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**The contemporary impact of social space barriers on
the inaction and the future orientation construction of
young Arabs aged 18-22**

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to analyze the phenomenon of Arab youths not in education, employment, or training (NEET) based on the hypothesis that Arab women and men face different barriers against socio-spatial integration and escape from NEET behavior. Parts of this dissertation have been published in articles in international academic journals. 1. “The exclusion of young Arab women from work, education and training in Israel”, *Quality and Quantity* (Haj-Yahya, Schnell and Khattab; 2018). 2. The male agency of Arabs in transition to adulthood in Israel, *Young* (Haj-Yahya, Khatab and Schnell, 2018) 3. Transition into education and employment for young Palestinian Arab Adults in Israel, *Young* (Haj-Yahya, Khatab and Schnell, Submitted), Previous studies have looked at the rate of NEET behavior or the psychological reasons behind it within Arab youth in Israel but have not delved into the socio-spatial causes as deeply.

Both male and female Arab youths face barriers relating to their status as a subjugated minority group. However, different subjects adopt different strategies of agency in coping with the structural barriers. Often, male youths struggle with both alienation from the Jewish labor market and lack of opportunities in the Arab labor market. Traditional communal expectations can keep them from finding individual solutions to their struggles. We analyzed their main routes of integration into the labor market and postsecondary education. It is argued that, given their socioeconomic and political marginalization, they are likely to face extreme situations of NEET behavior. Using qualitative data obtained through open interviews with 20 young Arab males aged 18-22, we investigate their types of agency by analyzing their experiences, their present situations and their orientations towards the future. Three types of such orientations emerge from the study: future-oriented, fatalist and desperate. These types differ from each other in their willingness to aspire to

career-oriented futures and in their adoption of pugnacity and individualistic future orientations. Those who are less able to demonstrate a pugnacious and individualistic orientation are more likely to either turn to job opportunities that do not require intensive training and professionalization or fall into NEET behavior, thereby perpetuating the vicious cycle of poverty in the Arab society of Israel.

Meanwhile, Arab women's NEET behavior should be understood within a transitional context, as it is shaped by the transformation of a traditional, patriarchal Arab society into a more modern one. The fact that more than half of women between the ages of 18-22 are defined as NEET is explained beyond the general causes specified in the analysis of male NEET behavior, by a gender struggle between women who have adopted modern expectations of self-fulfillment and the male chauvinist milieu surrounding them. This milieu further exists in a social structure that leaves Arabs with limited opportunities for integration. This study has identified five strategies adopted by Arab women: identification with the patriarchy; surrender; constraint; compromise; and career orientation. The vast majority of women engage in a bitter struggle and most of them feel they were forced to give up their dreams as teenagers.

Both the male and female studies and conclusions draw upon a third study on levels of inactivity among 442 Arab females and males in Israel (2015). We find that Arab youths are exposed to the same forces that stimulate NEET behavior in other developed countries: low education, lack of parental support and low socio-economic status. In addition to those forces, ethnic isolation and the relatively low accessibility of the Jewish job market to Arabs enhances NEET behavior.

The study is innovative in four ways: First, systematic attempt to deeply understand the high proportion of NEETs among Arabs in Israel. Second, it is based on a theory that integrates the

analysis of structural barriers with agency strategies used to cope with the structural barriers. Third, it shows how only the adoption of pugnacity and individualistic strategy leaves Arab agents from marginalized families with some chances to escape their poverty and falling into passivity. Forth, it further shows how women adopt careerist orientations but still need to struggle against the patriarchy in order to fulfil themselves. The study identifies five strategies used with most women ending up giving up at least part of their expectations in the struggle.

This study began five years ago. We expected that after five years the situation would change. We realize that this phenomenon still exists at high rates in Arab society in Israel. The latest survey of the Central Bureau of Statistics published two years ago shows that 31% of Arab youth engage in NEET behavior. We hope that our research sheds light on this phenomenon, and that this will push decision-makers to help young Arabs.

Introduction

Increasing number of youths get lost in the transition from adolescence to adulthood in a wide range of countries (Chtouris and Miller, 2014). This phenomenon of young people not in education, employment, or training (NEET) has become a major concern in many developed countries during the last few decades (Gregg & Tominey, 2005; Furlong, 2006; Coles et al. 2010; Sachdev, Harries, & Roberts, 2006; Thompson, 2011). The phenomenon is frequently related to the emergence of a new stage in an individual's lifecycle between the ages of 18-25, during which people develop their professional identities and become an active part of society (Keniston, 1971; Arnet, 2000; Konstam, 2007), while at the same time grappling with having grown up under conditions of poverty until this point in their lives (Steinert, 2003; Thompson, 2011). In the U.S., 15% of youths are defined as NEET. This percentage is higher among African-Americans (22.5%) and lower among Asian-Americans (8%) (Burd-Sharps & Lewis, 2013).

In general, data about NEET behavior among minorities presents mixed results. Previous studies in the UK, for example, find that the NEET rate among the majority group is 17%, compared to 12% among the Indian minority, 28% among Pakistanis and 25% among Africans (Coles et al., 2010). These studies suggest that higher rates of poverty explain NEET behavior. Class and ethnic structures can trap marginalized groups due to exclusion and stereotyping in society. However, not all members of deprived groups adopt NEET behavior. This is due to the relative autonomy of individuals who actively perform their agency within the double dialectic of agency and structure (Giddens, 1991). In late modern societies, the social structural context in which youths are expected to transition into adulthood becomes increasingly complex, leaving a wider range for different types of agency and putting more responsibility on the individual (Giddens, 1991;

Bauman, 2001; Field, 2010). In this context, two main reasons may explain differences in agents' responses to similar structural exclusionary forces. First, some structural forces discriminate between individuals. This can be the case among members of different subgroups, such as members of low status lineages in Arab society, who may be discriminated against within their community or school. Second, the individualization of agency in late modern society may lead different individuals to choose different pathways for themselves. In this context, positive or negative familial role models can strongly influence adolescents' choice of route of transition to adulthood (Ingram et al. 2009).

In Israel, 17% of all male and female youths are identified as NEET (OECD, 2014; Ekstein & Dahan, 2011). However, estimations of the percentage of NEETs among Arabs in Israel place the rate at 27% among males and 52% among females (Ekstein & Dahan, 2011 based on the Israeli Bureau of Statistics, 2009). Past studies on Arab NEET behavior in Israel have looked at either the rate of the NEET (Ekstein & Dahan, 2011) and the psychological reasons that lead to the decisions behind the behavior (Mahajna, 2017). But despite the high proportion of Arab NEETs, and especially Arab female NEETs, no studies have been conducted on NEET behavior among Arabs as whole in Israel, and certainly no studies have focused specifically on NEET behavior among Arab women between the ages of 18-22. This is a crucial period in Arab youths' life, when they finish high school in their mono-cultural and segregated milieu and are then expected to develop their professional identity and begin their full integration into society.

Most studies emphasize the impact of social class on routes of transition to adulthood and of the impact of poverty on NEET behavior. However, very few studies have acknowledged the importance of minority status and ethnic background in relation to transitioning into adulthood and NEET behavior (Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018). Young Arab men in Israel differ

significantly from their Jewish counterparts and from most young people in Western countries. Not only do they experience the challenges of transitioning to adulthood, but they also belong to a national and religious minority that is socio-economically deprived, facing direct and institutional discrimination (Mahajna, 2017). Overall, inactivity rates among Arab males in Israel reach 27%, while among Jews the rate is only 17% (Eckstein and Dahan, 2011).

