



**Follow-up of Female Bedouin Students at
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
Who Did Not Complete Their Studies for a Degree**

Dr. Haled Abu Asbah
Amira Karakra
Dr. Haled Arar

The Robert H. Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies and Development
Dr. Riad Agbaria, Academic Director
Dr. Salem El-Sana, Administrative & Project Director

In Cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

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Foreword

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Dr. Lars Hänsel
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
6. Lloyd George Street
P.O.B 8348
Jerusalem 91082
Office@kasisrael.org

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Introduction

In 1997, the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development (now The Robert H. Arnow Center) was founded at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (BGU) in Beer-Sheva, Israel. The Center set itself various goals, including advancing and instigating research on the history and traditions of the Negev Bedouin community, as well as developing and enhancing new educational, health and welfare programs, with the aim of advancing higher education among the Bedouin of the Negev.

The Center grants annual tuition grants (scholarships) to Bedouin young women to enable them to complete their academic studies at BGU. These grants are usually in addition to the tuition grants received from the Office of the Dean of Students. From its inception and until 2004, the Center conferred grants covering 100% of the tuition fees to all the young women who applied and met the criteria set by the Dean of Students, as well as the Center. The criteria took into account the students' socio-economic situation, as well as rewarding excellence—one of the primary considerations in deciding who would receive scholarships at the beginning of the scholarship program was that there were good candidates for university study who should get support despite their family's having the financial resources to afford tuition. This was the largest departure from standard BGU scholarship criteria and represented the clearest aspect of affirmative action in the program. In light of, and despite, the relative improvement in the socio-economic standing of the Bedouin population of the Negev since 2004, most applicants met the criteria for at least partial scholarships.

This report presents an evaluative study carried out in 2006/7. We located female Bedouin students who had commenced their studies at BGU and who, for a variety of reasons dropped out, despite the willingness of the Center to assist them both financially and academically.

In our survey, we interviewed many of these female students to ascertain their reasons for cessation of studies despite tuition scholarships and other support received and to find out whether they returned to higher education later on and at what institution.

Theoretical Background

The Bedouin population of the Negev is a sub-group within the Arab minority in Israel, with a culture, history and socio-political background that differentiates it from any other sub-group (Cwikel, 2001). About half of the Bedouin population lives in permanent, government-recognized townships, while most of the rest live in unrecognized settlements scattered throughout the Negev.

The transition of the Bedouin to an urban way of life brought about many social changes, including a change in the role of women in the family. Instead of responsibility for

tending the animal herds and agriculture, as had been the case in the past, today the woman is only responsible for the housekeeping (Abu Rabiyyah, 2000). As a result, most of the Bedouin women lack both education and employment (Pesta-Schubert, 2000). Like Arab women in general, these Bedouin women suffer from *double discrimination*: the first is that they are members of a national and ethnic minority, while the second relates to their status as women in a traditional patriarchal society. However, for the Bedouin woman, the latter is more influential than for other Arab women in Israel, because she belongs to a tribal societal framework characterized by greater conservatism than normal in the culture of the Israeli Arab population (Abu Asbah, 2005; Abu Asbah and Arar, 2007).

In contrast to the rapid change in the familial Arab roles in general, the change in the status of the Bedouin woman is changing slowly. Her social behavior is still embedded in ancient tradition, and the tenor of her life is not divorced from the way of life of the family and the tribe. At every stage of development, from childhood to youth to marriage, obedience and subservience to male authority are practically absolute (Cwikel and Barak, 2001). The scope and space within which she can move freely are limited, although that scope may vary from group to group, as well as that between the women themselves, depending on age, family status, education and so on. For example, young women enjoy a relatively large degree of freedom of movement, although it is always with the permission and knowledge of the father, or husband if she is married (Tal, 1994).

Level of Education of the Bedouin Female

Obtaining an education is considered to be one of the basic facilitators for socio-economic mobility in any society. Thus, improvement in the status, standard of living and quality of life of a minority group on a religious, ethnic, or national basis depends upon the achievements of its members—on the individual, as well as the collective levels (Abu Asbah, 2005).

We are witness to the fact that in recent decades, there has been an improvement in the level of education of the population, a process that has reduced the educational gap between men and women. Such progress among women is particularly notable in the Arab population: while in 1961, 69% of Arab women had never gone to school, compared to 30% of the men, by the year 2002, the figures stood at 10% and 3%, respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2004). However, this noteworthy improvement was mostly limited to high school education. While it might be expected that a similar increase would have taken place in the number of Arab students at university, the rate did not exceed 8% of the total student population in Israel, despite the fact that young Arabs made up 20% of the youth in the country (Abu Asbah and Arar, 2007).

Acquisition of education by young women is also a significant and influential step in transforming the status of women and in the processes of societal change (Abu Asbah and

Arar, 2007). Bedouin society as a whole is facing a difficult choice between study and education for girls as a symbol of change and advancement, on the one hand, and the fear of “undesirable” outcomes that may result from such a process, on the other. According to the literature dealing with Bedouin education (Abu Saad, 1998; Abu Rabiyyah, 2000; Al Atawneh, 1993), it has been found that Bedouin society is not eager to have its young women obtain education, and higher education in particular. A lack of schools for young women, a lack of sufficient classes taught by women teachers in comparison to those taught by men, problems of transport, and the messages transmitted to boys and girls who belong to a society in which a separation of the sexes is still highly valued (Pasta-Schubert, 2005) have led to the slow entry of Bedouin girls and young women into education, especially higher education, as compared to the entry of Israeli Arab women, on the whole. This fact has influenced their entry into the world of employment and the labor market.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, many Bedouin men fear that their social image will be harmed and that they may be exposed to the scorn of their womenfolk if they allow a daughter to go out of the village to study, just at the age when she is considered ready for marriage.

An important factor which sets a limit to women’s education is the level of education of the male family members. The lower that level, the greater the limit imposed on the number of years of higher education allowed young girls (Tal, 1994). Moreover, the education of women is liable to create new social facts that may affect such factors as their period of fertility, size of the ideal family, and the women’s demands for freedom of movement and independence.

The process of education of Bedouin women exposes to general view an anticipated undermining of a traditional social order that created and still determines the roles and standing of the Bedouin woman in the family and community. Such a threat is particularly evident under conditions of extreme transformation, such as in the first phases of urbanization. Although there is general agreement among most of the Bedouin that it is increasingly impossible to avoid sending daughters to college, each communal group adopts a different strategy (Tal, 1994).

