic branches	Men (%)	Women (%)
Agriculture	3	–
Industry	16	8
Education	5	20
Construction	26	1
Hotels and restaurants	6	4
Transport storage and communication	8	4
Banking insurance and financial services business	1	5
Public administration	3	5
Health services, welfare and community services, and social	7	22
Trade services	18	12
Business services	6	13
Others	1	6
Total	100	100

Source: Yashiv and Kasir (2013).

Table 6.4 Percentage of PAMI Employees in Different Occupations in Israel, 2011

Type of work	Men (%)	Women (%)
Academic occupations	8	15
Other free professions and technical work	5	28
Managers	2	1
Clerical Workers	4	19
Agents and sales workers and service workers	15	22
Skilled workers in agriculture	2	2
Skilled workers in manufacturing and construction	50	1
Unskilled workers	13	10
Others	1	2
Total	100	100

Source: Yashiv and Kasir (2013).

Table 6.5 Distribution of Academically Qualified PAMI by Type of Profession in Israel, 2011

Type of profession	%
Academic occupations	53.1
Independent professions and technicians	26.2
Managers	6.2
Other	14.5

Source: CBS (2013).

data given in Table 6.4 for 2011, only 8% of male PAMI employees have academic occupations (15% of female PAMI), and most male PAMI workers are considered to be skilled workers in manufacturing and construction (50%).

PAMI academic graduates are still largely concentrated in two academic fields, the education field (45%) and the health field (18.8%). High percentages of PAMI academic graduates work as medical practitioners, veterinarians, and pharmacists, and this situation apparently motivates large proportions of PAMI students to study medicine and pharmacology both in Israel and abroad (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a).

As noted above, most PAMI academic graduates are employed in teaching as employees of the Ministry of Education or as medical professionals by the Ministry of Health. The percentage of PAMI academic graduates in teaching has reached 45%, compared to 20% among Jewish academic graduates. This percentage is even higher among PAMI female academic graduates. This high rate is attributed to social and cultural causes, meaning that teaching is considered the most suitable job for the PAMI woman because it allows her to spend significant time with her children and to work close to home in line with cultural expectations (Aghbaria, 2010), and because of conditions in the job market that constrict PAMI women's opportunities to work further from home.

It can be seen that only 8% of PAMI academic graduates were engaged in technology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics in 2011. Although this proportion may have risen since 2011 (current statistics are not yet available), the data indicate a low representation of PAMI academic graduates in these scientific fields. Again it can be seen that many PAMI academic graduates are employed in medicine and pharmacy—up to 18%. It can be anticipated that this figure will increase as more graduates return from abroad with degrees in medical and paramedical disciplines, especially from Jordan and the Palestinian Authority.

Tables 6.6 and 6.7, present the percentage of PAMI employees in government offices. It is apparent that after the Ministry of Education, which employs the highest percentage of PAMI academic graduates, the Ministry of Health is the second ministry that tries to integrate high numbers of male and female academic graduates in its services. These details relate to direct employees of the government ministries in administrative roles and to field workers such as teachers and nurses.

There are, of course, government ministries that have no PAMI employees at all, particularly those that determine state economic policies such

Table 6.6 Distribution of PAMI Employees in Israeli Civil Service, by Ministries, 2011

Government ministry	No. of PAMI employees	Percentage of all PAMI government ministry employees
Health	2,207	64.15
Religion	298	8.66
Finance	216	6.27
Work and welfare	190	5.52
Education	118	3.43
Law	180	5.24
Other offices	231	6.71
Total	3,440	100

Source: CBS (2012).

Table 6.7 Distribution of Female PAMI Workers in Israeli Civil Service by Ministries, 2011

Government office	No. of female PAMI employees	Percentage of all female PAMI government ministry employees
Health	1,078	81.9
Work and welfare	71	5.39
Finance	36	2.65
Agriculture	16	1.21
Education	35	2.73
Law	45	3.41
Other offices	35	2.65
Total	1,316	100%

Source: CBS (2012).

as the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Science, Communication, and Infrastructure. PAMI academic graduates still face discrimination in appointments to senior positions in government ministries and industries. Haidar noted that in the year 2004–2005, there were 116 government companies and only in 33 of them was there any representation of PAMI academic graduates. Data indicated that there were 38 PAMI managers on the governing boards out of 641 managers, which is 5.9% of the total number (Haidar, 2005). Thus, the public services sector remains the main source of employment for PAMI academic graduates. In 2004–2005, the percentage of PAMI academic graduates employed in this sector amounted to 70% of all PAMI employees in government-sponsored jobs. This is an indication that an independent economic market exists within PAMI society, an ethnic enclave, within which large numbers of male and female PAMI academic graduates offer services to their own population within their towns and villages (Arar & Abu-Asbeh, 2013; Kraus, Vered, Shavit, & Yaish, 1998; Shavit, 1992). It thus seems that two economic markets exist in Israel, based on national affiliation. It also seems that the interaction between the two markets is minimal and reflects the lack of job opportunities for the PAMI outside their own communities. This job discrimination stems mainly from the requirement for security clearance in many places of employment, which creates an employment barrier for PAMI academic graduates in the Jewish state (Levin-Epstein et al., 1994; Shavit, 1989, 1992).

The average salary of PAMI academic graduates is substantially lower than that of Jewish academic graduates. For example, in 2008, the average salary for PAMI engineers and architects was NIS 5,644 compared with an average salary of NIS 14,260 for Jewish engineers and architects and for PAMI judges and lawyers, the average salary was NIS 3,142 in comparison to NIS 6,337 for Jewish judges and lawyers. However, in the same year, the average salaries for PAMI and Jewish physicians, veterinarians, and pharmacists were almost equal (NIS 10,280 and NIS 10,207 respectively). The main reason for this enormous difference is the fact that most PAMI academic graduates are employed in public service positions in which the average salary is moderate while at the same time, Jewish academic graduates hold lucrative positions in areas where PAMI graduates are not usually employed (high-tech industries, military industries, private Jewish industries) that yield high salaries. Thus, it appears that PAMI graduates face overt discrimination, not only in access to job opportunities, but also in level of wages (Levin-Epstein et al., 1994). The result is that the PAMI academic feels that HE does not grant him an effective tool with which to compete with the Jewish academic in the Israeli job market (Al-Haj, 1996).

Conclusions

The issue of the employment of PAMI academic graduates is still one of the outstanding issues in forums and discussions in PAMI society. For many years, repeated research-based recommendations have been suggested to government agencies by decision-makers in senior government positions and the local PAMI leadership to improve the level of employment of the PAMI. As yet, no specific program has been implemented that might contribute to the acceleration of the creation of more jobs for PAMI university graduates. An important fact evident from the data presented in this study is that upon graduating, the PAMI academic does not immediately find work. It takes them a long time, much longer than their Jewish counterparts to find remunerative work. Even upon finding a position, it may not fit their abilities, qualifications, and expectations.

It has already been said many times in previous studies dealing with the issue of employment of PAMI academic graduates that laws should be enacted to ensure proportional representation of Palestinians in state institutions. Israeli governments have been promising since 1976 to integrate PAMI academic graduates in the workforce but, alas, the promises have not been realized in any real change in the employment field. All the government committees that have dealt with this issue stressed the need for a policy that implements affirmative action laws on behalf of the PAMI and prevents discrimination against the PAMI, but these recommendations were either deemed impractical or were not implemented (Reiter, 1996). The first of these committees was the Kubersky Committee in 1986. The latest was an initiative by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and Employment, which was presented in 2012. This initiative, in principal, called for the strengthening of the different economic sectors and recommended that owners and shareholders of important economic ventures should provide leverage for the speedy integration of PAMI academic graduates in the economic-oriented work environment (Yashiv & Kasir, 2013). This initiative is parallel to a plan for the absorption of Russian immigrants in the Israeli workforce or the current work of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, initiating a loan scheme to enable new Russian immigrants who wish to start self-employment projects. Some have called this plan, in the past, the "Kiosk Economy" as it supports small business initiatives (Shavit, 1990).

Based on extant data and statistics presented above, it seems that it is important to provide serious thought to the proper preparation of students in the period preceding the stage of HE. Until now, no serious research studies have dealt with the need to plan the stage of HE in PAMI society to meet employment market demands. Much research has been conducted,

but it did not include efforts to define and establish future employment for academically qualified PAMI men and women in the local Israeli job market (Abu-Asbeh, 2007; Al-Haj, 1996; Haj-Yehia, 2007a; Jabareen, 2010).