Young Arab women in Israel face challenges in this area as well. Our study shows that their integration into the labor market and fields of higher education is related to the socio-spatial segregation they experience as both women in a patriarchal society and as Arabs and non-Jews within Israeli society (Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018). In the following dissertation, we intend to explore how social and socio-spatial segregation affects transition into adulthood for both Arab men and women in Israel. We further discuss the theoretical concepts that support us in understanding female and male transition into adulthood and NEET behavior. Before continuing to discuss the background of this dissertation, it is necessary to describe these Arab youths' positions in Israeli society. A more thorough explanation of their status in the labor market can be found in the section on these studies' theoretical backgrounds.

Israel, founded in 1948, has been a majority-Jewish state since it was founded. However, there has been a consistent Arab minority living in Israel within the pre-1967 boundaries. In 2016, 21% of Israel's population was Arab (Myers-JDC-Brookdale (MJB), 2018). The Arab population within Israel is often isolated from their Jewish counterparts and suffers from institutional and societal discrimination (Mahajna, 2017). For example, while Arab educational rates have improved since 2000, they are still lower than Jewish levels of education in Israel (MJB, 2018). These points to issues in educational access or quality for the Arab minority. A recent poll found that, although most Israeli Jews do not consider intolerance a major issue in Israel, 79% of Arabs considered it a

problem, with 37% of Arab Muslims saying they had faced discrimination because of religious identity in the past year (Lipka, 2016). The male and female Arab youths in our study exist in a discriminatory environment. Their integration into the labor market cannot be separated from this. Our findings show that this plays a part in the NEET behavior groups and the interviewees' self-conceptualizations.

The dissertation is divided into six main sections. The first more fully discusses the context for this dissertation. The second section is dedicated to a quantitative as well as qualitative study done to examine the relationship between schooling and NEET behavior in male and female Arab youths. The third describes our quantitative study on NEET behavior in male and female Arab youths in Israel on a larger scale. The fourth main section describes the qualitative studies conducted with male and female Arab youths in Israel. Finally, in the last two sections, the results of all of these studies are discussed and then their conclusions explained in conjunction with each other.

In our first section, we will deal with structural barriers Arab youths face. This will give context to the theoretical and conceptual backgrounds of the studies, which we will also discuss in this section. While each study has parts of its background that are unique, overall the theoretical backgrounds of each study feed in to each other.

Our second section, describing our qualitative and quantitative study on education and NEET behavior, will both help in giving a larger idea of the scope of the issue and its links to education, and help in demonstrating the impact educational issues have on individuals and their behaviors. Education is consistently cited as an important factor in NEET education, so this section will help in clarifying that link before the next section looks at other variables that influence the issue.

Our third section will be a review of the research methods and findings of the larger quantitative study done based on the Tal Dor survey. This is a broader quantitative study which will help to flesh out some of the patterns of NEET behavior and other factors influencing the phenomenon that exist alongside the educational aspect – a quantitative study upon which our qualitative studies are built.

In the next section, we look at the issues facing male and female Arab youths by gender. When discussing male youths, we analyze their main routes of integration into both the labor market and postsecondary education among through a qualitative study. We argue that, given their socioeconomic and political marginalization, they are likely to face extreme situations of NEET behavior. Many of them will have to adopt pugnacity and an individualistic orientation in order to maintain a degree of agency that can lead to social or economic mobility.

When discussing female Arab youths' tendency towards NEET behavior, we aim to explain the high rate of NEET behavior among young Arab women in Israel. We argue that this extraordinary percentage is associated both with their status as an ethnic-national minority and with their status in Arab society as women. The study draws on qualitative data that has been collected through in-depth interviews with young women aged 18-30.

Both the study on male Arab youths and the study on female Arab youths reveal trends and patterns in ways of thinking not visible in the quantitative study or in the educational study. While the results of these qualitative studies are linked to both sections that precede them, through their findings we are able to conduct a more thorough analysis of the motives and thoughts of these youths. While the quantitative study highlights the structural barriers, the qualitative study highlights more the strategies of agency. The connection between the larger culture and societal

expectations for these youths and the youths' individual hopes and dreams are made clearer through the in-depth interviews.

Lastly, we will more fully explore these three studies by discussing them in comparison and then propose a number of conclusions.

The thesis is organized along five main chapters that summarize the results for three complementary studies. The first chapter discusses the theoretical aspects that are common to all three studies. The second chapter discusses the role of education as the most important agent of failing Arab students. The third chapter studies the agency of males and females based on qualitative method and the fourth chapter studies the structural barriers for integration based on the quantitative method. Each of these chapters is forward by a methodological section for the specific study. Finally, a general discussion is presented.

I. Theoretical Discussion

Conceptual Background

The conceptual background of the study on Arab women's NEET behavior is slightly different from that of the men, as their status is made more complicated by issues of gender. Thus, each study's conceptual background is listed separately in the following sections. But first, a general overview of the theory applicable to both contexts is discussed. Then, its relationship to the study on male Arab youths in the Israeli labor market is explained. However, more space is given following that in discussing the conceptual background of the study on female Arab youths. Their status as females in a patriarchal society affects and complicates the issue and requires a deeper exploration of the concepts as compared to the background on the male youths.

In constituting the theoretical argument, we stress the importance of agency, as it allows the agent to respond differently to social structural constraints. Agency is defined by Giddens (1991) within the double dialectics of agency and structure. The same concept is interpreted by Emirbayer & Mische (1998) as an action that is rooted in the interplay among routine (past), purpose (future) and judgment (present), as played out in a socially structured context. Biesta and Tedder (2007) emphasize the inseparability of the three temporal aspects of agency and Evance (2007) emphasizes the bounded character of agency, which is always within a socially structured context.

The individualization of agency during the last few decades is a characteristic of late modernism as discussed by Giddens (1991), Beck (1992) and Bauman (2000). Field (2010) argues that globalization and neoliberalism facilitate the rise of autonomous, independent personalities

exposed to a multitude of worldviews in a way that may stimulate them to imagine a wider range of possible futures and construct an independent and unique individual out of them. Young people are expected to construct biographies out of their interpretations of past successes and failures, as well as through their evaluation of their present situations and their wishes and expectations for their future. They are expected to manage their biographies in a world more complex than ever before (Thompson, 2011). Accordingly, Hinduja and Ingram (2009) argue that normative collective models of transition to adulthood are less effective in describing the process, while Furlong, Woodman and Wyn (2011) argue that we may expect to find greater diversity with higher rates of uniquely individualized life routes during the era of globalization.

Despite the individualization of identities, paths into adulthood are still socially structured in terms of class, ethnicity, and gender (Roberts, 2009). They relate to forms of integration into postsecondary education, employment, or professional training. These often include the following paths: higher education, temporary employment, unemployment, vocational or professional training, self-employment, part- or full-time jobs, and informal employment (MacDonald, 1994; Lamb and McKenzie, 2001; Wolbers, 2007; Skorstad and Ramsdal, 2016; Van Praag, Romanov and Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2010; Mocanu, Zamfir, Lungu, and Militaru, 2012; Keep, 2012).

Vuolo, Mortimer and Staff (2014) propose a classification that distinguishes between more and less successful youths. They identify four optional paths. In the first path, young adults spend many years pursuing higher education before integrating into the job market. In the second, they transfer from high school to full employment and pursue higher education at a later point in time. The remaining two paths are the so-called “indecision” paths: young adults who fail to obtain an academic degree or never make an effort to do so, nor do they acquire any job skills during high

school. As a result, they either fail to integrate into the job market, or they integrate into the lower strata of the job market.