Nevertheless, despite the fears of the Bedouin men, there is a continuous rise in female education. The figures show that the number of women students is on the rise, and at time of this survey, accounted for some 53% of all Arab students in college. However, it should be noted that the great majority of women study in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and their representation in post-graduate studies is low, in comparison to that of men (Abu Asbah, 2005). The percentage of female Bedouin students in teachers’ training colleges stands at 95%, due to the fact that teaching is largely regarded by Israeli Arab society, like Israeli society in general, as a female profession (Espanyoli et al., 2003).

The improvement in the education of Arab women was supposed to create opportunities for them in the labor market with a resulting change in their societal status. However, this outcome is failing to transpire sufficiently in practice. Apparently, the developing level of female education is not yet playing a major role in erasing the current division in social functions between male and female. The patriarchal structure that grants superiority to the men and relegates women to subordinate roles is still predominant (Abu Asbah, 2005).

It is to be regretted that the current literature barely touches on the meaning or significance accorded by Bedouin women themselves to the process of change they are undergoing during their lifetime due to their exposure to higher education. This lack, on the theoretical level, is scarcely to be wondered at since the presence of Bedouin women from the Negev on the academic campus is a relatively new phenomenon. According to the data of the Robert H. Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies and Development at Ben-Gurion University, there was just one such female student in 1988; by 1995 there were six, while at time of survey, some 280 were studying.

The accessibility of higher education due to the existence of BGU in the south has opened a window of opportunity for the Bedouin population, and particularly for young women. They can acquire university education near their homes, and we postulate that in the absence of such an institution, one would not expect such a relatively large number of female Bedouin students enrolled.

Influence of Higher Education on Bedouin Women

One of the few theoretical studies dealing with the attitudes of Bedouin women towards the processes of change due to higher education is that of Kassem (2002), who interviewed nine young female university graduates. They were asked to talk about themselves and about how they came to the academic institution where they were or had been studying. They all stressed the subjective experience of “being the first.” According to Kassem, these young women regarded themselves as having initiated the break out from the secure tribal framework and that, in so doing, had created a precedent and new state of affairs in their community.¹

Six of the nine reported that they had already begun their efforts on their way to high school. Their struggle had given them the strength to develop skills and tools that aided them in continuing to fight to go to college. In Kassem’s words, young educated women constitute a threat to the tribal status of women—especially that of the older women, who form a mechanism for preserving the status quo. Their lack of education puts them in a

¹ After this report was written, a new book was published which relates to this subject: *Weaving Tradition and Modernity: Bedouin Women in Higher Education* by Kathleen Abu-Saad, Tamar Horowitz, and Ismael Abu-Saad (2007), The Research Unit of the Robert H. Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies & Development, and The Center for Regional Development, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel.

position inferior to that of their juniors, so many prefer to make sure that the educated girls do not break tribal norms. Thus, the young Bedouin women have to confront not only a patriarchal tribal society, but also its older women; they face a battery of family members: father, mother, brothers, and grandparents. They have learned to conduct their fight with resolution, but without overtly challenging the tribal norms in order to achieve their cherished objective (Kassem, 2002).

A further study relating to the changes and outcomes for Bedouin women in the Negev who obtained higher education is that of Pesta-Schubert (2005), based on in-depth interviews with 20 female students. The study found that these students recreate and recast the female Bedouin ethos in two ways. On the one hand, they reinforce the importance of the community as the foundation of female Bedouin identity. On the other, they undermine Bedouin traditions that try to formulate a collective female identity. Thus, when these women discuss their re-integration into the community, they do not accept their marginalization as a given. Discourse of their double marginality—as Bedouin and as women—moves them from the periphery to the center. From this new position, they offer pragmatic considerations *vis-à-vis* the decision to seek higher education. That decision reflects the practicalities of daily life, rather than a discourse on Bedouin tradition, which is viewed as a purview of male hegemony. These women set up an alternative female discourse within which they can act and explain the realities of their social life as it undergoes change, while their principal motivation is mostly based on their desire to improve their quality of life.

The contribution of education finds expression on several levels: personal development, balanced fulfillment of the maternal role, gaining a measure of financial independence, and the opportunity to establish a status equal to that of the men. The women are faced with dilemmas and new questions and attempt to turn their higher education to a practical form of individual and collective emancipation (Pesta-Schubert, 2005).

Another study conducted by Abu Asbah and Karakra (2006) investigated, among others, the influence of academic exposure on the Bedouin women at the societal level. Ninety percent of them noted a change for the better in their social status, expressed as a feeling of being accorded respect, appreciation, and even esteem, within their community. They also felt that their society now saw them as a qualified, reliable, and a trustworthy source with whom to consult. In addition, they became partners in decision-making and became a model for other girls and young women to emulate.

Integration of Arab Women in the Labor Market

Entry into the labor market is one of the central tools enabling social and economic mobility for women, in general, and for the Arab woman, in particular (Atrash, 2002). Her entry into the workforce and her contribution to improving personal and family income may be a major factor in changing her status, both on the level of the nuclear

family and of society (Renawi, 2003). During the last decade, the percentage of employed Arab women has risen about 40% (Wertzberg, 2001a), although their participation in the general workforce is still very low, especially when compared to that of working Jewish women. In 2003, only 17% of the Arab women were employed—in comparison to 51% of Jewish women. As a result, Arab women only constitute approximately 5.8% of the total workforce (Fichtelberg, 2004). Therefore, the female Arab population is at the bottom of the employment ladder.²

The unique condition of Arab women in the labor market stems from belonging to the Arab minority in Israel, as well as to their peripheral status as women. Investigation shows that, as already noted, Arab women suffer from a double discrimination as an ethnic minority and as women, a fact that affects both their entry into and status within the labor market, as well as influencing the percentage of unemployed women who are defined as belonging to the market. There are many reasons for this situation that stem from social factors (such as the traits that define the status of women in Arab society), from socio-economic policies and from the direct link between educational level and participation in the workforce (Abu Asbah, Arar and Sarita, 2007).

According to the literature (Barham, 1997), two known factors affect the entry of Arab women into the labor market and the form of their employment—societal and economic.

- a. **Societal:** the status of Arab women is affected by traditional factors and norms, which determine that the primary duty of the woman is to run the household. Therefore, if the women were to leave the house for economic activity, it would be viewed with disapproval. Also, the norms forbid interaction between women and men who are not close relatives. Thus, the entry of women into the workforce and the range of potential employment are highly limited. Such work mostly includes the semi-professional and services.
- b. **Economic:** the dependence of the Arab economic sphere on the Jewish economic sphere and the limited scope of jobs that it offers create additional restrictions for the potential employment of Arab women. These restrictions turn them into a reservoir of inexpensive and available labor.