The problem of low salaries and general low productivity of PAMI academic graduates due to the lack of posts should be addressed as a burning problem, in order to ensure that material benefits result from HE. There is an urgent need to conduct an all-encompassing study which would seriously examine the chronic problems of PAMI graduates in light of their increasing number, their lack of representation in many professions, and the inequality in job availability, resulting in a weakening of growth in PAMI society. The important issue is not only that PAMI academic graduates remain without employment, but that their qualifications are not fully utilized (except in certain jobs, as noted 45% of all PAMI academic graduates work in teaching positions). This cohort could contribute to the growth of the Israeli economy if wisely incorporated within the employment market for the benefit of both Jewish and PAMI populations.

It is always pointed out that the primary reasons for all that is noted above are the clearly discriminatory policies that are practiced by the government concerning PAMI graduates in the job market and the fact that a large number of academic graduates are produced by HEI, without any coordination with the demands of the academic job market. In other words, supply does not go hand in hand with demand, the result of which, in the long run, is a loss to society.

The questions we pose here are: To what extent does the growth of HE correspond with the number of job opportunities in the PAMI employment market? Is there room to expand the PAMI employment market in line with the community's needs and consequently the number of jobs available there? And how can PAMI graduates be employed for the benefit of the broader Israeli employment market? It seems that HE should be planned according to the demands of the job market and should meet the needs of development in PAMI society. In recent years, for instance, the need for specific prestigious and specialized professions has grown significantly, both within PAMI and Jewish societies. Effective policies are needed to coordinate plans for the development of the economy in PAMI communities, including the training of needed professionals in HE. Additionally, similar planning should be applied to the general Israeli economy, including the training and employment of PAMI academic graduates to benefit this broader market. In short, HE planning should be based on economic forecasts of the need for academic manpower in PAMI society, and in Israeli society as a whole. In order for the forecasts to be accurate and

produce effective action, needs for professional specialization should be assessed according to three stages:

1. Essential needs that should be met within a short period of time.
2. Moderate needs that should be met according to one or two five-year plans.
3. Long-term needs that should be met in a period of 15–20 years.

The goals of HE for the PAMI should be determined in light of predetermined essential, immediate, and long-term needs of PAMI society that should be met within a planned framework of support and guidance, as part of a comprehensive plan for the Israeli economy. Research data show, for instance, that there is a lack of 400 jobs for speech therapists in PAMI society. It is, therefore, necessary to prepare organized guidance for high school graduates, aided by responsible organizations which would be directed to study these specialties which are popular with PAMI students. HEI should then be prepared to absorb these students before thousands of students decide to study at Jordanian and other universities abroad without knowing in advance whether the degrees they receive will be certified by the CHE in Israel and whether they will have opportunities to integrate within the Israeli job market. This is a critical issue that has to be discussed because it will not be possible to immediately absorb the thousands of PAMI academics, graduates of Jordanian universities returning to Israel in the coming years.

Did the temporary migration of these students to Jordan (about 3,060 students in 2011–2012, a figure that is about 16.57% of the total number of PAMI students at Israeli universities) occur according to preplanning? Was it done rationally according to guidelines, as advised above? Did PAMI society, especially PAMI political parties that award tuition scholarships to a large number of students, make plans for their return while assisting them to embark on further studies?

Unfortunately, these questions must be answered in the negative. Failure to coordinate HE studies with employment opportunities may mean that the fate or future of these graduates will lie in fierce competition for teaching posts or new PAMI graduates may contemplate emigration to another country to search for fulfilling job opportunities, at a time when PAMI society suffers from a lack of specific professional specialties, a need that only grows with time.

Undoubtedly, educational policy in Israel's PAMI society is a direct reflection of the existing internal and external socioeconomic reality in which it exists, that is to say, the PAMI society. Although the final decision

regarding choice of profession is the responsibility of the individual, students should be helped to become aware of their abilities, views, and preferences in light of the needs of their environment. Schools should present a wide variety of options concerning available job opportunities to its students. In order to ensure a logical and effective supply of PAMI graduates, a clear policy should be outlined to enhance the capacities, qualifications, and skills of the PAMI workforce, as well as the availability and mobility of this workforce. Such a policy would necessitate both direct investment in human resource development and investments in employment and transportation infrastructure. New industrial parks should be established in the vicinity of PAMI localities and the demand for PAMI graduates should be increased in Israel's private sector by raising awareness to the benefits of diversity, investing in antidiscrimination education and regulation, and provision of government subsidies to potential employers (Shaviv et al., 2013; Yashiv & Kasir, 2013).

The Israeli government and other organizations in Israel which deal with this issue have declared that it is an important target to narrow the gap in the employment labor market between the prospects and utilization of PAMI and Jewish graduates in Israel through many initiatives and programs (Lis-Ginsburg, 2013), but these declarations remain yet to be realized.

A policy which coordinates prospective employees' professional qualifications with employment needs can help to boost productivity in the economic sector and increase employees' satisfaction. Other positive influences might be the impact on the children of these employees, encouraging them to seek HE in the future and granting higher wages for professional employees (Shaviv et al., 2013).

Finally, despite research based on data and statistics indicating the need to coordinate the employment of PAMI academic graduates and their economic integration with HE, we cannot ignore other important aspects of HE. It is not wise to concentrate solely on economic aspects as this may lead us to planning HE studies directed solely by market needs while ignoring the wider aspects of HE as a place where students also broaden their educational, cultural, and ethical horizons. PAMI high school students should continue to see HE as a revered goal, knowing that receiving an academic degree enriches their personal knowledge and skills, elevates their social status in their community, and has the potential to serve as a social elevator in Israeli society. Academic graduates are still considered the elite, the top of the educational pyramid, the crème de la crème, and have much to offer their own and Israeli society. The status of the employment of PAMI graduates reflects the attitude of the state to its PAMI minority. In addition, it reflects the status of PAMI society in Israeli society and the conflicts

within. Yet in the end, PAMI society, with its economic, social, political, and academic structure, is the governing force for its members and also holds responsibility for the social mobility of individual PAMI academic graduates.

Having discussed the blocks delaying proportional representation of the PAMI in Israel's HEI in Chapter 2 and the ways in which the PAMI overcome these blocks and study HE in Israel and abroad, in Chapters 3 and 4, and the contribution of HE to PAMI identity formation in Chapter 5, and to the integration of the PAMI in Israel's employment market in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 will suggest initiatives and policies to remove blocks and improve access for the PAMI to Israel's HEI.

7

Policy and Initiatives to Widen Access to Higher Education for the PAMI

Introduction

Many world states now facilitate access to higher education institutions (HEI) for broader sections of the population. This improved access has been aided by several factors: changes in the ages of those applying for academic studies, changes in admission criteria, and establishment of new types of HEI, both public and private (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2010). HEI predominately use one of three admission methods: (1) acceptance based on final school grades (matriculation or accumulated grades), (2) standard evaluation exams, and (3) free entry based on minimal threshold criteria. Additionally, some HEI evaluate a combination of different components or conditions, such as entry exams, letters of recommendation, students' declarations of intention, socioeconomic status, extra-academic activities or community volunteer work, and/or acceptance interviews (Weinenger & Stener, 2014).

Over the last decade, major shifts have occurred in the size, needs, aspirations, and expectations of student populations across the globe, including in Israel. To respond to current student realities, HEI have initiated policy changes and adjusted their structure and operations, and the programs they offer. These developments affect the students' experience of higher education (HE), presenting them with new challenges and opportunities (Altbach, 2006; Brooks & Waters, 2011).

Some candidates applying for acceptance to HEI may find it more difficult to gain access. For example, privileged majority ethnic groups have higher school achievements than neglected ethnic minority groups

(Al-Haj, 2003b; Arar & Mustafa, 2011). As noted in Chapter 3, an applicant's ability to gain "access" to HEI usually depends on two elements: (1) the applicant's demographic and educational background and (2) the willingness and ability of HE institutions to absorb candidates from different social strata (Arar & Mustafa, 2011; Modood, 2006).