Such models do not assume free choice but focus on youth agency within the double dialectics of agency and structure suggested by Giddens (1991) and implied by Bauman (2001) and Beck (1992). Minority groups may suffer from narrower routes of mobility that are more structured in society—as in the case of Arab citizens of Israel—but they may also differ individually in their determination to overcome the structural barriers for mobility. This is, for example, true in the case of Arab entrepreneurs in Israel (Schnell, 2001). Indeed, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2006) argue that inequalities and barriers to development are individualized, and influenced by expectations for self-fulfillment based on individual resources.

However, even modes of agency may be partly socially structured. In response to those theoretical developments, Bradley & Devadason (2008) suggested a different typology for the agency-structure of opportunity dialectics in the transition to adulthood. First, shifters: a group characterized by multiple transitions between jobs, as well as between employment and unemployment. This group mainly consists of unmarried men, women (particularly when married), young members of minority groups, young adults with higher education that take time off after graduation and high-school dropouts. Second, there are stickers: a group made up of three subgroups that stick to a single job or career—professionals, blue-collar dropouts, and people who advance by accumulating experience in an acquired skill. The third group consists of switchers: people who have decided to make a significant change in their lives by switching to a different career or profession. Lastly are the settlers: a group consisting mostly of family men who make a long-term occupational decision or career choice after a prolonged period of shifting between jobs.

These typologies and others provide a general framework for understanding the socioeconomic complexity of the transition from high school to the job market and higher education. However, they do not refer to the specific ways in which young adults facing formal and informal obstacles in their social space formulate their future orientation of integration (Farris and De Jong, 2014; Raffe, 2014). We argue that conceptualizations that focus on the agents' temporality in constituting orientation toward the transition to adulthood may better account for obstacles blocking integration, as well as for coping with them. Similarly, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) distinguish between agents according to their focus on past, present or future orientations. They also separate these agents according to the depth of the temporal future or past that is active in motivating them to action. Seginer (2008) focuses on a future orientation and distinguishes between aspirations, expectations, and actions. Schnell and Kipnis (1989) analyze gaps between wishes, expectations, and actions as a means of understanding agents' motivations and views. However, Stamps and Bohon (2006) warn that these concepts should not be mixed with each other. Finally, St. Clair, Kintrea and Houston (2013) and Gorard, See and Davies (2012) show that the relationships between aspirations, expectations and behavior are more complex than traditionally assumed in sociological theory.

Beal (2011) distinguishes between four types of future orientations: (1) Fatalism versus pugnacity; (2) Orientation toward immediate satisfaction versus postponed satisfaction; (3) Short versus long future orientation; and (4) Collectivism versus individualism. As we shall see below, many of the participants feel they have to adopt a pugnacious and individualistic orientation in order to maintain a degree of agency that can lead to social and economic mobility.

Regarding Arab men, Khattab's research (2002; 2003a,b) demonstrates associations between the structural characteristics of Arab society in Israel and Arab high school students' styles of

agency. He focuses especially on the power that ethnic and familial structures hold in influencing agency. While he argues that students adapt their aspirations and expectations to the structural constraints of the community in which they grow, we argue that agency does not necessarily conform to structural constraints. We conduct an open constructivist empirical investigation in which the relevance of the aforementioned temporal categories, the interrelations among them, the associations between them, and the styles of integration are tested, without any presumption concerning the conformity of the agents to the discriminatory social structure described.

Structural Barriers for Arab Integration in Israel

Arabs are systematically marginalized in the Israeli 'ethnic democracy', with space being used as a major agent of marginalization (Smootha, 2005). Arabs are concentrated in highly segregated towns located in the national periphery and remain cut off from integration capital (Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018), as most resources are controlled by Jewish Israelis. In Israel, there are 84 Arab municipalities in which more than 85% of the Arabs in Israel reside (this includes Druze and Bedouin areas). The rest live mainly in mixed cities and in four regional municipalities that include Arab villages. Most (88%) of the Arab municipalities are classified as among the poorest municipalities in Israel. No Arab municipality is included within the municipalities that are in the top 40% of wealthiest areas, or classified as financially strong or stable (Gal et. al).

In this context, young Arabs seeking integration into the labor market or into higher education are especially vulnerable. They are forced to search for work at a younger age than their Jewish counterparts due to a relatively high percentage of secondary school dropouts and the fact that they

do not serve in the military (Mayseless, 2001; 2004). For most of them, it is their first ever exposure not only to the adult world but also to Jewish society. This is compounded by the fact that they suffer from a lack of Hebrew proficiency and a lack of social networks within this society, as well as formal discrimination and informal prejudices (Zeira, Benvenishty and Rafaeli, 2012; Yashiv and Kasir, 2012). Under these circumstances, many Arab youths compromise on jobs that they are overqualified for, with some even preferring to withdraw from the formal labor market altogether (Neumark, 2002; Khattab, 2003b; Mortimer et al., 2008). This phenomenon is more frequent among young women (Kraus, Shavit and Yaish, 1998; Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018). The low salary expectations of many of the Arab women and the expense of childcare make commuting to the larger supply of jobs in the Jewish labor market unprofitable (Kraus, Shavit and Yaish, 1998; Khattab, 2013). In addition to those factors, Arab women have to overcome the patriarchal pressure to remain within the house as homemakers instead of joining the workforce (Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018).

Arabs are consistently disadvantaged in the Israeli labor market (Kraus, Shavit, and Yaish, 1998; Khattab, 2013). The recently published Variability Measure (Ministry of Economy, 2016) suggests that the attempts at achieving equality in the job market have not been successful. Arabs are still overrepresented in blue-collar jobs. Moreover, extreme inequality is still evident even when Arabs are employed in lucrative industries such as the tech industry. On average, Arabs earn only 60% of what their Jewish counterparts earn (Swirski and Konor-Attias, 2017).

Beyond formal and informal discrimination, the Arab population suffers from other obstacles. More than half of the Arab population is concentrated in the remote north of the country, where employment prospects are low compared to the rest of the country. Conversely, half of the Jewish population lives in and around the Tel Aviv metropolitan areas, where job opportunities are

plentiful (Harpaz & Meshoulam, 2010). Indeed, the list of municipalities with high rates of unemployment includes 30 localities, all of them Arab. Unemployment obviously causes poverty, but its repercussions exceed the economic arena and affect one's personal and familial relationships. Unemployed persons (and in a traditional society, men in particular) tend to have low self-esteem, and suffer from ongoing stress due to their sense of economic uncertainty. In many cases, this leads to family disputes and even domestic violence. On a social level, this also correlates with higher crime rates.

High unemployment may be rooted in alienation and/or radicalization (Reches & Rodnitzky, 2009). Dahan et al. (2007) examined the negative impact of the poverty gap between Arabs and Jews in Israel and found that they exacerbate tensions between the two groups. They consider this gap similar to the gap between African and European Americans in the US, although in Israel the tensions between the two populations—especially during and after the Second Intifada¹—are also embedded in a major ethno-national dispute. The Commission of Inquiry into the Clashes between Security Forces and Arab Citizens in October 2000 (the Or Commission) discussed the negative impacts of unemployment and poverty on Arab society and concluded that these two phenomena aggravate its sense of marginalization and unrest (Ghanem, 2016). Overall, the economic gap between the Arab population and the Jewish population is large, with Arab workers earning two-thirds the wage of the average Israeli (Swirski and Konor-Attias, 2016).