The result of these economic and social processes is reflected in the distribution of the current forms of Arab women's employment. Their numbers in agriculture are low. A higher percentage is found in white collar or semi-professional jobs (mainly teachers and nurses), while others work in the services. Also, there has been an increase in production industries—small workshops and factories set up by Jewish entrepreneurs in Arab villages, especially in textiles (Wertzberg, 2001b). What is similar among the Arab women employed in Israel is that their status and earnings are far below that of Jewish

² The Central Bureau of Statistics defines those of age 15 and over as constituting the potential workforce. Students, housewives, pensioners, etc., are not included.

women in equivalent work, notwithstanding if they have jobs requiring academic or professional qualifications or else work in labor-intensive employment, such as textiles and agriculture (Ibrahim, 1997). Moreover, their wages are lower than those of Arab men in similar employment.

Many researchers point to the connection between gaining an education and integration in the modern labor market. The current Arab educational infrastructure does not meet the requirements for proper entry into this market. The Arab educational system includes at least twenty tracks, most of which are traditional and which train participants for work in the various services and occupations: secretaries, carpenters, motor mechanics, auto electricians, seamstresses, draughtsmen, etc. (see the Ministry of Education web site).³ The establishment of quality technical schools will increase the potential for Arab employment in modern professions and high-tech industries (Mansur, 1999).

Dropout of Female Bedouin Students During Studies at BGU

Academic education is a very important springboard and a key to success in many areas. For years, it remained the province of only a relatively small section of the population. Today, groups which until now were regarded as marginal have joined the process. This is true of Arab society, including male and female Bedouin students. However, we are witness to the fact that not all Arab students, and especially not all the women, are able to complete their studies. There is a particularly high dropout rate, notably after the first academic year.

It is known that a high percentage of male and female Arab students change their program of studies after their first year in university; others stop altogether, while many transfer from one institution of higher learning to another (such as from the university to a teachers' training college). There are various reasons for this, some of which are listed below.

1. Insufficient preparation of pupils in high school regarding higher education. Although there are organizations and societies that try to handle this problem, they fail to reach all the potential students, especially those Arab pupils from the periphery.
2. Another source of distress lies in the differences between teaching methods common in the Arab schools and those in academia (where the responsibility for studying falls squarely on the student's shoulders, rather than the teacher).
3. Many Arab students encounter culture shock, notably the females. Such shock is particularly manifest among students whose homes are far from the city (not to mention those living in unrecognized villages, in which many of the Bedouin of

³ <http://cms.education.gov.il/EducationCMS/Units/Tochniyot-Limudim/Portal>

- the Negev live. Many of these students are not able to successfully negotiate the encounter with the city and the university milieu.
4. The Hebrew language. Although Arab children are taught Hebrew from the early stages of elementary school, they do not master it sufficiently to successfully tackle academic studies, and certainly do not attain the level of proficiency of native Hebrew speakers. Many have considerable difficulty using Hebrew, a fact that greatly affects their academic achievements (especially noticeable during their first year) and is a serious factor leading to cessation of studies. University students are also expected to read academic articles in English. This is also another stumbling block.
 5. Marriage during academic studies. Some of the female students become engaged and even marry during the course of their studies, which can lead them to their devote most of their time to their homes and family. Naturally, the decision depends on the groom and his degree of willingness to let his bride continue her studies. Some are reluctant to do so for various reasons. Some young women must relinquish studies in a distant city and transfer to a college closer to home, while others are forced to abandon their studies altogether.
 6. Distance between home and academic institution. Obviously, there are no universities sited in Arab settlements. Thus, every Arab student must travel to the city in order to participate in the program. This situation is also clearly true for the Bedouin population, a large part of which lives in villages (especially the unrecognized settlements) some distance from Beer-Sheva, where the main campus of Ben-Gurion University is located, and to which no public transport is available (although there are private vans that transport the Bedouin). This creates mobility issues that are a central factor in the search for alternatives for the students (and in particular, the women, who, for reasons of tradition cannot allow themselves, or are not allowed, to live in the city). Unfortunately such alternatives are not always available.

Methodology

We present the data from a survey of female students who were listed as having dropped out from Ben-Gurion University, after having participated in regular classes and having been allocated tuition scholarships by the Robert H. Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies and Development and the Dean's Office.

Goals of the Study

The aim of the research was to map out the factors and conditions that caused 44 female Bedouin students at BGU to drop out, despite having won tuition scholarships for a year

or more and to find out whether they continued their education in another setting and what they are doing at present.

To this end, they were asked the following questions to ascertain:

- a. What were the main reasons that caused female Bedouin students to cease their studies at BGU, even those who received tuition grants?
- b. How satisfied were they with their financial support and with the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development?
- c. If they continued higher education after a hiatus, how long did they wait and where did they study?

The Process

On a list provided by the Registrar of Students of women who had dropped out of Ben-Gurion University from 1998-2006, we found 64 Bedouin names. The Center was able to find the current phone numbers of 44. For various reasons, we were unable to locate 4 of those on the list (two were studying in Jordan). Two of the girls reported that they had never ceased studies at BGU, while another two refused to cooperate. Therefore were able to interview 36.

Research Tools

A questionnaire constructed for this study consisted of 45 multiple choice and 7 brief essay questions (see the Appendix). The questions dealt with the factors affecting cessation of studies, whether personal, societal, or economic, as well as with the personal and employment details of the students and their families.

Data Acquisition

Interviews with the 36 Bedouin women were carried out over the telephone in Arabic.

Results

Personal and Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Table 1 presents the personal data of the 36 interviewees. Most of them (66.6%) were in the 20–25 year-old range; 25% were 26–30, while 8.3% were over 31 years of age. Most of the interviewees (77.8%) were unmarried during their studies; the other 22.2% were married. Two-thirds (66.7%) reported that as of present they are married. This figure is consistent with their average age, since there is a high probability of marriage in this age group.

Of the married interviewees, 92% were the first of their husbands' wives, while the other 8% reported that they were their spouses' second wife. Most of the husbands had

completed high school (54.2%), with 37.5% of the men having an academic degree, and only 8.3% not having completed secondary education.

Table 1: Personal characteristics of the 36 women surveyed (%)

<i>Age</i>	%
20–25	66.7
26–30	25
over 30	8.3
<i>Family status</i>	
Married	66.6
Single	30.6
Divorced	2.8
<i>Spouse's education</i>	
Academic	37.5
Completed high school only	54.2
Some secondary	8.3
<i>Family status during studies</i>	
Single	69.4
Married	22.2
Engaged	8.4
<i>Position in marriage</i>	
1 st wife	92
2 nd wife	8

Table 2 presents the demographics of the interviewees. The majority (80.6%) reported that they lived in recognized Bedouin townships in the south. This was a much higher percentage than those who live in unrecognized settlements (only 5.6%), while the others (13.8%) reported that they were living in a Jewish city (probably Beer-Sheva or another southern city).