Although Israeli HEI have aspired to include marginal underprivileged segments of Israeli society, including members of the PAMI (Arar & Mustafa, 2011), PAMI students still have a lower rate of acceptance to HEI than Jewish students do. PAMI youth constitute approximately 26% of the age cohort relevant for university admission (Shaviv et al., 2013), yet PAMI students constitute a mere 13% of all students in Israel's HEI, only 10.3% of students studying for a second degree, and only 5.1% of those studying for a doctorate (CHE, 2015). This underrepresentation of PAMI students in HE reflects the disadvantaged status of education in most PAMI schools. Another impediment to PAMI students' access to HEI is the fact that Hebrew and English (their second and third languages respectively) are the languages of instruction in Israel's HEI.

As already observed in Chapter 3, the obstacle-ridden path that PAMI high school graduates encounter when they aspire to further their education in Israel's HEI (Al-Haj, 2003a; Arar & Mustafa, 2011) often leads them to turn to private HEI (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014) or to continue their studies abroad, especially when they wish to study prestigious disciplines such as engineering, medicine, or paramedicine which are extremely difficult to access in Israel (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2013a). Additionally, a relatively high proportion of PAMI students who are admitted to Israeli HEI either choose low-preference disciplines or may alter their course or dropout in their first years of studies because of the difficulty they encounter in accessing high-preference disciplines (Ghara, 2013).

Israeli government policies that promoted diversification, privatization, and internationalization of HEI in order to broaden access and meet increased demand were not specifically tailored to accommodate the access and development needs of the PAMI (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). Additionally, no PAMI university has been created to serve the specific needs of the PAMI for HE since the establishment of the State of Israel, although many new HEI have been established in Israel during that period.

To understand the difficulty that PAMI students encounter even today in order to gain access to HEI in Israel, it is necessary to understand the development of HEI in Israel. By the end of the 1950s, there were two HEI in Israel: The Technion Institute of Sciences, established in 1924, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, founded in 1925. These institutions were self-governed. By 1969, there were already five new universities: the Weizman Institute of Sciences, Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv University,

Haifa University, and Ben-Gurion University. The Open University was established in the 1970s (Iram, 2011).

In 1958, the government became the sole authority permitting the operation of HEI, through the Council of Higher Education (CHE). For more than 35 years, no new university was established and there was a unified system of HE in Israel, consisting of public universities that all applied the same basic standards for student admission and operated under a unified regime of regulation and budgeting. Repeated demands of the PAMI since the mid-1970s to establish a PAMI university encountered strong political resistance (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). Yet in contrast, in 2012 a new Israeli HEI was established in the West Bank territories, despite criticism in Israel and abroad (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). In 2015, there are 65 higher education institutions in Israel, 7 universities, the Open University, 36 academic colleges, and 21 colleges for education (CHE, 2015).

Thus, until recently, Israel's few HEI were all public institutions (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). Since demand exceeded supply, fierce competition for the limited places meant that only those who excelled academically (which usually corresponded with sociodemographic privilege) could meet the admission requirements of the HEI (Arar et al., 2014). HEI thus maintained a very high academic reputation. A process of stratification developed between the existing HEI, distinguishing between the more prestigious universities in the center of Israel and those in the periphery. Yet increasing privatization, internationalization, and globalization of HE has substantially altered the original profile of HE consisting entirely of universities (Altbach, 2006; Altbach et al., 2010). From the mid-1980s, the recommendations of committees established by Israel's CHE led to the broadening of access to HEI. The CHE authorized the opening of annexes of various foreign universities, which began to accept students from all population groups across the country. Many new HEI have opened, most in peripheral areas of Israel (Ayalon, 2008). Although one of the goals of this expansion was to reduce inequality, scholars found that the stratification of the different HEI simply replicated inequality within the HEI system, due to gaps in quality between the different institutions (Ayalon, 2008; Sbirsky & Degan-Bouzaglo, 2009). The strict selection policies and short supply of higher-quality HEI mean that many students, especially those seeking master's and doctoral degrees, find it worthwhile to study HE abroad. For PAMI students, this now includes the option of studying in neighboring Arab countries (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Nevertheless, Israel's HEI have gradually evolved and their character has altered. The doors of the previously elitist universities have opened to include peripheral groups. For example, the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, established as part of the Zionist pioneer project, the University

of Bar Ilan originally established to serve the Jewish religious population, and the multicultural University of Haifa and the Technion University of Science and Technology (Iram, 2011), all now admit substantial minority student populations.

Research indicates that PAMI students are motivated to pursue academic studies to improve their chances of employment and upgrade their social status (Arar & Haj-Yehia, 2010; Arar & Mustafa, 2011). The development of private HEI opened new venues for HE for socially marginalized segments of society (Volansky, 2012). The fact that these colleges aim to accommodate students who may not be able to gain entrance to the more prestigious universities also attracts many Jewish students, who choose private colleges on the basis of geographical and other convenience considerations, and disregard the consideration of academic quality or reputation. The most likely explanation for PAMI students choosing a private college is to bypass difficulties due to obstacles set by university admission requirements (Arar et al., 2014).

As mentioned before, the term "Via Delarosa" is an appropriate description for the many difficulties and obstacles that PAMI students face in their attempts to access HE in Israel (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). As previously explained in Chapter 3, this reality is the result of several factors. The Israeli school system is divided into separate PAMI and Jewish systems. According to the most recent State Report (Ben-David, 2014), almost 16% of PAMI students drop out from their studies at the age of 14 in comparison to 5% of Jewish students. Only 65% of PAMI students finish high school compared to almost 95% of Jewish students. A mere 38% of PAMI students, in comparison to 56% Jewish students, are eligible for a matriculation certificate (Shaviv et al., 2013). Similar gaps are observed between the achievements of Jewish and PAMI students in the standard PIRLS exam (Arlosoroff, 2014a). An additional indication of the gap between the two systems is that PAMI students' average score for psychometric tests is lower by 112 points (out of 800) than the average score for Jewish students (Ben-David, 2014). As noted in Chapter 3, a recent study by Karletz, Bin-Simon, Ibrahim, and Avitar (2014) throws new light on this last gap, arguing that PAMI students' lower results in psychometric test are due to significant differences in the efficient reading of texts in the two languages, Hebrew and Arabic. According to their research, the difference apparently stems from the speed of lexical decoding and retrieval of words in each language, something that is connected directly with the formative structure of the Arab language in contrast to Hebrew. The gap between spoken and written (literary) Arabic is large, to the extent that the acquisition of the written language can be seen as gaining a second language and it has been proven that this influences the essential linguistic mechanisms of learning a language.

To address these gaps in achievements, efforts are currently being invested by the PAMI school system to improve the standard of school education. Additionally, the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the CHE set up two committees to investigate ways to improve access to HEI for PAMI students, in the first instance under the direction of Professor Majid Al-Haj in 1999, and later under Professor Emanuel Trachtenberg and Professor Faisal Azaiza in 2012. The committees identified obstacles facing PAMI candidates for HEI in Israel and recommended several initiatives and policy changes for HEI in order to improve PAMI students' access to HE (Kirsh, 2010; Shaviv et al., 2013).

The aims of this chapter are threefold: (1) to describe the decisions and recommendations of these committees; (2) to trace their implementation in HEI; and (3) to explain the implications of these recommendations for PAMI high schools by reporting our findings from four case studies in leading PAMI high schools.

We relate to these three dimensions through the findings of our qualitative–phenomenological research (Creswell, 2009). Initially, documentary analysis was used to understand the decisions and recommendations of the Planning and Budgeting Committee from 1999 and from 2012. The initiatives proposed on these two occasions were examined, investigating the extent to which they were implemented and whether they were successful. In addition, to crosscheck initial data and expand existing knowledge concerning this issue, we examined the implications of these recommendations for the PAMI school system. To do this we interviewed the principals and students from four PAMI schools (selected in consultation with the supervisor of PAMI education), to investigate the extent of their awareness regarding these initiatives and the ways in which they act to increase their Grade 12 students' awareness of the initiatives and to improve their access to HE.

Policy Initiatives and Programs to Widen Access to HE

Admission requirements for Israeli universities determine threshold conditions based on high school learning achievements and high scores in psychometric tests (Yogev and Ayalon, 2008). The regulations of the CHE determine that candidates will be accepted according to their Israeli matriculation certificates or a certificate of equal value and a pass grade in the psychometric test, without discrimination regarding race, gender, religion, and nationality (Iram, 2011). These requirements determine acceptance to the system and not the student's ability to assimilate within it. This conclusion is supported by the fact that research and public debate have questioned the ability of the selected criteria to predict the student's

success in academic studies (Gamliel & Cahan, 2004). Also, there is ample research literature arguing that there is covert discrimination structured into the demand for a matriculation certificate and for high psychometric test scores (Al-Haj, 2003b; Arar & Mustafa, 2011).