In analyzing the role of schools in NEET behavior, several factors are mentioned. First, it is frequently noted that schools in marginalized communities are less well financed than schools in

¹ The Al-Aqsa Intifada, also known as the Second Intifada, was the second Palestinian popular uprising against the Israeli occupation. It started in October 2000 in an incident in Umm al-Fahm in which twelve young Palestinian citizens of Israel and a Palestinian from the Gaza Strip were killed by Israeli police. It ended in early 2005.

prosperous neighborhoods (Owens et al, 2016), resulting in less investment per student and larger class sizes. A US study shows that small classes and, to some extent, the introduction of a second classroom teacher, improves students' achievement in reading and mathematics. This is due to less time spent on bureaucracy, fewer disturbances by students and more personal care and attention to the student (Bowne et al, 2017). Also, poorer neighborhoods tend to recruit less qualified teachers. Several studies showed that introducing highly qualified teachers to poor neighborhood schools best contributes to improvement in students' achievements (Marais, 2016).

In Israel, a portion of the gap in investments between the Arab and the Jewish educational systems comes out of the bureaucratic regulations for financing the systems. Firstly, due to the rapid expansion of the Arab educational system and the low priority assigned by the Ministry of Education to building schools for Arab students, most rented classroom buildings are in the Arab educational sector. The Ministry of Education finances the construction of school buildings, but only up to one third of the price of rented classes. This puts a heavy burden on Arab municipalities (Follow-up Committee on Arab Education). Secondly, in Israel, education is financed by the central government; however, rich municipalities can supplement their budget. This contributes to the educational inequalities that exist between poor and wealthy areas (BenDavid Hadar, 2017). Since the Arab municipalities are among the poorer municipalities, their ability to invest in education is limited. Thirdly, many government investments in municipalities are offered in return for a matching municipal investment. This procedure plays in favor of the wealthier Jewish municipalities that can offer to match (Weiss, 2018).

In addition to formal schooling, informal education seems to contribute to students' success. Programs of informal education introduced to poor neighborhoods, focusing on developing life qualifications, helped students to prepare for their examinations. Informal complementary

education proved itself highly effective in improving students' achievements (Weinstein et al, 2014).

Studies also show that teachers tend to have lower expectations for lower-class students. They also show less patience towards them (Agirdag, 2018), increasing these students' tendency to drop out of school. In these cases, teachers prefer to get rid of these students instead of dealing with the difficulties that result from keeping them in class.

Poverty and familial support also play an essential role in students' success in schools (Carcillo et al. 2015). Family support is important, as it transmits a positive orientation towards education to children and results in material support, like homework help (Arar and Massry-Herzlla, 2016).

Studies show that children from poor neighborhoods that are not supported by parents are more likely to drop out of school and adopt NEET behavior (Cuellar, 1991; Barro and Kolstad, 1987).

The literature shows that schools lead students to failure in different ways, mainly through increasing the chances of weaker students dropping out of school and adopting NEET behavior.

However, NEET behavior may have also a cultural component. Driouchi, et al. 2017 argues that the rate of NEET behavior among Arabs is relatively high, mostly among female Arabs. This is due to negative attitudes towards women's participation in the labor market among many traditional Arab households, as well as to the low qualifications of Arab women in the labor market. This results in lower salaries that make commuting to work uneconomical (Haj-Yahya, Khattab and Schnell, 2018).

Arab Female Integration in the Labor Market

Young Arab females' integration into both the Israeli labor market and the educational system is complicated by gender as well as national identity. These women face two types of barriers: structural and personal. The two types are intertwined due to identities and social structures being linked with one another and are continuously restructured during life (Sarup, 1996; Butler, 1991). Most studies focus on class structure in explaining NEET behavior. However, Netto et al. (2011) argue that social exclusion on the grounds of ethnic affiliation is coupled with class-based exclusion (which also relates to our study on male Arab youths' NEET behavior). The low expectations teachers and employers have of pupils and workers of certain ethnic groups play a crucial role in this phenomenon (Hayward et al. 2008; Riaz, 2014). A lack of interethnic relations in childhood and adolescence among poorer members of minority groups may limit them to the more rewarding interactions with relatives from their internal group. This can cause them to resist outer groups in a way that further limits their opportunities (Botrell, 2007). Additional studies stress the effect of social capital that results from bridging the gap between members of other ethnic groups in a way that fosters trust, responsibility, and reciprocity. This opens routes to inclusion for minority youths in society and the general labor market (Coburn, 2011; Riaz, 2014). More recent studies suggest three structural and one personal (or cultural) determinants of NEET behavior (Gauthier, 2012): the structure of the labor market that allocates jobs for women and ethnic minorities (Haase et al. 2008); the availability of supportive services for mothers; and finally, low salaries paid to low-class women that do not compensate for the added expense of childcare. Therefore, female disengagement from the labor market is mainly characterized by women with low professional skills (Del Boca et al. 2009; Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011), and

traditional norms toward gender roles (Pfau-Effinger, 2004; Nordenmark, 2004). Few scholars focus on the relevance of a woman's attitude towards her work (Hakim, 2003; Fortin, 2005) in a way that affects her personality, nor as a discouraging factor in her training for integration into the labor market.

On the personal level, marginalized women are more deeply torn between their role as homemakers and their aspirations for a career than are upper-middle class women. Their failure to achieve their aspired career goals may be associated with low self-esteem and a low sense of capability, leading to a lowering of personal expectations (Betz, 1994). This approach is rooted in the concept of 'socially situated agency' (Evans, 2007; Woodman, 2009), which applies to the duality of agency and structure suggested by Giddens (1991). As mentioned previously, agency is situated in the flow of time: the ways past experiences, present judgments and future aspirations and expectations become ingrained in one's biography in accordance to the social structure in which one develops. (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Biesta & Tedder, 2007). Like male Arab youths, their past, present and future mix together to affect their personal feelings of agency and their abilities to address the structural barriers that surround them.

However, it should be noted that women tend to struggle in their search for self-identity more than men do. Women are usually more affected by reference groups in developing their perceptions of self (Butler, 1991; Tøgersen-Ntoumanis et al. 2011). In this regard, Greenberg and Sagiv-Reiss (2013) show how female Arab students in higher education view their studies as a path to self-determination and increased autonomy. They overcome fears of competing in Jewish milieus by searching for support from other Arab female students. Simultaneously, they face violence from Arab male students who seek to dominate them and force them to maintain traditional values of modesty and obedience. They show how the female students respond to this through either

obedience or rebellion. Alhuzail (2016) shows how Bedouin Muslim women in Israel have developed expectations of self-fulfillment and a career, even though they face extreme difficulties in overcoming the traditional patriarchal system of which they are part.

Similar trends toward attempts at self-autonomy and attitudes towards education as a tool of power are observed among young South Asian Muslim women in Great Britain. They engage in intensive processes of renegotiating their cultural, religious, and personal identities. They also view academic studies as the main means for setting themselves free from cultural bonds (Ahmad, 2001; 2003). In their struggle to determine their own identities, they assign high value to their religion, but compartmentalize religion to the patriarchal cultures common in Islamic societies (Kandiyoti, 1987; 1988). They also compartmentalize their modes of conduct at home and outside the home. They do this to empower their individual capability in achieving rights in four aspects of their lives: against enforced marriage, against violence in the family, in favor of a professional career, and in favor of higher education (Brown, 2006). These studies show that parents present different degrees of partially positive attitudes toward their daughters' integration into society as long as they maintain their religious identities (Abbas, 2010). They must balance societal integration with a careful negotiation of the cultural and familial expectations placed on them. Academia is seen as an arena available to aid in this negotiation. But within our own study, we question whether Arab women in Israel have succeeded in using their education as a tool of power in their families and a vehicle for self-fulfillment once they finish their studies.