Table 2: Residence of interviewees

<i>Type of Settlement</i>	%
Recognized township	80.6
Unrecognized settlement	5.6
Jewish city	13.8

Economic and Employment Situation

The data in Table 3 show that 75% of the interviewees as of present reported their economic situation as reasonable-to-good or very good, while only 25% reported a poor economic situation (subjective assessment). By contrast, during their studies, the economic situation of nearly two-thirds was reported as poor.

At the time of survey, 47.1% reported that they were employed, and of these, 85.8% were working full-time or more. Most of the employed Bedouin women reported satisfaction with their field of work (81.2%). The majority (62.5%) were working in the field of education (teacher, kindergarten assistant, educational coordinator, substitute teacher), while 37.5% were employed in other fields (secretary, book-keeper, law-office, etc.). Most of the unemployed women reported that they had either been unable to find a job in their chosen field or had failed to find any employment, while more than a quarter said they were not interested in finding a job.

Table 3: Economic and employment situation

<i>Economic situation (at time of survey)</i>	%
Good/very good	41.7
Average	33.3
Poor/very poor	25
<i>Economic situation (during studies)</i>	
Good/very good	22.2
Average	16.7
Poor/very poor	61.1
<i>Currently employed?</i>	
Yes	47.1
Full or more	85.8
Half-time	7.1
Less than half-time	7.1
No	52.9
<i>Work satisfaction</i>	
Satisfied	81.2
Not satisfied	18.8
<i>Reason for unemployment</i>	
Suitable work not found	10.6
No work found	36.8
Not interested in working	26.3
Other	26.3
<i>Field of employment</i>	
	%
Education	62.5
Other	37.5

Turning to Table 4, we learn that most of those surveyed (75%) reported that they received financial support during studies from parents and other sources (they did not cite these sources). The importance of family support for the students should be noted (financial or other). Eighty percent reported non-financial family support. At the same time, 63.9% reported financial assistance from the BGU Center for Bedouin Studies and Development; of these, half received grants for a year and the other half for more than a

year. More than half (57.1%) also reported non-financial support from the Center, while 47.2% benefited from tutorials arranged by the Center.

About a third of the interviewees who received tuition scholarships from the Center noted that they would have been unable to complete their studies without this support, due to their poor economic situation. Thus, even though they had received tuition scholarships, they had dropped out for other reasons. In addition, it is important to note that two-thirds of the women reported that they had not worked during their studies. However, they were required to volunteer in the “Perach” (“big-sister”) project or other projects in order to qualify for grants.⁴

Table 4: Sources of support during studies

<i>Would you have been able to complete your studies without the tuition grant?</i>	%
Yes	61.8
No	32.4
Don't know	5.8
<i>Who provided financial support during studies?</i>	
Family (parents or brothers)	75
Nobody	2.8
Other	22.2
<i>Received non-financial support from:</i>	
Family	80
Lecturers	14.3
The BGU Bedouin Center	57.1
<i>Did you receive tutorials from the Center?</i>	
Yes	47.2
No	52.8
<i>Did you receive financial grants from the Center?</i>	
Yes	63.9
No	36.1
<i>For how long did you receive grants?</i>	
One year	50
Two years	33.3
Three years	16.7

Education

In Table 5, we see that a quarter of the interviewees commenced their studies prior to the year 2000. Almost half (47.1%) studied for a year at the University, 27.8% for two years

⁴ The Dean's Office publishes a list of sanctioned projects and NGOs at which all tuition recipients can volunteer. Bedouin welfare NGOs, as well as the Soroka University Medical Center (located across the street from the campus) are on the list.

and the rest for three or more years. As expected, the majority was enrolled in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (61.1%). However, it is interesting to note that about 25% were studying in the Natural Sciences and 14% were studying in the Faculty of Health Sciences.

About half those surveyed reported that they had confined their studies to one department, while the others were registered in two. More than 60% reported an attempt to change departments. About three-quarters of those who succeeded did so because they wanted to change their field of specialization.

Table 5: BGU studies

<i>Ist year of studies</i>	%
Prior to 2000	25
2001/2002; 2002/2003	41.7
2003/2004; 2004/2005	33.3
<i>No. of years of at University</i>	
1	47.1
2	27.8
3	16.7
4	2.8
5	5.6
<i>Field of study</i>	
Humanities	16.7
Education	33.3
Sciences	25
Health Sciences	13.9
Social Sciences	11.1
<i>In how many departments did you study?</i>	
1	51.4
2	48.6
<i>Attempted to change major?</i>	
Yes	61.7
No	38.3
<i>Reasons for changing field of study</i>	
Desire to change field	73.9
Failure in previous department	17.4
Other	8.7

Table 6 shows that 37.1% of the students who dropped out reported that they had done so due to economic difficulties, while 31% did so due to lack of ability to meet the academic requirements (partially the result of the change from the learning technique and language of instruction to which they had been accustomed in high school). Of those surveyed, 17.1% reported that they had stopped their studies due to marriage or the birth of a child.

However, it must be noted that the problem of distance from residence was *not* regarded as significant or given as a major reason for cessation of studies.

A high percentage of the women (71.4%) reported that they had been able to complete their studies at a later date. Most of them returned in the first two years after originally dropping out, while the rest returned to study three or more years later. More than half of those surveyed who completed their studies did so in local colleges or teachers' training colleges (seminars) and not at BGU.

A massive 96.3% of those who had failed to complete their studies nevertheless reported their desire to return to the classroom. This figure was confirmed by the answers to the essay questions regarding the determination of these women to continue their in the near future.

Table 6: Reasons for cessation of studies and future intentions

<i>Reasons for cessation</i>	%
Poor economic situation	37.1
Failure to meet academic requirements	31.4
Marriage or birth of child	17.1
Problems of distance and transportation	2.9
<i>Were you able to complete your studies later on?</i>	
yes	71.4
no	28.6
<i>Period before returning to studies</i>	
1 year	39.3
2 years	32.1
3–4 years	14.3
5 years or more	14.3
<i>Where did you complete your studies?</i>	
BGU	38.5
Teachers' Seminar	7.7
Other	53.8
<i>Do you intend to complete your studies?</i>	
Yes	96.3
Perhaps	3.7

Socio-Economic Characteristics and Their Influence on Continued Studies

Table 7 illustrates a clear connection between receipt of support from the BGU Center for Bedouin Studies and Development and successful completion of studies.