Many scholars claim that the Israeli–Palestinian dispute detrimentally influences the lives of the PAMI at any time and in any location in the state. This includes discriminatory allocation of resources for PAMI schools. Deficient budgeting harms the quality of school education that the PAMI school system can provide and leads to inequality of opportunity to reach HE (Abu-Saad, 2006; Addi-Raccah & Mazawi, 2004; Arlosoroff, 2014b). As we noted in Chapter 3, Arlosoroff (2014a) shows that 67% of the PAMI education system examinees were not eligible for a matriculation certificate (in comparison to 47% of Jewish education system examinees). Only 24% of each Grade 12 cohort of PAMI students attains a certificate of sufficiently high quality to access HEI, compared to 45% of each Jewish Grade 12 cohort (ibid.). This is a significant issue since in competitive conditions, where demand exceeds supply, compliance with threshold conditions for acceptance to HEI depends on the quality of these certificates (Hanedin, 2011; Yogev, 2008). These admission requirements therefore constitute a serious impediment for the PAMI population.

In addition to this admissions policy, the ethos of the HEI has a significant influence on the student's assimilation and social and academic success (Hanedin, 2011). The HEI in Israel, which are largely committed to promoting the Israeli national narrative and less to pluralism, often fail to recognize the PAMI narrative and this means that PAMI students often feel that they are outsiders in Israeli campuses (Arar, 2015a). The fact that most of the policies concerning acceptance and assimilation within HEI are determined at the level of the institution and not by legislation or public committees or national intervention programs often means that the HEI do not invest efforts to encourage or assist assimilation of PAMI students in their campuses and this produces a general atmosphere of alienation. The most basic level of legislation to assist the integration of minorities within higher education is the establishment of the right to education (Hanedin, 2011). This right is anchored in the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which Israel only joined in 1991 (Degan-Bouzaglo, 2007). However the rights defined in this covenant were not adopted as basic laws in Israeli legislation and some have not even been legislated as regular statutes (Arlosoroff, 2014b). Nevertheless Israel's Compulsory Education Law determines that education is compulsory for all children and youth who reside in Israel, from preprimary school age until Grade 10, and this was extended to Grade 12 in a recent amendment.

With regard to HE, the goal defined in the International Covenant is the creation of a system of education that is accessible to all on the sole basis of academic ability (Degan-Bouzaglo, 2007). In the past decade, the HE system of Israel has expanded dramatically with the establishment of new public and private academic colleges that have enabled the tripling of the numbers of students in HEI (Volansky, 2012). Nevertheless, there is no consensus regarding the necessity for an egalitarian HE system (Degan-Bouzaglo, 2007).

In December 2000, concern regarding the gap in access between PAMI and Jewish students to Israel's HEI led the CHE to establish the Al-Haj Committee to map the provision of HE for the PAMI and to present a comprehensive report that would include the committee's opinion and recommendations. This report was approved on January 8, 2002, and presented the following data:

1. There was underrepresentation of the PAMI in Israel's HEI despite the abolition of the military regime in 1966, improvement in the PAMI education system and establishment of the University of Haifa in 1982 that attracted the PAMI living in the close environs, and also despite the opening of regional colleges that accelerated access to HE. Nevertheless, these changes did lead to an increase of 5.4%, so that PAMI students constituted 7.1% of the HEI student body at the end of the 1990s, an underrepresentation of 13% in comparison to their proportion in the general population of Israel.
2. The committee's analysis indicated that the gap between Jewish and PAMI students begins with low achievements in PAMI high schools, high PAMI dropout rates of, and low PAMI rates of eligibility for matriculation certificates. An additional problem is related to the low average quality of matriculation certificates attained by PAMI school graduates that does not comply with admissions requirements for HEI in Israel, such as three units (out of a possible five units) in English, and discrimination in the universities' consideration of specializations that entitle bonuses (i.e., Jewish bible studies at the level of five units entitles the student to bonus points for their matriculation certification on university entrance in contrast to Islamic studies that do not entitle the student to such a bonus) (Al-Haj, 2003b).
3. The psychometric test constitutes a main obstacle that detrimentally influences PAMI students' ability to be accepted for studies in HEI in Israel. This is because PAMI students' average grades on these tests are 100–120 points less than those of their Jewish peers. According to the authors of the report, this is because the psychometric tests were planned and structured for students with a "Western" background and they therefore embody a cultural bias (ibid.).

4. Additionally, PAMI students encounter problems on the campuses of Israeli universities that lead to a high dropout rate of 16% (Ghara, 2013). The transition from the Palestinian village or town to an Israeli campus constitutes a sharp sociocultural transition so that PAMI students, especially the women, need to learn to mediate between two different cultural worlds, and also to assimilate different academic study methods from those they were accustomed to in PAMI schools (Al-Haj, 2003b). The diagnosis of these problems led the committee to suggest recommendations concerning admission requirements and financial assistance. They advised the opening of preacademic preparatory courses and the establishment of information centers concerning HEI for the PAMI population in the locations where they live. In order to improve representation of the PAMI in HEI, they recommended that the psychometric test would not constitute more than 50% of the requirements and that it should be weighed alongside the student's matriculation achievements. In addition, they recommended social support programs to assist PAMI students in their integration. One such program is the Perach scholarship program, especially suitable for women, that provides a grant of tuition fees to those who perform social services, such as assisting school students in PAMI villages or Bedouin children in the Negev.
5. The committee recommended the integration of PAMI academic staff in HEI, noting that only 1% of HEI faculty staff were PAMI academics. They also recommended the establishment of a Maof (Vision) Fund to encourage HEI to absorb PAMI lecturers.
6. The committee also recommended the allocation of specific budgets. Following evaluation of proposals suggested by the HEI, the committee decided to allocate budgets for the following areas of activity: establishment of two information and support centers for PAMI students, one in the University of Haifa in the North, and the other in the Ben Gurion University in the South; allocation of funds to encourage the employment of Arabic-speaking academic counselors to assist the absorption of PAMI students in HEI; encouragement for the establishment of personal tutoring for PAMI students in HEI; and also the establishment of a committee to provide scholarships for excelling PAMI doctorate students (Al-Haj, 2003b).

In parallel with the support mentioned above, the committee also called on the HEI to open preparatory streams for PAMI students in preacademic

courses to improve PAMI students' readiness for academic studies and to reduce dropout from HEI (CHE, 2008).

The issue of access for PAMI students was also not ignored by the Committee for Examination of the Higher Education system (Volansky, 2012). This committee tried to find solutions for a continuous crisis in the HE system in general and difficulties relating to access to HEI in particular. The committee announced that "bringing these populations [Palestinians and Orthodox Jews] closer to the gates [of the HEI] and fostering the quality of the HEI are two main challenges that the system will have to cope with in the coming decade" (cited in Hanedin, 2011, p. 23).

However, these policy decisions made by the different committees were in the form of recommendations and only a few of them were applied (Alon & Tienda, 2007; Arar & Mustafa, 2011) so that although there was an increase in the access of PAMI school graduates to Israeli HEI, they are still underrepresented in relation to their proportion in the state's population in these institutions (13% of HEI students and 17% of the general population in 2014); and despite the implementation of the Maof program, the percentage of PAMI faculty in the HEI has not yet reached 2%, which is an underrepresentation of 15% relative to the PAMI proportion of the general population (Stone & Wizer, 2015). This disadvantageous situation has undoubtedly constituted a catalyst for the massive stream of PAMI students to unsubsidized foreign HEI (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).

Despite the promise voiced in the Planning and Budgeting Committee's recommendations to broaden PAMI access to HE (Al-Haj, 2003b), the state did not allocate the necessary resources for the realization of the recommended policies. The decisions were not followed by legislation and there was no follow-up after their implementation. The fact that little changed after the Al-Haj committee (2000), led eventually to the establishment of yet another committee, the Trachtenberg Committee in 2012 (Shaviv et al., 2013). This committee once more detailed the obstacles hindering PAMI access to HE, noting that the percentage of PAMI students in HEI stood at 12% in the year when the committee was established although their percentage in the relevant age cross section of the population was 26%. The committee declared that one of its goals was to reduce inequality (ibid., p. 3) and noted that there had been a significant increase in PAMI studies abroad, especially the stream of Bedouin students from Israel to study in Hebron in the Palestinian Authority territories, and PAMI students studying in Jordan and in the American University in Jenin (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014). The Trachtenberg Committee therefore recommended that solutions should be found for the following issues: students' lower average achievements in the PAMI education system, obstacles set by the HEI such

as minimum age limits, cultural and linguistic difficulties that the students face in institutes that instruct in Hebrew and English, and difficulties relating to geographic location of HEI (scarcity of HEI in Palestinian towns and villages), and the exclusively Jewish national character of HEI in Israel.