Concerning Arab women's integration to the Israeli labor market, Khattab and Miaari (2013), like many other scholars, highlight the lower rewards Arab workers receive, both due to their lower skills and to the ethnic penalty they pay as a deprived group. Kraus and Yonay (2000) focus on social barriers to Arab women's integration in the labor market that are rooted in their minority

status in Israeli society and as women in Arab society. Yonay and Kraus (2009) stress how low salaries for women do not encourage them to overcome gender barriers, since their expected income would not cover their extra expenses at home. Furthermore, women tend to adopt religious and traditional lifestyles in compensation for their lower status.

The role of parental examples (usually maternal examples) stressed in the general literature (Molloy & Potter, 2015) is even more salient in Arab society. Khattab et al. (2013) found that the probability of graduating from higher education increases by 70% for a working-class Muslim or Druze female with an employed mother who had also completed university studies. This probability increases by 80% when the mothers were employed in white-collar positions. For Jewish women, the corresponding percentages are only 40% and 60%.

Spatial segregation and location in the national periphery magnifies the exclusionary forces applied to Arab women. As mentioned before, Arab population centers in Israel are more isolated from the better job markets than Jewish population centers. Long commuting distances and poor public transport make getting to work or to professional training centers costly and time-consuming—a factor that greatly deters Arab women from participating (Garb, 2006). Furthermore, Arab males often commute for more than three hours a day, leaving them out of the house for long hours, which expands the woman's role in maintaining the household and the family (Schnell & Haj-Yahya, 2014). The same factor that makes work opportunities more difficult for male Arab youths makes them almost impossible for many female Arab youths.

In patriarchal societies, such as the Arab society in Israel, gender often poses an additional obstacle to integration in education, work and professional training—a trend that is demonstrated by the high percentage of NEET behavior among Arab women in Israel. The Israeli Arab society is

frequently characterized as a society undergoing a rapid transformation from a more traditional, patriarchal society to a modern one (Abu-Baker, 2001; 2002a,b; Abu Asba, 2005; Aburabia-Queder, 2006; Aburabia-Queder and Wiener-Levi, 2010). However, even with these changes, Arab women are still influenced by the social expectation that they care for the home and family while their husbands serve as primary breadwinners (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). As members of a society in transition, the Arab women of today are stuck in a dichotomy between their pursuit of a career and the expectation that they become homemakers in a more extreme way than their female counterparts in other modern societies (Badir, 2005). Badir claims that only a strong and supportive family can allow women to participate in the labor market. Meanwhile, Ali and Gordony (2009) argue that some women use their education as a means of improving their position within their own families, breaking apart much of the power traditionally held by males. In contrast, Suliman and Schnell (2013) show how the elderly heads of extended families maintain their power by controlling the land owned by the family, and Lavie and Katz (2002) show that even many educated women remain obedient to the patriarchal structure. Aburabia-Queder and Wiener-Levi (2010) connect women's inferiority to their lack of opportunities in the labor market. The discussion so far has led us to the conclusion that female NEET behavior is rooted in a structured social system in which ethnic and gender relations play an essential role, and power struggles are intense. Deprived as Arabs in Jewish milieus, limited by the patriarchal system in Arab society and segregated into peripheral spaces, Arab women are left in a status of triple marginalization.

The previous sections explained the structural barriers facing both male and female Arab youths as they integrate into the job market and higher education. The following section will reveal how Arab women's marginalization as well as Arab men's struggles to follow their own paths into

adulthood are affected by educational issues. The struggles that these youths face in the educational sphere can partially explain participation in NEET behavior. Examining their relationship to the educational system can point to ways in which failures on its part are constraining youths' growth as professionals and workers. Questioning the youths' relationship to education can also show how the previously mentioned structural and cultural barriers keep youths from accessing the full value of their education.

II. Study 1 : Education & NEET Behavior

Quantitative Part

The quantitative part of this study is based on the Tal Dor survey of 442 young Arabs aged 19-23 who are citizens of Israel. (This survey and its findings as a whole will be discussed in more detail in the next section.) 80% of the participants were not married and 90% were childless Muslims. The sample represents the Arab population in the Galilee, the east-central area of Israel (Little Triangle) and the Arabs in the mixed cities.

A stratified sample by region (Galilee, Little Triangle and Mixed Cities) was chosen with a random selection of subjects within each region. In choosing the sample, we followed a labor force survey by the Israeli CBS (2011). The survey was managed by phone for about 25 minutes. However, we had to conduct a second round of questioning to add women and individuals in NEET behavioral groups to the sample, since they remained under-represented in the first round. In total, 20% refused the first round of the questionnaire.

We ran a questionnaire that focused on educational achievements and forms of activity. It also contained a set of questions about families' socio-economic statuses and parents' support to students that we found relevant in understanding inactivity among Arab youths. The questionnaire was presented to the youths in Arabic, but was translated to Hebrew and back to Arabic by an expert in order to verify the accuracy of the translation.

To analyze the findings, we defined level of education as the dependent variable. We defined questions about perceived income relative to average levels of income and the education of both parents as the socio-economic independent variables. The presence of a role model in the family and encouragement from the father and mother were defined as the family support independent variables. The analysis of the

quantitative part is based on cross-tabulations and analyses of variances. In addition, we calculated a multi-nominal logistic regression between the independent variables and subjects' level of education.

Qualitative Part

The qualitative interpretation was based on open discussion with twenty interviewees from the quantitative part who were inspired by the questionnaire to openly discuss their concerns and experiences. In addition to those subjects, we interviewed 20 male subjects and 20 female subjects from diverse S.E.S. groups and the three regions. We started the interviews by asking them to describe their biographies in their own language. Gradually, we added questions that directed them to focus on their experiences of transition into adulthood and the role of school in this transition. Towards the end of the interview, we also asked more challenging questions in order to clarify and sharpen unclear issues.

Each interview lasted for about 90 minutes. They were performed in Arabic by the first author and translated by an expert into English, and then back again into Arabic for verification. In the analysis, we categorized the description of the students' school experiences into ways the students were failed by the schools.

Results

Investment in schools

The vast majority of Arab students study in public schools in Arabic under a special curriculum adapted to Arab culture. The few that study in private schools achieve high results. The private schools are mainly managed by churches, with some lately being run by private organizations. Several of these private schools are among the best schools in Israel (Shdema, 2018). However,

the achievements of many of the public schools in Arab communities are poor. Only 23% of students are eligible to matriculation, which opens the door to academic education, as opposed to a rate of 47% among Jews. Only 24% of Arab students continue to post high school education, while 50% of Jews do. Fourteen percent drop out of school, compared to 8% among Jews. Meanwhile, in academia, Arab academics earn one third less per hour when compared Jewish academics (Fuchs, 2017).

The poorer results in Arab students' achievements are associated with lower investment. For example, about 20,000 NIS was given as funding per elementary school student in the Jewish school system in 2015, while only about 16,000 NIS was given per student in the Arab sector (Taub Center, 2017). One of the consequences of this lower investment is the number of children in a class. However, due to a recent decline in fertility rates, the number of Arab students in elementary and junior high classes is declining, reaching lower numbers than in Jewish classes. But high school Arab classes still have three more students in a class on average (Taub Center, 2017). The gaps between Jews and Arabs in school investment also stems from parents' activity. It appears that Arab parents understand their role differently from Jewish parents when it comes to involvement with their children's schools. Generally, Arab parents tend to be less involved in their children's schools than Jewish parents (Arar et. al, 2016).