Of the interviewees who reported that they had received financial support from the Center, 76% completed their studies, while only 30% of those who reported that they had not received a grant did so. From this we can extrapolate that 70% of those who had not

been given a grant failed to complete their degree. It is important to note that most of the women who subsequently completed their studies (40%) did so a year after changing their chosen field or academic institution, so it might have been possible for the Center to continue to grant the scholarship if they continued at BGU.⁵

At time of survey, the economic situation of 56% of the women who completed their studies was good, while that of only 16% of those who did so was poor.

By contrast, 50% of those who did not complete their studies reported a poor economic situation, as against just 10% of them who reported it to be good. *From these figures, we can observe that the educational level of the interviewees and the completion of their academic studies generally contributed significantly to their economic status.*

Table 7: The link between age, marital status, economic situation, and education, receipt of financial grant, work, completion of studies, etc. (in %)

		Age			Personal Status		Economic Status		
		20–25	26–30	31+	Married	Single	Good	Average	Poor
<i>Education of Spouse</i>	academic	33.3	57.1	0.0	37.5	0.0	36.4	28.6	50.0
	high school	53.3	42.9	100.0	54.2	0.0	63.6	57.1	33.3
	secondary	13.3	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	14.3	16.7
<i>Without grant would you have started studies</i>	yes	63.6	55.6	66.7	54.2*	80.0	66.7	70.0	443.4
	no	31.8	33.3	33.3	45.8	0.0	26.7	30.0	44.4
	don't know	4.5	11.1	0.0	0.0	20.0	6.7	0.0	11.1
<i>Who gave financial support?</i>	family	79.2	55.6	100.0	66.7	91.7	80.0	75.0	66.7
	nobody	0.0	11.1	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1
	other	20.8	33.3	0.0	29.2	8.3	20.0	25.0	22.2
<i>Did you work while studying?</i>	yes	16.7*	55.6	100.0	33.3	33.3	33.3*	8.3	66.7
	no	83.3	44.4	0.0	66.7	66.7	66.7	91.7	33.3
<i>In how many depts. did you study?</i>	1	50.0	55.6	50.0	54.2	45.5	57.1	58.3	33.3
	2	50.0	44.4	50.0	45.8	54.5	42.9	41.7	66.7
	3+	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Did you try to change departments?</i>	yes	73.9	33.3	33.3	58.3	63.6	46.7	72.7	66.7
	no	26.1	55.6	66.7	37.5	36.4	46.7	27.3	33.0
	no answer	0.0	11.1	0.0	4.2	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
<i>Did you complete your studies?</i>	yes	73.9	55.6	100.0	65.2	83.3	93.3*	63.6	44.4
	no	26.1	44.4	0.0	34.8	16.7	6.7	36.4	55.6
<i>Did you receive financial aid from the Center?</i>	yes	62.5	77.8	33.3	62.5	66.7	86.7*	41.7	55.6
	no	37.5	22.2	66.7	37.5	33.3	13.3	58.3	44.4

*P < 0.05

From Table 7, it also is apparent that the percentage of unmarried interviewees who tried to change their major was higher than that of the married women (63% v. 58.3%, respectively). Another finding was that the percentage of single women able to complete their studies was 83.3%, versus only 65.2% of the married women.

⁵ However, the policy at BGU is that scholarships can only be given for three years of undergraduate study (the “usual” duration of a B.A. degree studies). If a student switches departments, it is very likely that she will have to study for at least four years in order to graduate.

There appears to be a linkage between working during studies and age; 16.7% of the 20–25 age group, 55.6% of those between 26–30, and all those over 30 were employed during their studies. Also a reasonable-to-good economic situation contributed to continuation study.

Table 8: Linkage between economic situation, support and continued studies (%)

	<i>Successful Completion of Studies</i>		
		Yes	No
<i>Financial Assistance from the BGU Center for Bedouin Studies and Development</i>	yes	76.0*	30
	no	24.0	70.0
<i>Personal status at present</i>	married	60.0	80.0
	single	40.00	20.0
<i>Personal status during studies</i>	single	60.0	90.0
	married	32.0	0.0
	engaged	8.0	10.0
	intended	0.0	0.0
<i>Financial status at time of survey</i>	good	56.0*	10.0
	average	28.0	40.0
	poor	16.0	50.0

*P < 0.0

Attitudes of the Women Regarding Higher Education, the Obstacles Facing Them, and Satisfaction with Received Academic Support

1. The contribution of education to the social status of the interviewees

An in-depth analysis of the essay questions informs us of the contribution of the interviewee’s higher education to enhancing her own social status and her awareness of her own abilities, not only on the individual level, but also enhancement of her family’s standing in Bedouin society.

The findings show that acquiring higher education acts as a springboard for the Bedouin woman, as can be seen in the following quotations:

“My studies led me to improve my awareness, self-confidence and self-knowledge in all sorts of ways, contributed to raising my social status, my independence....”

“Studies wake up the mind, develop knowledge and personal abilities, strengthen social and economic standing, and advance the abilities of the woman.”

The interviewees constantly emphasized that their studies had improved their social standing, as well as opening up employment opportunities, as exemplified in the following:

“In our studies we gain independence, privacy and a career, and we develop our personalities and overcome our daily problems. My studies helped my integration into social life and the labor market. Today, many educated Bedouin girls are working, which advances their social and employment standing.”

“My studies enhanced my personal pride, strengthened my personality; education empowers the Bedouin woman, improving her position in the family and society, since she contributes to the family income.”

2. The results and changes observed by the interviewees due to non-completion of studies

Students who dropped out reported a sense of loss of self-efficacy and control. The cessation of studies undermined their self-confidence and sense of control, success and purposefulness in life. Those who chose not to continue suffered feelings of personal disappointment, as exemplified in the following quotations:

“If anyone thinks of not continuing, they should think again, because it left me feeling awful. I had the strength to surmount the obstacles, but my emotional state became weakened. However, the Bedouin girl must study in order to build up her personality, to strengthen herself and her status in the family and society.”

“Stopping classes disturbed me very much on the personal level—it made me depressed for some of the time. I was very disappointed with my dismal self. It was very difficult, but in this last year, I’m thinking hard about going back.”

“I’m very sorry about it. I felt helpless with no confidence and a sense of failure, with no strength. At that time I was weak and dependent on others, especially everything connected to paying for my studies over and above my tuition. Today, after working and saving, I’m continuing my studies.”

“Stopping my studies affected me greatly and destroyed my dreams; I was in shock and terribly disappointed, because my expectations had been so great and suddenly I had to stop studying at BGU and transfer to a college because the university was too hard and the lecturers didn’t treat me as they ought; but in the college, the atmosphere was more supportive and understanding....”