Analysis of the initiatives proposed by the last Planning and Budgeting Committee session (2012) shows that the committee related to several different levels:

1. Access to information, counseling, and guidance in Arabic and deepening the academic orientation of the PAMI high school. The committee recommended establishment of 19 information bureaus to provide guidance and counseling before HE in cooperation with the PAMI high schools, and distribution of trustworthy information in Arabic concerning the admission thresholds, preparatory courses, scholarships, etc. Orientation seminars were to be held for the students in their natural settings.
2. Preacademic preparation before admission to HEI. The committee recommended broadening PAMI students' participation in preacademic courses, including private tutoring lessons and boosting Hebrew language skills and funding preparatory courses for psychometric tests, including scholarships for excellence for those studying in the preparatory courses. For example, the "First Step" program was constructed to cope with the hurdle of the Hebrew language, and learn about academic culture—this would be conducted in a short-term program aiming to reduce gaps stemming from diverse starting points.
3. Preparation for easy academic assimilation in HEI within preacademic courses.
4. Provision of comprehensive support for PAMI freshmen to reduce gaps and minimize the high level of dropout. High-quality absorption within the academic world, including social and academic guidance, and cultural adjustments in learning institutions (such as recognition of PAMI festivals and holidays) for PAMI students. This would include the establishment of an institutional platform supported by the different management levels of the institution to support successful integration of PAMI students.

The committee also developed philanthropic bodies to support access for PAMI students to HEI, under the auspices of (1) Joint Israel which acts to reinforce social services and runs programs to promote industry in PAMI communities, (2) "Kav Mashvei (the Equalizer)" that operates to facilitate the absorption of PAMI academics in the disciplines that they have studied (Hai, 2012), (3) The Kahanoff Fund that contributes to the Maof grants for

the absorption of PAMI academic in HEI faculty and supports community projects, and (4) other funds such as the Israeli Lottery Fund that provides grants to PAMI students (Shaviv et al., 2013).

The CHE's most recent set of five-year programs (2013) for improved access for PAMI students to HEI can be divided into five categories:

- Vocational education in PAMI high schools and counseling to assist PAMI students to establish their future orientation and improve their skills especially, Arabic language skills, toward their academic education.
- Practical preacademic preparatory courses for PAMI youth whose matriculation certificate is not sufficiently high to qualify for HEI entrance, in order to bridge this gap in achievements.
- Support and advice during the first year of studies at HEI. It was recommended that this should include the "Headstart" scholarship program and a program for the support of absorption in HEI with the assistance of tutors.
- Toward the end of first degree studies, in Year 3 the Council suggested a program for vocational guidance to mediate the gap between PAMI graduates' academic education and their potential to find future employment in the Israeli jobs market.
- Scholarships for students who integrate in master's and doctoral degree programs and postdoctorate studies in selected disciplines.

These programs were followed-up by a steering committee under the leadership of the Vice-Chairman of the Planning and Budgeting Committee, Professor Faisal Azaiza. Table 7.1 summarizes these programs.

Table 7.1 Analysis of the Initiatives of the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the CHE (2013) to Broaden Access to HE in Israel

Stage/characteristic	Content of initiative
Access to information	Improving linguistic skills, improving the role of the counselor in schools regarding the student's future academic orientation, conducting seminars for vocation guidance
Preacademic preparation	Preparation courses, such as "First steps," improving Hebrew skills, academic literacy, funding for psychometric courses
Secure entry into academia	Support for full academic, social, emotional, and cultural integration into campus life
This is an unsupervised, noncompulsory policy for change	

Table 7.1 shows that the CHE intended to mediate the academic, cultural, social, and economic gaps between Jewish and PAMI students, living in separate zones in many life domains (Arar, 2015b) in order to ensure equal access to HE for both groups. This policy is one that aims to encourage change in the institutions, which operate these supplementary projects, but no regulation or obligation to conduct these changes is mentioned. The financial rewards for conducting these programs are given under the condition that a senior member of staff be appointed to supervise the program in the HEI and that the institution's Internet site should be translated into Arabic. Nevertheless, an examination of the universities in Israel found that this rule was only followed in some of them. Moreover, it seems that the preuniversity courses only absorbed approximately 700 students (Stone & Wizer, 2015), who constituted just 6% of all PAMI high school graduates. The special programs were mainly performed in academic colleges and there the success rate was 55%, and this means that just 3% of PAMI high school graduates succeeded in them, which still does not indicate whether these students succeeded in integrating afterward in the HEI, especially since most of the courses were conducted in the colleges and not the universities. The extent of perseverance of PAMI students in their degree studies can be seen in Table 7.2, which compares the proportion of dropouts from first degree studies between Jewish and PAMI students.

It therefore seems that perversely it was during the period of this five-year program of the CHE that there was a high rate of dropout from studies among PAMI students from Israeli HEI, with a rate twice as high in the

Table 7.2 Dropout Rates of PAMI and Jewish Students from Israeli HEI, 2013–2014

	Dropout rates for academic year 2013–2014		
Type of HEI	Total (%)	Jews (%)	PAMI (%)
The entire system	11.6	11.0	15.2
Universities subsidized by the CHE	11.3	10.9	13.3
Universities	11.2	10.9	12.2
Colleges subsidized by the CHE	11.5	10.9	14.5
Nonsubsidized colleges	12.7	11.2	23.2

Source: CHE (2015).

nonsubsidized institutes. The reason is clear, and is that this population constitutes 56% of the Israeli population that lives below the poverty line (Arar, 2015a). Yet it was also during this period that there was a significant stream of PAMI students to HEI abroad, as we noted in Chapter 4.

Moreover, when we investigated the fifth category of the Council's initiatives, the scholarships for higher academic degree studies, we found that only 19 scholarships had been granted for master's degrees and 14 for doctorates, 8 grants for postdoctorate studies, and 4 Maof grants for the absorption of PAMI academic staff in Israel's HEI (Stone & Wizer, 2015). In other words, it seems that at this rate, at least 150 years will be needed to close the gap between PAMI and Jewish students and staff in Israel's HEI, even without calculating the natural increase of the PAMI, their percentage in the relevant age groups, or the expansion of HEI in Israel.

To investigate the significance of the intentions and policy decisions to improve access for PAMI school graduates to Israeli HEI, for PAMI high schools we conducted an in-depth qualitative study concerning the challenges facing these students when they attempted to enter HEI. We interviewed students and role-holders in two PAMI high schools. Both schools prepared most of their students to be eligible for access to HEI. Our aim was to map the challenges that the students faced when they applied to Israeli HEI and to examine whether the schools were aware of the CHE's initiatives to broaden access for the PAMI.

We conducted four collective case studies in PAMI high schools in the North of Israel, in order to collect evidence on this issue (Yosefon, 2001). Each school constituted a test case and provided an additional piece of information in order to understand the research topic in-depth. Twelve interviewees participated in the study, including four principals (three male and one female) aged from 39 to 48 (mean age 44) with between 3 and 12 years' experience in their roles (a mean of seven years' experience) and eight Grade 12 students from high schools in the North of Israel. In each school we interviewed the principal and two students.

Two of the schools were chosen intentionally according to recommendations that testified to their familiarity with the preparation of students to gain access to HEI, and therefore constituted rich and meaningful sources of information. One is a sciences school, with selective student intake; the second school has an intake that is of very heterogenic capability academically, including students from various villages. The other two schools were chosen according to convenience considerations relating to our ability to attain access to the school. Table 7.3 summarizes the characteristics of the schools and the principals.