The quality of teachers also seems to differ between the Arab and Jewish school systems. In terms of teacher recruitment, there is some evidence for Arab teachers being less qualified. Once enrolled in teacher colleges, Arab teachers passed the psychometric examination in grades that are 13% lower than Jewish teachers (Fuchs, 2017). However, the quality of teachers is measured also by their pedagogical qualities. In this respect, there is some evidence that Arab teachers tend to focus on memorization rather than on developing creativity and critical qualifications more than Jewish

teachers do (Arar and Massry-Herzllah, 2016). Another aspect is the investment in informal education. So far, investments in Arab informal education are extremely low (Abu Asba, 2007; Schneider and Shoham, 2017).

In our study we explored four issues connected to the poor performance of Arab schools. The first relates to the failure of schools to compensate for the deficiencies in parental economic and moral support to students. The second is the presence of less qualified teachers that fail to attract students. The third is lack of life education, and the fourth is discrimination against the students from poorer families and less prestigious lineages.

Emotional and material family support

Many studies argue that parental and familial support – both emotional and material – are extremely important in students' success in school. A lack of help for students can be rooted in three causes: a lack of money to finance material help, a lack of knowledge to help students in learning, and a lack of a positive orientation at home towards schooling (Park and Holloway, 2018; Arar and Massry-Herzllah, 2016). Fisher (2010) mentioned additional ways in which parents play a negative role in supporting their children's integration into schools. She argues that the school staff in Arab societies hold traditional attitudes that negate parents' involvement in school, based on the fear that it will undermine the authority of the teachers. In addition to this, many families maintain patriarchal value systems. This results in men refusing to intervene in educational matters, as those are left to women (Haj-Yahya and Schnell, 2018). However, women hesitate to meet high school teachers after school, since most of the teachers are men. The result is that parents and families are excluded from being involved in school matters.

Data from the survey show that students from poor families with no family support are more likely to fail in school. Table 1 shows the effects of socioeconomic status and family support on success in education. The multi-nominal logistic regression explains 25% of the variance in subjects' education level (Pseudo R² Nagelkerke=.0.25). Two variables are significant: perceived income and a role model in the family.

Table 1: Multi-nominal logistic regression between S.E.S and family support versus education

Risk factors	B	Sig.
Role model	1.554	.002
Mother education	.368	.307
Father education	.017	.963
Perceived income	.661	.019
Financial support	.273	.412
Father encouragement	.013	.972
Mother encouragement	.328	.346

In terms of income, 61% of those with a low level of education are also from families with a low income rate, while only 38% of those with a high level of education are from families with a low income rate (Kendall's tau-b: T=2.7; sig.=0.007). In terms of family support, 75% of the less educated subjects mentioned one relative as a positive role model. In almost all cases it was not one of the parents. In contrast, 97 % of the more educated participants mentioned one relative as a positive role model, with almost half of them being one of the parents, usually the mother (Kendall's tau-b: T=3.35; sig.=0.001). Analysis of ANOVA between education and type of activity reveals that activity is influenced by

education (Table 2). However, the differences in level of education between workers and NEET, though significant, are not categorical, leaving room for differences in personal agency.

Table 2: Education by type of activity (N=442)

	Elementary	High school *	Post high school	Total
1. Students	-	44%	56%	100%
2. Workers	20%	39%	41%	100%
3. NEET	20%	46%	34%	100%

- Includes undergraduate students

ANOVA; F=9.1; Sig.=0.0001; Post Hoc- 1-2=0.007; 1-3=0.0001; 2-3=0.05

The open interviews enable a deeper understanding of the barriers Arab youth face in integrating into the labor market or into higher education. The first testimony comes from a successful 19-year-old woman who finished her schooling at a church-run private high school, and succeeded in integrating into higher academic education. Next to emotional family support, she refers to the importance of material support:

"Since the eleventh grade I knew I wanted to study social work. My parents supported me very strongly. They financed for me a private institute that prepares students for academic studies twice a week, five hours each meeting. I used to study every day during these days."

Meanwhile, Azhar highlights the material factor:

“I have no money so I cannot help myself. I cannot even invest in making a driving license. I would have liked to improve my Hebrew to finish high school in external courses. I could have done all of it if I had money. I would have worked less to make time to study but these are dreams that I have no chance to fulfil.”

Lack of school support

In his interview, while stressing the importance of material family support, Azhar assigns some responsibility to his situation to the educational system and its *lack of support*:

“The system gave me up too quickly. No one made any move to convince me not to withdraw from school. Nobody helped me find a stipend or help from the welfare system. Obligatory education is just a word, but it is a great lie. So many around me left school in the middle and nobody cared about them.”

Another student stressed the importance of financial support and the presence of a role model in the family, while complaining that the school did not do anything to strengthen those who needed it most:

“The majority of the students in my class are in my situation, not finishing high school. Only the children of rich people that were strengthened by private lessons financed by their parents or the son of an accountant that knew he was expected to continue his father business invested in succeeding in school. They could also study without working in order to support their families. Under these conditions I would have also succeeded. I am frustrated that the school system abandoned us and strengthened only the rich ones.”

Ahmad stresses his eagerness to get support and care from his teacher:

“While in school, I was disobedient. I was eager to get my teacher's attention and warm support, but she ignored me. One day I brought drugs to class, being sure that the teacher will respond to me, even if angrily, but she continued teaching as if I was not in class.”

Mustafa was even more emotional when he expressed his eagerness to receive a warm response from his teacher:

“I was eager to get her attention. I prayed to get a hug. My parents did not know how to show their love to me. I saw how the teachers hug other students and show them love. Once I failed a test and I begged to get a second chance, but my teacher glanced at me in contempt, telling me that students like me do not deserve a second chance. A school system that gives up on you at the age of nine does not give you a chance to succeed. This is only one example of my experiences in school.”

One student from a mixed city demonstrated more intense bitterness toward the school system:

“I am angry at the state. They deprive Arabs. Even the mayor is a racist. He invests in the Jewish neighborhoods and abandons the Arab ones. Jewish schools are located in nicer buildings, they have better teachers and they have complementary education that we do not have. Our teachers did not know how to teach, they humiliated us because they did not like being teachers.”

Students blame schools not only for uncaring attitudes toward the weaker students, but also for *outright discrimination* against the weaker students.

One student blames the teachers:

“The teachers in school ignored the weaker students. They invested only in the better students. They further strengthened the stronger students and weakened the already weaker students.”

An even stronger criticism is posed by another student:

“Teachers took care of students from their clans, which are usually the stronger clans in town. They were nice and supportive to them. In contrast, they were mean with us and even used obscene language.”

A girl whose father is from the Occupied Territories (and therefore is treated as a member of the lowest prestige group) describes her experience:

“I and several of my friends from lower prestige groups were not accepted to the better classes in high school because of my family name. The better programs were secured to students from the privileged lineage.”

The deprivation of the weaker students is also confirmed by one of the better students:

“I studied in the most prestigious program in school. The teachers treated us much better than students from the less prestigious programs.”

One female student describes a positive example that demonstrates what can be done to support students:

“In Junior High I had a crisis. My father went to jail. I understood that I had no chance to fulfil my dream to become a physician. I dropped school and worked with my mother in cleaning Jewish houses. I earned 150 Shekel a day, which was a lot for me. My teacher that became like my second mother came to our home and convinced me to continue studying. She followed me all the school years even after she finished teaching me. Today, I am in a teachers college. I will not fulfil my dream to be a physician, but I will be a teacher hoping to save other children from the faith I almost fell into.”