Nevertheless, another interviewee claimed that the reason she dropped out was her choice of a profession she never wanted in the first place.

“Stopping classes didn’t affect me at all. I was learning mathematics and chemistry, very difficult subjects, but had originally wanted to study social work but I didn’t get in. Then I got the idea that to become a science teacher would be possible in a college, under conditions and time constraints relatively easier than at the university, so that’s what I decided to do.”

3. Obstacles in the path of Bedouin girls when they want to continue their higher education.

The Bedouin students list internal, socio-cultural obstacles, and external obstacles, caused by the registration policies of the Israeli institutions of higher learning. For most of those surveyed, the difficulty of paying for their studies and the accompanying expenses was given as the most difficult hurdle to be overcome, even though they had overcome family objections to entering academia. Other impediments, such as the following, were noted by the interviewees.

“Sometimes parents don’t offer much support when classes are in the afternoon or later in the day (i.e., after dark)—and there’s also the business of getting married at an older age in a family with many children that can’t meet the burden of paying for higher education for one of its members” (i.e., instead of marrying and ceasing to be a financial burden to the father).

“The hard conditions of acceptance to university cause you to study a subject you don’t really want, so you lack motivation and want to transfer at the first opportunity; and also, the family mentality and the prejudice about a woman leaving the house and the hard time the parents have finding the money....”

“The Hebrew language was a very serious barrier for me. The lecturers showed no interest or consideration for my starting point and didn’t try to help. When you have prospective husbands, a not particularly supportive family, when you’re under pressure, problems of transport and mobility—especially when you’re a woman, it makes it very hard one to continue her studies.”

One of the women notes some institutional obstacles:

“The family used to be a difficult hurdle on a girl’s way to study, but this problem has begun to disappear from the Bedouin scene. Sometimes parents don’t help because of economic hardship, and there are personality traits—the character of the girls and their lack of confidence; but there are embedded institutional obstacles, like conditions for acceptance, age

requirements for a girl in certain fields, the psychometric exam that's not particularly easy, so you don't get accepted into the department you want and you have to take something you don't care for—these are all problems facing the Bedouin girl.”

In parallel to the change the Bedouin sector is undergoing and the breakdown of the barrier of the general taboo against the young woman leaving the home, the economic condition of many Bedouin families is still such that it fails to facilitate their daughters' mobility or act as a positive factor in their enrollment and continuation in institutes of higher learning. Despite tuition assistance available to the Bedouin student, the necessary additional outlays are an extra burden that often cannot be borne.

In addition to financial problems, those surveyed listed institutional barriers — registration policies of the Israeli institutions of higher learning, including entrance exams, age restrictions for acceptance to certain departments,⁶ the psychometric exam, etc. Such conditions prevent many Bedouin girls from entering their chosen field. The Hebrew language in which they are not sufficiently fluent, as well as the requirement for proficiency in English reading comprehension at a certain level pose problems. The Bedouin students mention internal, socio-cultural obstacles, as well as external obstacles.

University Experiences and Tuition Grants

Table 9 presents the attitudes of those surveyed regarding the program of grants, as well as the way they were treated during their years of study.

Almost all of the interviewees (97.2%) recommended that Bedouin students apply for grants. For 94.4% of them, the program of grants is considered to be extremely important, despite the fact that only 58.3% reported their overall satisfaction with the program. Although less than half (47.2%) said the attitude of the staff of the Center for Bedouin Studies and Development towards them was good, this may be explained by the fact that not all the interviewees knew of the program of support and/or did not receive scholarships. It should be noted that the average satisfaction rating of those who received grants was much higher than the average for those who did not.

Most (77.8%) reported a good attitude towards them from the other students during their period at BGU in general, while 72.2% were satisfied with the university. With regard to the attitude of the lecturers, the comparable figure was 61.1%, while a lower percentage (55.6%) was satisfied with their treatment by the Dean of Students.

A quarter of those surveyed observed that they would not have applied for higher education had they not been assured of a tuition grant, while more than one-fifth noted that they could not have studied at their own expense without the support of the Center.

⁶ The Departments of Social Work and Nursing require students to be at over 20; Medicine, 21 years old.

This points to the importance the interviewees accorded to the financial support offered by the Center. It should be remembered that most of those surveyed reported financial difficulties in their families during their studies.⁷

Table 9: Attitudes of the students to the program of grants, etc.

<i>Attitude of interviewee</i>	%
Recommends that students apply for grants	97.2
Regards the program of grants as very important	94.2
Was well-treated by the other students	77.8
Was generally satisfied with the university	72.2
Was well-treated by the lecturers	61.1
Was generally satisfied with the program of grants by the Center	58.3
Was satisfied with attitude of the Dean of Students	55.6
Was well-treated by the staff of the Center	47.2
If hadn't been assured of support, would not have applied	25.0
Without the program of grants, she would not have studied at her own expense	22.0

5. Summation and Conclusions

The Robert H. Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies and Development at BGU aims to develop and advance new educational programs that can help bring about socio-cultural changes in the Bedouin population. It is achieving this by means of the annual funding of grants and provision of other forms of support, such as tutoring and counseling to Bedouin young women, so that they can enter into and complete their studies at the Ben-Gurion University. Since the year 2004, only a small proportion of the young women applying for grants have been turned down as not meeting the required criteria.

The current study investigated the reasons that led to the cessation of studies at BGU by 36 female Bedouin students, even if they had received tuition support. We also tried to elucidate the attitude of these women regarding university studies, programs of support (financial and otherwise), what they experienced after leaving their studies, and the obstacles they identified as possibly delaying their continuation of studies, or those of other Bedouin women.

⁷ At the inception of the scholarship program, scholarships were awarded also as a prize of excellence, not only financial need. Today, grade average is taken into account when considering continued support for a student. Grants awarded can also be less than 100% of tuition fees.

However, the survey discovered that a large majority of the women (71.4%) were successful in completing their studies. The majority did so in the two years following the initial cessation, while the others returned three or more years later—though not necessarily to BGU. More than half those who succeeded did so at a local or regional college or teachers’ seminar, rather than at Ben-Gurion University. As one of them explained:

“If you want a teaching career, you take a shortcut, reduce the pressure and go to a college.”

In addition, they reported that the atmosphere there was more friendly, considerate, and supportive than at BGU. As reported by Espanioli et al. (2003), the teaching profession in the Arab sector—as in Israel as a whole—is becoming to be regarded as a female preserve.

An absolute majority (96.3%) of those who had not yet continued their studies after dropping out reported their desire and intention of returning to academia in the near future.