Table 7.3 Characteristics of the Studied Schools and their Principals

Characteristics	School 1	School 2	School 3	School 4
Principal's age	39	43	48	45
Principal's years of experience	3	4	12	10
Socioeconomic strata of students	Low–medium	Medium–high	Low	Medium–high
Type of student population	Hetero-geneous	Selective-homogenous	Hetero-geneous	Hetero-geneous
No. of students in school	450	293	647	470
No. of students in Grade 12	126	97	110	86
Percentage entitled to matriculation certificate (year 2013–2014)	54	98	43	59

The Challenge of Higher Education

The research findings revealed many obstacles and challenges facing PAMI school graduates who wish to attain access to Israel's HEI. They also indicated that PAMI high schools create various initiatives to increase to a maximum the proportion of their graduates who are able to gain access to the HEI. The principals saw this as their primary goal and considered this the test of their school's quality. Ahmed, a high school principal, explained:

> Our main goal is to ensure that students are able to attain access to higher education. That is what we do. The students study for three years and the proof of our effectiveness, as we see it, is how many school graduates were able to integrate in academic studies.

Dina, a female principal, also explained that she felt there was a national aspect to her work and that she had a sense of mission to prepare the students for HE:

> My battle is to prepare [students] to integrate in academia; for me higher education means power and survival in the state and the power to struggle for our rights. . . . I see my role as a mission to lead students to higher education.

Ahmed related the extent of the school's investment in this work:

> The school does everything possible to enable as many students as possible to assimilate in HEI, investing more than the parents or the students themselves do.

The students that we interviewed related to three main points that motivated them to strive for HE: (1) HE ensures financial independence; (2) HE is a tool to cope with future life challenges, the entry to real life, as Mona, a Grade 12 student, noted: "I see education as a weapon to help me overcome future difficulties and obstacles." (3) Education is seen as an opportunity for personal progress and development, as Hanan, a female student, explained: "Education can strengthen my self-confidence, develop my thinking, helping me to be optimistic concerning my future, because I will have something positive to expect."

To summarize, the principals saw access to HE as a national and academic goal and as a mark of the school's achievements. The students saw HE as a tool for advancement, ensuring financial independence and self-development. Nevertheless access to HE is seen as a serious challenge.

The Challenge of the Psychometric Test

Both principals and students saw the psychometric test as the main challenge. Some students had to take the test several times to improve their score, a process involving expensive financial costs (Haimovitch & Ben Shahar, 2004). Ahmed elucidated this point:

> Some disciplines require high psychometric scores and a high school average, so the student deliberates whether to invest efforts and repeat the exams to gain higher grades or to apply for a discipline with lower demands.

Yosef, another principal, added: "the psychometric test is an obstacle for them, it frustrates them, and they have no other option." Other admission criteria were also seen as challenging. Hadil, a female student, noted:

> Another challenge is the admission requirements, some of us have to sit the matriculation exam again to improve grades and they still only gain conditional acceptance [for one year during which they must prove their ability to improve their achievements].

Nasrin, another female student, explains why as a woman the admission criteria are especially relevant: "The admission criteria are especially challenging for women, because not all of them can study abroad as can the men."

Some HEI faculties also demand a minimum age for commencement of studies. This is a serious difficulty for many PAMI students and pushes them to continue their studies abroad as Yosef explained:

> Sometimes the faculty, where they wish to study, restricts the age of entry so they don't know whether to wait [several years] or to go abroad or to change their discipline.

An additional challenge noted by the interviewees is the need for Hebrew language skills. A deficient command of the Hebrew language makes orientation and assimilation in Israeli academia very difficult. Hanan explained:

> Another challenge we face is how to cope with the Hebrew language used for instruction. At school we learn Hebrew grammar for a few hours each week and now most of the day will be in Hebrew. It is a real challenge for us, trying to understand a lecture that is being delivered in rapid speech.

Personal Challenges

In addition to the challenges set by the HEI, presented in the previous section, there are individual personal challenges facing a PAMI student who wants to study in the HEI, such as financial difficulties. Yosef explained that this factor might lead to the student delaying studies:

> Students who have an unstable socioeconomic situation obviously have to face this issue [financial difficulties], even questioning whether they can continue their studies immediately after high school.

Another challenge may arise when there is inadequate support from the student's family. Hadil noted: "when parents are educated, they help the student to decide. They will take an active part in making the decision and can guide him."

Another consideration is that lack of connection between the student's abilities and the disciplines that they choose may limit their ability to plan their future studies. Many students want to study a particular discipline but are forced to compromise and study another discipline because of demands for a threshold age, high psychometric scores, or high matriculation grades, while others have a preference for a particular HEI but cannot comply with its requirements.

Deliberations Involved in Decision-making

In addition to the institutional and personal challenges noted by the interviewees, they also mentioned certain difficult deliberations that PAMI students face when deciding on their future path in HE. The main deliberation relates to choice of discipline that the student wishes to study. Mainly, the students indicated that they want to acquire a profession that will allow them to integrate into the jobs market and so they see this as a critical decision. Hanan noted: "the first thing is which discipline to study? This is very important because what you learn influences your life or at least many years of it."

The students may also fear failure and be anxious that they cannot cope with the pressure. Hadil expressed her own fears: "when we look at the next stage we become frightened, it's something new, unfamiliar, it's a fear of many things." Principal Ahmed also related to the students' expectations regarding the new space they will find in the HEI: "they have not previously experienced higher education—it's something new for them and they are all afraid of new things."

To summarize, the Grade 12 PAMI students voiced fears concerning the challenges they face and felt they had to make critical decisions at this stage which would shape their futures. The school therefore has an important role in helping the students to prepare themselves for academic studies and to make the necessary decisions at this stage.

Initiatives to Improve Access for PAMI to HEI

When we investigated whether PAMI schools employed initiatives to improve PAMI students' access to HEI in Israel, we found that they had used a broad variety of activities to encourage students' integration in HE; some of these activities are conducted by school staff, others with the cooperation of the HEI, and others are initiated by the third sector (civil and voluntary organizations). It became evident that the abovementioned initiatives of the CHE were not implemented in the school, and most of the principals had not even heard about them.

School-initiated Activities

The principals lead projects, together with the educational counselors, to increase access to HEI and to provide vocational guidance through various activities with the participation of the school staff. The first stage of their activities is to sort the students according to their grades or according to the school's own qualifying exam and they then divide the students into

ability streams to improve their abilities so that they can attain successful results in the matriculation exams.

Ahmed sees this sorting process as important: "Sorting students into streams, and assigning a suitable number of matriculation units to each of them is very important." One school had taken an exceptional step in their efforts to ensure their students' acceptance to HEI; they teach German in Grade 10 and guide their students to technological studies in Germany. The principal explained that his school also prepared the students for the alternative of studying abroad, because they had lost hope or doubted the ability of all their students to gain access to HEI in Israel; he elaborated:

> Apart from the adaptation of the streams to the students' abilities, the educational counselor is a main protagonist in leading this project. As part of a Life Skills program she holds conversations with the students to support them and provide them with relevant information.

Hanan related to the role of the counselor and the support provided to the students: "the educational counselor tries to support us. If we have questions she can provide us with specific information and helps us to search for information."

Other initiatives performed by the schools to encourage students to aim for HE included inviting guest lecturers to talk about their own success in HE as a source of inspiration. Yosef told us:

> We invite successful people, who are well-known in PAMI society to tell their story, especially the challenges that they faced and the coping strategies they applied to deal with those challenges.

Additionally, the schools take groups of students to visit the HEI that offer suitable disciplines in line with the school's academic programs. Ahmed noted: "we take students to visit the Technion and the university."

One of the schools had an "academization" project, allowing the students to participate in HEI studies while still in the high school. Yosef explained:

> The academization project is unique to our school, we send the students to academic institutes, such as the university, the Weizman Institute, the Technion, etc. They study there twice a week. In this way the student experiences academic studies and the fear of the transition to academia is reduced.

Third-sector Initiatives

Some of the associations dealing with the widening of access to HE for PAMI students are authorized by the Ministry of Education to assist

students by reducing gaps to ensure equal opportunities to PAMI students. Examples are the "Kav Mashvei" association. Other associations have been created as a result of the galvanization of PAMI students, under the auspices of the National Students' Union, such as "The Association of Palestinian Students," "Akraa Association," and "APAC" association. Each of the studied schools knew about and mentioned these associations.

It is concluded that the schools conducted various activities, initiated by the principal and educational counselor, to promote the students' desire and ability to access HE. The principals also suggested other activities that they would like to implement in the schools, for example, inviting the Kav Mashveh representatives to explain their work to a group of Grade 12 students to emphasize the importance of HE as a step to employment.