Life qualifications

Along with a lack of parental support, students also complain about a lack of preparation for adulthood in school. They also point to the connection between performance in school and future opportunities for careers. One student states:

“Once we got a lecture on choosing careers. In addition, representatives of higher education institutions presented to us the disciplines they offer. Suddenly I understood that I want to become an engineer and I have to make sure I succeed in school in order to fulfil my dream instead of just finishing high school and choosing the profession my grades will allow me.”

Another student highlighted his lack of awareness of the influence of success in high school on his future career.

“Unfortunately, I did not realize on time that I have to plan my future. During school time we were in a closed bubble believing that our life will flow. I successfully finished high school but I immediately married and became a mother. Now I realize it was a mistake. I expect the teacher counselor would have consulted with us on how to develop our future and prepare ourselves for a career. Now as a mother I am in a dead end.”

As can be seen from these interviews, the issue of neglect in schools, combined with disadvantaged family situations and a lack of outside resources, can help to push youths into NEET behavior. These youths can feel trapped by their perceived lack of options or pushed into their paths by their past schooling. However, as seen in the next section, education alone is not the only important factor in evaluating NEET behavior. Other factors outside of education play an important role in setting male and female Arab youths on the path to either successful or unsuccessful integration into society.

III. Study 2: NEET Behavior in General –

Quantitative

The previous section was partially based on the following survey and its findings. However, this survey was not limited in its focus to education and NEET behavior. Rather, it revealed a large swath of information about male and female Arab youths and their respective relationships to NEET behavior.

Methods

For this study, which was conducted in 2015, 442 young adult Christian and Muslim Israeli citizens were interviewed. The Tal Dor Survey was done via a questionnaire that measured characteristics of inactivity, interaction with the Jewish majority group, Hebrew proficiency, and the social-demographic background of respondents concerning education and family support. The questionnaire included 106 open and closed questions derived from other studies and our experience with research in the Arab Society in Israel. It was written in both Hebrew and Arabic, and later proof read by a language editor and validated in a pilot study on a group of young Arabs. The 442 individuals interviewed over the phone were surveyed on various topics relating to their religious identity and level of piety, level of personal and parental matriculation, socio-economic status, personal satisfaction, and employment. In analyzing the results, we calculated frequencies and variances between students, workers and NEETs and conducted a multi-logistic regression.

Dependent variable: Inactivity

An initial item asked the participants to state whether they were: (1) Employed; (2) Attending college or university; (3) Employed and attending college or university; (4) In professional training; or (5) Not in employment, education or training (NEET). The item was scored as 1 for those who study, 2 for those who work and 3 for those who are NEET. Only three subjects were scored to be in professional training. From these initial questions, we created two alternative dependent variables: First, three categories in the dependent variable that distinguish among NEET, working and studying youths. Second, a dichotomous dependent variable that distinguishes between active groups and NEET groups.

Independent variables

We identified five groups of independent variables or risk factors relating to the subject's socio-economic situation, family support, access to work centers, education and socio-spatial sense of isolation as members of a marginalized ethnic minority.

Socio-demographic variables: Perceived income compared to average; mother's level of education; father's level of education; socio-economic status of residence town.

Family support: Financial support; role model within the family; father's level of encouragement; mother's level of encouragement.

Accessibility: Frequency of crossing into Jewish spaces; car ownership; peripheral index of residence town.

Sense of belonging in Jewish spaces; Fluency in Hebrew; identification with Israeli identity as a shared one; attempts to gain employment with Jewish employers.

Higher education: The independent variables were categorized on a Likert scale with one correlating with low degrees and higher numbers relating to higher degrees.

Analysis

The analysis is based on three stages. First, we describe the distributions of the relevant variables. Second, we analyze Post Hoc ANOVA in order to identify the risk factors that significantly differ from each other. Third, we analyze a multi-nominal logistic regression in order to identify the risk factors that explain the adoption of styles of activity and NEET behavior. The ANOVA and the regressions enable us to distinguish among risk factors that predict activity, those that do not predict activity, and those that do not demonstrate variability among the three groups and therefore cannot be determined to affect the style of activity.

Results

The basic breakdown of the sample population, which can be seen in Table 3, is as follows: 88.2% of the sample population was Muslim and 10.2% Christian. The remaining 1.6% did not mark their religion. As for the familial status of the subjects, it was found that 80.2% were single. 19.7% responded that they were in a relationship. As expected, the vast majority of subjects did not have children (95.2%). 48.9% reported that their family's economic situation was good, 22.6% reported that it was bad, 21.1% reported that it was very bad, 5.1% reported it was very good, and the remaining 1% called their situation fantastic.

Table 3: The Population's Religion, Family, and Economic Statuses (N=442)

		Percentage
Religion	Muslim	88.2
	Christian	10.2
Relationship Status	Single	80.2
	In a Relationship	19.7
Family Status	Children	4.8
	No Children	95.2
	Fantastic	1
Family Economic Situation	Very Good	5.1
	Good	48.9
	Bad	22.6
	Very Bad	21.1

The average age of the population was 21.78 years old. In terms of education, the average years of schooling among the subjects were 13.68, and the median was 15 years. In this case, it seems that the students who dropped out of school but still received a certificate of completion reported having a higher education level than what they had actually attained.

The Central Bureau of Statistics' (CBS) socio-economic survey shows a net income per household. It was found that the Arab population earns less money on average, with 47% of the Arab population earning only up to 8,000 NIS. In comparison, 23% of the total population of Israel earns up to 8,000 NIS. There is also a sizable difference between monetary earnings in terms of average per capita, as 52% of Arabs earn an average income of only 2,000 NIS in comparison to just 12% of Jews. In light of this data, it is unsurprising to find that there is difficulty paying for monthly expenses among the Arab population, with 55% barely able or

unable to cover their expenses, compared with just 30% in the general population – a gap of 85%.

In addition, Arab society's satisfaction with its economic situation is lower than the general population. 49% of the Arab population is satisfied or very satisfied with their economic situation, compared to 62% of the total population. Furthermore, 31% of Arabs responded that, from the age of 15 until today, they have often felt poor. Only 10% of the general population said the same. Moreover, 15% of the Arab population said that they have given up a hot meal at least once every two days within the past year due to their financial situation.

With regard to religion as indicating traditionalism, 19.0% of the subjects defined themselves as not religious; 32.2% defined themselves as not very religious; 40.2% see themselves as religious, and the remaining 8.6% define themselves as very religious. In terms of parents' schooling, 71.1% of the subjects reported that their parents studied for 12 years, while the remaining 28.9% reported that their fathers held either a bachelor's or master's degree, or a teaching or engineering certificate. In terms of their father's work, it was found that 26% of the subjects reported that their fathers did not work, in comparison to 50.9% who reported that their mothers did not work. The CBS data from 2017 shows that the employment rates among Arab women are particularly low—35.9% versus 79.9% among Jewish women and 77% among Arab men (CBS, 2017). When compared to the data from our sampling, it seems that, at least in terms of the men, our data mirrors reality. Regarding the employment of the young subjects' mothers, there is a gap of almost 14% when we compare our survey to the CBS's data. As for education, the level of education in Arab society is still low in comparison to the general population in the state of Israel (Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2013). Even as the number of Arab students in the higher education

system in Israel increases, their representation in the system remains relatively low.

Representation decreases as the degree levels advance (Ali, 2013).

The data are comparable to the CBS survey. According to that survey, 99% of the general population, both Jews and Arabs, studied in school. However, in terms of the years of schooling, there is a gap between the Arab population and the general population. While 80% of the general population studied 11 to 12 years, just 60% of the Arab population completed 11 to 12 years of study – a difference of 23%. Furthermore, in response to the question on the highest degree of education obtained, only 12% of the general population (versus 36% of the Arab population) responded that they did not receive a certificate of completion at all.