Summary of Results

1. Successful Completion of Academic/Post-High School Studies

71.4% of the BGU dropouts *successfully completed their studies*, either at BGU or some other institution or in a professional course.

2. Tuition Grants

Most of the interviewees reported that they would have begun studies even if they had not received tuition scholarships from the Center. According to marital status:

80% unmarried girls;
54.2% of married girls.

That is, nearly half of the married women reported that without the financial support, they could not have entered university. From this we can understand that receipt of the tuition grant contributed substantially participation in higher education by the married women. By contrast, only 20% of the single girls were unsure whether they could have started their studies without the grant.

3. Residence

80.6% live in recognized townships

The great majority of those surveyed reported that they live in recognized townships in the south. This figure shows that relative proximity to a center of higher learning is a major factor for the Bedouin girls: the percentage of girls from recognized townships (all of which are relatively close to the city of Beer-Sheva) is much higher than for those who

live in unrecognized settlements, often further away. Another important reason is that a much lower percentage of girls living in unrecognized settlements are able to attend high school and thus cannot enroll in an institution of higher education.

However, the number of those attending university who live in unrecognized settlements might be larger than reported. Many who live in unrecognized villages, upon application to institutes of higher learning, register their place of residence as the closest recognized township, thus establishing easier lines of communication (correspondence by mail, etc.) with these institutions. For example in the township of Kseifeh, there are about 10,000 inhabitants, but 15,000 are registered as residing there—some 5,000 presumably live in unrecognized settlements nearby.

Finally, the greater percentage of the enrolled female students living in townships may result from transport difficulties to and from the Beer-Sheva experienced by those in unrecognized villages (such as a lack of regular public transport, as well as socio-cultural reasons that prevent Bedouin girls from moving freely and limit their independence).

4. Marital Status, Education & Husband's Education

<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>
During initial studies	77.8%	22.2%
At present	30.6% (2.8% divorced)	66.6% (92% "first wife")
Returned and completed studies	83.3%	65.2%
<i>Education of husbands at present</i>		
Some secondary education	Only high school	Academic or other post-high school education
8.3%	54.2%	37.5%

Here, we must note that 83.3% of the unmarried women were able to complete their studies, as against 65.2% of the married women. This figure reflects the relative importance the single woman accords to gaining a degree or diploma, compared to her married counterparts, who can allow themselves to defer further study, due to a degree of financial security in the framework of their new family. The unmarried, on the other hand, do not enjoy such security. A further reason for failure of the married to complete their studies may lie in their obligations regarding the raising of their children.

One can assume that the chances of these women finding an educated husband were enhanced since all the interviewees had completed at least a year at the university and 71.4% had later earned a degree or diploma. This probably gave them a special standing in the eyes of prospective husbands. It is possible to point to a high correlation between the educational levels of the women and their spouses. This finding arises from the fact that most of the young women married after they began their studies.

5. Financial Situation

- 75% of the interviewees reported that their economic situation was reasonable to good at the time of the survey;
- 66% felt they were poor during their initial studies.

Despite the difficult economic situation of the families, most of the women (75%) reported receiving financial support from their parents and other sources (sources were not cited). The importance—in the eyes of the women—of family support (financial and other) should be noted.

6. Support: Financial and Otherwise

- 63.9% received grants from the BGU Center for Bedouin Studies and Development.
- 51.7% received non-financial help from the Center, including:
- 47.2% received tutoring from the Center.

Eighty percent reported that they had been given (non-financial) family support, while of these, half received grants from the Center for a year, and the others for a longer period. Over half (57.1%) reported that they had also received non-financial support from the Center, while nearly half (47.2%) received tutoring from the Center as well.

About a third of those who received a grant reported that they would not have been able to complete their studies without it, due to their poor financial situation. It is important to note that some two-thirds were not working during their studies (apart from volunteer work associated with the scholarships). This fact partly explains their financial situation during studies.

7. Obstacles to Continuation of Studies

- a. 37% of those who dropped out did so for financial reasons
Many of the students' families experience financial difficulties, especially in light of the numerous children and the inability to devote resources to cover the daughter's expenses.
- b. Low importance of educating the daughter and her low standing on the family and societal ladder, particularly prominent among families experiencing daily hardship.
- c. The limited window of opportunity (for an "easier" time while studying) available to the Bedouin woman due to an early age of marriage, after which she is no longer the financial responsibility of her father's family and is expected to start raising a family (17.1% dropped out as a result of marriage or the birth of a child).

d. Scholastic characteristics of the dropouts:

47.1% studied for one year at university; 27.8% for two and 25.1% for more than two years before dropping out.

Therefore, almost 53% of the students broke through the web of difficulties and acclimatization of the first year, while their continued studies were dependent on support and reinforcement by the university.

60% tried to (or did) change departments;

31% dropped out because they failed to meet the academic requirements.

One reason to change departments may lie in inadequate counseling in high school. Moreover, as mentioned by Mustapha (2007), obstacles to acceptance (such as age, psychometric exam results, etc.) act as filters for Arab candidates and may restrict their choices to a field that they may not really want to study.

There were others who chose to stop their studies due to inadequate Hebrew, as well as expectations and demands of the academic milieu—often the result of an unfamiliar style of teaching and their inadequate preparation for initiative and independent thought.

e. Distance from home to the University

The problem of this distance was not regarded as significant, nor given as a main reason for cessation of studies. These findings are supported by the research of Pesta-Schubert (2005), who found that the entry of Bedouin women to high school and higher education was slower than that in the Arab population as a whole for many reasons mainly embedded in the social structure and economic situation of the Bedouin.

8. Progress and Change: Employment

Despite the findings of other studies (Tal, 1994; Cwikel and Barak, 2001), who assert that the mobility and social behavior of the Bedouin woman are embedded in ancient tradition, we have found that such mobility can vary among different Bedouin groups. For example, mobility is different for those women living in recognized townships and among younger women. That is, change in mobility depends on the characteristics of the home residence and the woman's age. Especially in the younger generations, one can point to changes in Bedouin customs and culture and a gradual shift to a semi-urban way of life, as claimed by Abu Rabiyyah (2000). The figures below support the claim by Abu Rabiyyah.

47.1% of the interviewees reported being employed; 81.3% were in a full-time position (or more)

81.2% reported being satisfied with their field of work

Most of the employed (62.5%) were in the field of education (teacher, kindergarten assistant, educational coordinator, or substitute teacher), while 37.5% worked in other areas (secretary, book-keeper, law office, etc.).

A linkage was found between the age of the interviewee and working during studies, as well as her economic situation:

16.6% of those 20–25 years old at time of survey reporting that they were working;
78% of those 26–30 were employed
100% of those 31 and over were working

93.3% of those who reported a good financial situation completed their studies.