Conclusion

Despite the declared policies expressed in the various government committees' reports on the issue of access to Israeli HEI for PAMI students, there is still a gap between the resources and efforts invested to assist Jewish students to access HE and those invested to assist PAMI students (Hanedin, 2011).

The strict policies of many HEI fail to reduce these gaps since the CHE policies are not seen as policies for thorough change and there is no compulsory regulation or supervision to ensure their implementation (Arar, 2015b). Moreover, although there are now 64 HEI in Israel, including seven universities, with the remainder being academic colleges and teacher-education colleges, only three of the colleges are situated in PAMI localities and serve the PAMI population. The fact that there are so few HEI in the close vicinity of PAMI localities also contributes to the lack of access for this population (Alon & Tienda, 2007).

As noted above, proposals to establish PAMI universities have met with government resistance (Arar & Mustafa, 2011). Moreover, the gap in access is also expressed in programs for financial assistance offered by various public bodies, since they give preference to the Jewish population: the Ministry of Absorption supports new immigrants who are by definition Jewish, the Ministry of Security supports soldiers after discharge, who are predominantly Jewish, and the Joint Fund of the Ministry of Education and the CHE gives preference to those living in national priority settlements (only Jewish) or restoration project neighborhoods which relate predominately to Jewish populations (Degan-Bouzaglo, 2007).

The findings presented here indicate that there are still deficiencies in the options available to PAMI students to improve their representation and assimilation in Israel's HEI and PAMI principals' and students'

awareness of these options is almost nonexistent, so that the students are not exposed to these options and this limits their ability to exploit them positively for their better assimilation in academia. The principals did not relate to the option of a year's preparatory course for HEI in either of its extant versions: disciplinary and mixed content. This preparatory year could assist PAMI students in their absorption in HEI, although in some cases there is little difference between these courses and Year 1 of academic studies. However, the interviewees raised the issue of financial difficulties that restrict access to HEI.

It seems that the five-year program of the CHE has not yet been accompanied by follow-up research or any evaluative study. According to the Planning and Budgeting Committee, the conditions are not yet ripe for the establishment of a university in a PAMI village or town. It is suggested that the teacher-education colleges operating in PAMI society should be upgraded to become academic colleges, and the ground should be prepared for the establishment of a PAMI academic institution in PAMI society, just as it was possible to rapidly construct and finance and operate the Ariel University in occupied territories in the West Bank, despite international protest. There are 65 HEI in Israel (CHE, 2015). In order to ensure true equal representation of PAMI students in HEI, approximately 13 HEI should be situated in PAMI locations (Arar, 2015b). This is especially needed in the Negev region in the South of Israel where the PAMI population was divested of approximately 88% of its lands (Abu-Saad, 2010).

The findings presented in this chapter may have international significance since similar difficulties are encountered in access to HE among minority students, students of color, and immigrant students in the HEI of many other countries and the findings can inform efforts to improve access to HE among different underprivileged groups.

We have drawn attention to significant challenges that minority students face in order to gain access to HE, and Israeli government policies on HE which fail to notice and provide due consideration for the local movement of PAMI students to universities in Jordan and the Palestinian Authority territories, or their international movement to universities in foreign countries as presented in Chapter 4. Further research is therefore needed, we would argue, to understand how this student mobility fits into the larger picture of the contemporary transformation of HE spaces and how the advantages of internationalization of HE can be exploited together with changes in Israeli national policy to improve PAMI students' access to HE. Efforts should be made to enable underprivileged minority students and not just the most privileged sections of society to enjoy the benefits of high-quality education in line with policies for the development of the economy and the employment market.

Epilogue

> If education is not given to everyone, no serious contribution can be made to society by those who lead.
>
> *Imam Malik ibn Anas (711–795)*

Throughout this book, we have presented official data and evidence from different qualitative and quantitative research studies, and especially from our own specific research to describe the development and present status of access to higher education (HE) among the PAMI. We identified the challenges facing PAMI students at all stages of the education process and the needs that still remain to be met. Using the lens of different perspectives, we discussed the role of HE for PAMI society and the role that PAMI academic graduates can play in Israel.

The issues discussed in the different chapters of the book traced the history of the acquisition of HE by Palestinians from the time of the British Mandate and elucidate the complexity of the HE system, both in present-day Israel and other states. The data presented here demonstrate how the PAMI have found new paths to attain HE, overcoming obstacles that resulted from the difficult reality in which they live, so that today a large proportion of the younger generation are now higher education institution(s) (HEI) graduates.

The book looks at the significance of the HE system for the PAMI in a holistic manner and adopts different approaches for the analysis of the data in order to achieve a comprehensive picture of the problematic circumstances that influence PAMI students when they decide to pursue HE, while studying, and after graduating, when they attempt to integrate into the Israeli employment market.

Following the war of 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel, the PAMI became a minority overnight in the land where they had been a majority. With a depleted population, no leadership, and no collective awareness, there was no vertical or horizontal structure for Palestinian education in place in the new state. Yet the loss of land appropriated by the new state gave new importance to HE in order to develop PAMI society's

human capital. HE constitutes a catalyst for the social, economic, demographic, and political development of PAMI society, at a time when it is undergoing a transition from a conservative patriarchal society dependent on agriculture to a modern society that relies largely on integration within the Israeli employment market and on individual initiative in the free professions. HE provides a path to socioeconomic advancement in the Jewish and democratic State of Israel, and strengthens the political voice of the PAMI in its democratic bodies. Thus, the significance of HE for the PAMI is dynamic and constantly changing. The Israeli HE system is also affected by the inclusion of steadily increasing numbers of the PAMI in its student body, enriching its cultural input and contributing to debate and discussion from new perspectives.

There has been a consistent improvement in access to HE for PAMI students, particularly among marginalized groups within PAMI society itself. This includes the spread of HE to the vicinity of rural villages and access to HE for women, who in the past were not allowed to acquire HE. The development of Israel's HE system has led to a consistent increase in the proportion of PAMI graduates, especially an increase in female graduates, and this in turn has had obvious repercussions for PAMI society. HE has become one of the important tools to challenge and overcome the marginalization of the PAMI in the employment market and to help them to integrate in "modern" Israeli society. Moreover, the steady increase in the number and proportion of PAMI students in the Israeli universities proves that the previous low rates of participation in HE were not due to intellectual or cultural hindrances, but rather they were the result of constraints set by Israeli universities under successive political regimes, which obstructed the admission of a representative proportion of PAMI students to Israeli universities.

Nevertheless, the PAMI remain underrepresented in Israeli HEI, especially in some universities and prestigious faculties. Despite the government's declared policy to increase the rate of PAMI participation in HE, actual rates are still low in comparison to their percentage in the Israeli population. Beyond reducing inequality between the PAMI and Jews in Israel and consequent improvement of relations between the majority and minority, increasing the rate of PAMI participation in HE can also have important implications in social and economic spheres. PAMI academic graduates can contribute significantly to the economy of the State of Israel as a whole. One area in which this contribution is already evident is in the PAMI contribution to the public medical and paramedical services. The HE system has the potential to engender change across society by improving the socioeconomic status of minorities in Israel, and hopefully

broadening the input of the HEI can serve as a turning point toward a more pluralistic and equitable society in Israel.

PAMI students face many obstacles from the moment that they plan to acquire HE. Some of these obstacles are similar to those which other minority group students face all over the world, but some seem to be unique and special obstacles for PAMI students, who are citizens of Israel. Many of these obstacles stem from the problematic history of political relations between the Jewish majority and the PAMI minority in Israel, and the civil status of the PAMI in a state that defines itself as a democratic state on the one hand, and as a Jewish state on the other.

In practice, one of the major obstacles for PAMI students from Israel when they decide to enroll for an Israeli university is the selective psychometric test. Despite the importance which the HE system in Israel gives to the psychometric test, the studies we have presented here show that this selective tool is not required in most developed countries. PAMI students and Jewish students from underprivileged peripheral areas in Israel are at a disadvantage in these tests because preparatory courses are needed to learn the special skills and knowledge required (e.g., time-exploitation skills). Preparatory courses are very expensive and often more than one course is needed to gain a sufficiently high score for university entrance, so that they are often inaccessible, especially for deprived populations, such as the PAMI, that suffer from deficient resources.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, there is almost a complete geographical separation between Palestinians and Jews in Israel. The PAMI mainly live in ethnic enclaves. The education system is also split into the PAMI and Jewish education systems. But students of both groups will inevitably meet each other in Israel's HEI, because there is no separate PAMI university in Israel. This is a meeting of students from different cultural, educational, and social backgrounds. The university is the only arena in which both groups compete for achievement and excellence, in minimum equal conditions, with a bias in favor of the Jewish student's culture and norms. This encounter may either deepen the isolation of PAMI students on the campus, or contribute to their assimilation in the new culture of the other. The cultural environment of the international campus provides a great opportunity for freedom of expression, and a deep sense of citizenship and understanding. Therefore, the university is considered by PAMI students both as a catalyst for their integration in this culture, and also simultaneously as a catalyst for their own national political awareness and empowerment.

The PAMI see HE as a partial solution to assist them in achieving equal employment opportunities in the Israeli labor market. The deliberations

and obstacles that PAMI students face at each stage in the education process, the preacademic, the academic, and the postacademic obstacles, have a cumulative effect. Although each stage is separate from the other, success at each stage is influenced by that which preceded it and affects the next, creating a complex of difficulties for PAMI students.

Not all PAMI students are able to access the Israeli HEI. The structural gaps in preacademic achievements, difficult admission requirements, minimum age stipulations for certain preferred disciplines, high rejection rates, and the predominance of Jewish culture, especially in Israeli universities, push many PAMI students to seek HEI outside of Israel, where they can realize their dream to pursue HE to ensure their future employment.

As is the case in most countries, PAMI students begin their HE immediately after high school, but Israeli Jews, who constitute the majority of students in Israeli HEI, begin their HE after a long military service and often also after roaming abroad following their service in the army. In addition to cultural differences between the PAMI and Jewish students, this creates an age gap between the PAMI and Jewish students that is not considered by the universities whose lifestyle is determined primarily by the Jewish majority. This is an additional factor that adds to PAMI students' sense of foreignness on the campus and to the alien institutional climate for students belonging to the minority group. PAMI students from Israel could meet these challenges more easily and feel more "at home" if Israeli HEI acknowledged and worked to implement structured programs to ameliorate the gap produced by these differences.

It is clear that the extent of PAMI access to Israel's HEI depends on two factors: first, the demographic and educational background of PAMI applicants requesting enrollment in Israeli HEI; second, the willingness of Israeli HEI to accept these students and to facilitate their integration. Between the desire of the PAMI for increased access to Israel's HEI and the HEI's stringent admission policies and lack of consideration for PAMI students' special needs stands the declared Israeli policy, expressed in the decisions of the HE Council's Planning and Budgeting Committee, which has introduced reforms and programs to increase the participation of the PAMI students in Israel's HEI. These decisions aimed to assert pressure on the university decision-makers to amend their acceptance policy to facilitate the acceptance and integration of minority and other peripheral students; however they were not obligatory and their uptake by the HEI has been minimal. We have also shown that the PAMI schools are largely unaware of these decisions and therefore do not exploit them sufficiently for their students' benefit. Thus, the PAMI remain underrepresented in the student body and very harshly underrepresented in the faculty of most Israeli HEI and little has been done to facilitate their assimilation.

There are determinants that still play an active role in determining the characteristics of the HE for the PAMI in Israel. First, there has been no consistent development of PAMI HE in Israel. Educational achievements of the former Palestinian intellectual elite were lost with the establishment of the State of Israel. Second, Israel's HEI have played an important role in the state-building process for the Jewish nation and serve the political and military goals and needs of the new state of Israel. In contrast, PAMI interests, narrative, and contents are missing from the educational agenda in the large majority of Israeli HEI educational programs. Third, there is no PAMI university in Israel. The PAMI have not succeeded, after 67 years of the establishment of Israel, in establishing their own university in Israel, as have other national and ethnic minorities, for example, in Canada and the United States. The establishment of these minority universities known as "minority-serving higher education" and "higher education for an indigenous minority" has led to improved access to HE for members of the minorities and an increase in the number of their university graduates. These minority colleges have strengthened the cultural identity of particular ethnic groups and their social, political, and economic status in comparison to the dominant majority.

Indigenous minorities have deep historical roots and their indigenous features leave fingerprints on the education system of the PAMI in general and on the HE system in particular. Minority students often struggle to acquire HE, and if access to HE is blocked for them, as we have seen in the case of PAMI students, they may travel to far off places in order to attain such education and then return to their homeland after graduation. PAMI graduates do not usually remain abroad after graduation because they feel they have a strong bond to their homeland. In addition, they are citizens of a country with a developed economy and they will continue to struggle to integrate within its employment market after graduation abroad. It seems that Israel still does not recognize the human capital potential of the PAMI as an important element in the growth and development of the country, in contrast to many other countries in the world, which have enhanced the development of HE among minorities and other peripheral populations as a part of their vision for economic growth.

We have offered several suggestions to increase the participation of PAMI students in Israel's HEI. We believe that the implementation of these suggestions would benefit both the PAMI and the State of Israel. This can be achieved by a regulated affirmative action policy supported by strong Israeli government policy allowing PAMI students to integrate in the prestigious faculties of Israeli universities. We fully agree with the recent proposal and plan of the Israeli CHE (2015) to remove the minimum age as a requirement for medical and paramedical disciplines at Israeli universities.

This suggested plan by the CHE will facilitate the acceptance of many PAMI students who want to study for these health professions which are in high demand in the Israeli labor market. Additionally, we also support the efforts of the new Israeli CHE to create joint programs between Israeli HEI and institutions abroad which also can help PAMI students to realize their aspirations to gain access to HE. Additionally, in light of the high rejection rates for PAMI applicants to Israeli universities and considering the large numbers of PAMI students who study abroad, and the strong demand for HE among the PAMI, it seems that there is an urgent and justified need for the establishment of a PAMI university in Israel that would comply with "Western" academic standards and PAMI values. In a country where the PAMI constitute almost 13% of the students of Israel and almost 30% of PAMI students study abroad, this project should be considered seriously. Such a university could provide employment for PAMI graduates, and construct a unique body of knowledge to preserve PAMI cultural heritage. Moreover, if the university is able to include students and staff of all nationalities and religions, it can play a role in ameliorating ongoing tension and improve coexistence between the PAMI and Jews in Israel.

Finally, as was noted in the annual Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports on education in Israel, increased participation of the PAMI population in HE will enhance their socioeconomic status in the Israeli society, and contribute significantly to the economic success of the State of Israel as a whole. The full implementation of the Israeli HE Council programs in a professional, systematic, and consistent manner can constitute a turning point toward a more pluralistic and egalitarian HE system. The indigenous PAMI continue to have a genuine strong need for HE and Israeli policymakers have attempted to prepare a path for that purpose. Unfortunately, the implementation of these intentions has been delayed and sometimes ignored! Hopefully, this disparity between intentions and performance in the field will be resolved for the next generation, *Inshallah* (God Willing).

Notes

1 The Context of the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel (PAMI)

1. The **Green Line** refers to the 1949 armistice lines established between Israel and its Arab neighbors in the aftermath of the 1948 War of Independence.
2. There is a lack of data on income figures for employed PAMI women. The estimation is 40% of their Jewish counterparts (Haj-Yehia & Arar, 2014).
3. The massacre of Kafr Qasim: On the October 29, 1956, the government of Israel imposed a curfew from 5 pm on PAMI villages which were under military rule. On that evening, 49 inhabitants of the PAMI village of Kafr Qasim, who were on their way home from work, were shot dead by Israeli soldiers. The Land Day of 1976: On March 30, 1976, thousands of the PAMI gathered to protest Israeli government plans to expropriate 60,000 dunams of PAMI-owned land in the Galilee. In the resulting confrontations with Israeli police, six of the PAMI were killed. The Al-Aqsa Intifada: The Second Intifada, or the October 2000 events, was the second Palestinian uprising against Israel which began in September 2000. It refers to several days of disturbances and clashes inside Israel, mostly between the PAMI and the Israel police. The events also saw large-scale rioting by both the PAMI and Jews. Thirteen of the PAMI were killed by Israeli police during the Second intifada. These events have become consecrated in the PAMI national and collective memory.

3 Trends in Higher Education among the PAMI

1. First degree, second degree, and third degree refer to undergraduate degree (BA/BSc), postgraduate degree (MA/Msc), and doctoral degree (PhD), respectively.

4 Higher Education Abroad: The Case of the PAMI

1. YÖS is the entrance exam for foreigners who are willing to study in Turkish universities.

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