A connection is demonstrated between economic situation and completion of studies, with contributing to a return to higher education. As stated earlier, the great majority with a reasonable-to-good economic self-rating returned to higher education, as compared to more than half of those who regarded themselves as poor who did not.

The main conclusions arising from this study, on the basis of the findings discussed above are:

1. The grants provided by the Arnow Center for Bedouin Studies and Development promotes the accessibility of higher education to Bedouin women. These grants are an important resource for their continued academic studies and encourage enrollment of students in the future.
2. On the grounds that financial difficulty is a dominant factor leading to cessation of studies by students who have overcome family and socio-cultural obstacles, the Center should consider a differential financial policy on a socio-economic basis, as well as directing needy students towards appropriate employment during their studies.⁸
3. In addition to the financial support afforded by the Center, it is possible to provide other means of support, such as tutorials;⁹ evaluation of the services provided to students; help with the Hebrew especially in the freshman year; better orientation regarding academic requirements and adaptation to campus and city life—also most important in the first year.

⁸ Socio-economic status is a main criterion for scholarships, as well as continued success in studies. With regard to employment, many of the “student jobs” are not appropriate for most Bedouin women, since employment as waiters and shop assistants would require coming into contact with many people and also probably working after dark.

⁹ As of present, the Center provides tutoring in any subject for small groups of students who request it. Forty-two tutoring classes were given during 2006–7. Workshops for adaptation to university life and coping with emotional distress were renewed this year.

4. The support provided by the Center can be regarded as a springboard from which social changes can develop, enhancing and reinforcing the awareness and self-confidence of the Bedouin women—especially in light of the fact that the vast majority of those surveyed turned to continued studies in colleges and teachers' seminars—and, indeed, obtained their degree or diploma.
5. From the findings, we can conclude that female students who received grants will offer assistance and support to other Bedouin girls and young women. They will be a source of encouragement and act as role models so that more young Bedouin women will study in the future. Further follow-up research is needed to investigate this aspect.
6. Follow-up research should be undertaken on female students who received grants and completed their degrees, as to how their studies have affected their social mobility and employment opportunities, as well as those of Bedouin women in the Negev as a whole.

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Appendix

Survey of Female Bedouin Dropouts from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (2000–2006)

Questionnaire

I. Personal Details

1. Name: _____
2. Age: ____ (years)
3. Residence: _____
4. Your place of residence is:
a. recognized Bedouin village ____; b. unrecognized Bedouin Village ____; c. Jewish town/city ____
5. Personal status:
a. married ____; b. single ____; c. divorced ____; d. widowed ____.
6. If you are married, what is your husband's education?
a. Ph.D. ____; b. Master's ____; c. B.A. ____; d. B.Ed. ____; e. practical engineer ____; f. technician ____;
g. high school ____; h. less than high school ____.
7. While you were a student at BGU, were you:
a. single ____; b. married ____; c. engaged ____; d. betrothed ____.
8. If you were married while a student, were you:
a. your husband's first wife ____; b. second wife ____; c. other (explain) _____

II. SES/Employment

10. Your family's economic situation during your studies:
a. very good ____; b. good ____; c. average ____; d. not good ____; e. not good at all.
11. If you had not received a scholarship, would you have been able to study?
a. yes ____; b. no ____; c. don't know ____.
12. Who supported you financially during your studies?
a. parents ____; b. brothers ____; c. no one ____; d. other ____.
13. Did you work while studying?
a. yes ____; b. no ____
14. Are you working today?
a. yes ____; b. no ____. If not, continue with question #21.
15. Field of your employment today. _____
16. Employment
a. more than full-time ____; b. full-time ____; c. half-time ____; d. less than half-time ____.
17. Are you satisfied with your job?
a. very satisfied ____; b. satisfied ____; c. not satisfied ____; d. not at all satisfied ____.
18. If you are not working, what is the reason?
a. I didn't find work in my field ____;
b. I didn't find work at all ____;
c. I chose not to work. ____. Please explain _____

III. Education

19. In what year did you begin your studies for your B.A.? _____
20. How many years did you study at university? ____
21. Your major _____
22. In which departments at BGU did you study? _____
23. Did you wish to change/did change departments? a. yes ____; b. no ____.

24. If yes, what were the reasons?
 a. I wanted to change my major ___.
 b. I was not successful in studies and so transferred to another department ___;
 c. Other _____
25. Why did you stop your studies?
 a. Difficult economic situation ___; b. Location of the campus and difficulties of transportation ___;
 c. I was unsuccessful in fulfilling the academic tasks ___; d. Marriage or birth of children ___;
 e. Other ___.
26. Did you complete your academic studies later on? a. yes ___; b. no ___.
27. If so, how long after dropping out of BGU did you begin to study again? ___ years/weeks
28. In which institution did you complete your studies?
 a. BGU ___; b. college ___; c. seminar ___; d. other.
29. If not, do you plan to complete your degree in the future? a. yes ___; b. no ___.

IV. Support during university studies

30. Did you receive financial support from the Bedouin Center? a. yes ___; b. no ___.
31. If yes, during what period?
 a. one year ___; b two years ___; c. three years ___; d. more than 3 years ___.
32. Did you receive non-financial support during studies from the following:
 a. family ___; b. academic staff (lecturers) ___; c. the Bedouin Center ___; d. other ___.
33. Did you receive tutoring from the Bedouin Center: a. yes ___; b. no ___.
34. If "yes", how did the tutoring sessions help you? _____

Essay Questions

35. How did not completing your degree affect you personally?

36. How did non-completion of your degree affect you socially and within your family?

37. In what way did participation in academic life contribute to you personally?

38. If not, please explain.

39. Would you encourage Bedouin young women to pursue higher education? a. yes ___; b. no ___.
40. If yes, please explain.

41. If not, explain.

42. What difficulties, in your opinion, do Bedouin young women face after they express a desire to continue their education in academic studies?

V. Scholarship program—Please answer all the questions.

		<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
43.	I had good relationships with other students		
44.	I enjoyed good relations with the lecturers during my studies		
45.	I was satisfied with my dealings with the Office of the Dean of Students		
46.	I enjoyed good relations with the staff of the Bedouin Center		
47.	In general, I am satisfied with BGU		
48.	In general, I am satisfied with the female Bedouin scholarship program operated by the Bedouin Center		
49.	In my opinion, the Center's scholarship program is very important		
50.	If I weren't assured of receiving a scholarship, I would not have entered the university		
51.	I would not have tuition by myself		
52.	I recommend that Bedouin students ask to receive scholarships		