In terms of higher education, 22% of Arab society studied for an academic degree, versus 42% of the general population. Amongst the Arab public, 11% have a bachelor's degree, 3% have a master's degree, and 1% hold a third degree of some kind. Even in terms of non-academic education, there is a gap between Arab society and Israeli society as a whole, with 12% of Arabs versus 33% of the general population having participated in professional courses.

Out of the 442 participants – of whom 51.8% were male and 48.2% were female – 164 (37.2% [m=60, f=104]) stated they were not in employment, education or training (NEET, or “inactive”).

Active participants, on the other hand, are defined in one of the following three frameworks: employed, studying in a higher educational institution, in professional training, or a combination of one of these three. The active and inactive participants' self-categorizations, as well as the inactive participants' reasons for not integrating into the workforce and their occupations while unemployed, can be seen in Table 4 following these descriptions.

47.2% of male respondents (N=229) worked. 21.8% responded that they were studying in an institution of higher education, and 4.0% responded that they were studying and working simultaneously. About a quarter of the subjects (26.3%) responded that they were not integrated in any sort of educational or employment framework. In terms of the main occupation of the subjects who are not in any sort of education and/or employment framework (N=60), most reported that they were in preparing for post-secondary studies (39.1%), while a similar percentage (34.8%) responded that they were looking for employment. 8.7% reported that they were in a period of planned rest, and the same percentage reported that they were dealing with a health or mental health issue. A small percentage of men reported their occupation as fathers to small children (4.3%), and 1% reported that they were the homemakers of childless households. In the current sampling there were not any men who reported being in the national service at the time of the survey.

The subjects were asked to address the reasons for not integrating into any educational/employment setting during the timeframe in which they took the survey. Most of the men (34.8%) responded that they did not know or refused to respond, while a quarter of them (26.1%) reported that they failed to find employment. A smaller percentage (13.1%) responded that they had failed to find suitable work, and almost the same percentage (13.0%) responded that they did not want to integrate into any educational or employment framework during that time, as they were preparing for post-secondary studies. In addition, it was found that 8.7% of the subjects reported that they did not want to integrate into an employment/educational framework because they were in a period of rest, and the smallest percentage (4.3%) responded that their families refused to allow them to integrate into either an educational or employment framework. From speaking in depth with the interviewers, it became clear that the subjects were embarrassed to

admit their inactivity; thus, a percentage of those looking for employment or suitable employment did not conduct the search effectively or had unrealistic expectations that reduced their chances of finding suitable employment. Keeping that in mind, the percentage of inactivity is slightly higher than the percentage declared, but it is difficult to determine by how much.

In terms of the women, it was found that about half of the women (48.95%, N=213) reported that they were not participating in any sort of educational or employment framework. A smaller percentage (37.7%) of women reported that they were studying at an institution of higher learning, 10.9% reported that they were working, and 2.2% reported that they were both studying and working. An even smaller percentage reported being in vocational training (0.3%).

When it came to the main occupation of those woman who were not in either an employment or educational framework, (N=104), it was found that most of them (42%) were preparing themselves for post-secondary studies. About a fifth of them (18.8%) reported that they were looking for employment. 14.5% of the women reported that they were mothers to small children, and 11.6% reported that they were in a period of planned rest. An even smaller percentage (10.1%) reported that they were the homemakers of childless households.

The reasons for not integrating into either an educational or employment setting were varied among the women. As Table 4 shows, 37.7% of the subjects responded that they did not know why or refused to answer, while 15.9% reported that they did not want to integrate into a framework because they were in a period of planned rest. Almost exactly the same percentage responded that they did not find employment (14.5%) or did not find suitable employment (14.5%). A small percentage of the subjects responded that their families did not let them find employment or study (7.2%), and 7.2% reported that they lacked the finances to pay for studies.

Table 4: Youth Employment and Inactivity (Men and Women)*

	Frequency %		Frequency %	
	Men		Women	
Main current employment	229		213	
Employed	108	47.2	23	10.9
Studying in Higher Education Institution	50	21.8	81	37.7
Employed and Studying	9	4.0	5	2.2
Vocational training	2	0.7	1	0.3
Not in any framework	60	26.3	104	48.9
Main occupation of unemployed	60		104	
Mother/Father to children	3	4.3	15	14.5
Homemaker of childless household	3	4.3	11	10.1
Preparing for higher education	24	39.1	44	42.0
National Service	0	0.0	3	2.9
Looking for employment	21	34.8	20	18.8
Period of rest	5	8.7	12	11.6
Dealing with health or mental issue	5	8.7	0.0	0.0
Reasons for not integrating into framework	60		104	
Cannot find employment	16	26.1	15	14.5
Cannot find work suitable to skills	8	13.1	15	14.5
Lack of finances for studies	0	0.0	8	7.2

Family refuses to allow integration	3	4.3	8	7.2
Unwilling to integrate because of preparation for studies	8	13.0	3	2.9
Unwilling to integrate because of period of rest	5	8.7	17	15.9
Do not know/refuse to respond	21	34.8	39	37.7

*The data is weighed by the employment status (employed/student/employed student/inactive) and gender.

In order to determine if the subjects have gone through periods of inactivity since reaching the age of 18 to date, they were asked to answer questions relating to the subject and include reporting on the same period, duration, reasons, and active search for employment.

Table 5 describes the results and shows that 20.7% of the men (N=229) responded that they had experienced periods of inactivity since the age of 18. Most of them (48.6%) responded they had experienced one such period, 31.9% experienced 3 or more such periods, and 70% responded that they had experienced two such periods. In addition, 47.8% of the respondents reported that they had experienced such periods for up to three months, while 24.8% answered that they had experienced such a period from three to nine months, and 14.2% responded that they had experienced a period of inactivity for a year or more.

As for the reasons for not integrating into any sort of consistent framework, most of the subjects (N=34) responded that they were preparing themselves for post-secondary schooling (15.05). 10.4% were waiting for the beginning of the new school year, and the same percentage responded that they were suffering from some sort of disease (10.4%). It is important to note that 9.0% responded that they did not find employment during the time referenced, while 7.9%

responded that they did not find suitable employment. Smaller percentages responded that they were waiting to be accepted to a place of employment (6.9%), were in a period of rest (6.3%), or did not know what they were doing during at the time of their referenced inactivity (5.5%). It is important to note that 100% of the subjects (N=8) responded that during the same period they actively tried to find employment. Table 5 describes these results.

Table 5 also describes the period of inactivity among the women. It can be seen that 22.6% of the women (N=213) responded that they experienced a period of inactivity since the age of 18. 54.2% of the women (N=47) responded that they had experienced one such period, 15.0% experienced two such periods, and 27.7% responded that they had experienced such a period three or more times. In relation to the duration of the periods of inactivity, it was found that 38.6% of the women experienced such periods for up to 3 months, 26.8% responded that their periods of inactivity lasted from three to nine months, and 20.0% responded that their periods of inactivity lasted a year or more.

The reasons for the women's periods of inactivity were varied. As Table 5 presents, most of them (N=48) responded that their periods of inactivity were due to preparation for post-secondary schooling (27.5%), while 17.0% responded that they were waiting for the beginning of the new school year. A significant percentage responded that they were not able to find employment (11.0%), and a slightly smaller percentage responded that they were not able to find suitable employment (10.6%). The rest of the women responded that they were either in a period of rest at the time (5.9%), were waiting to be accepted to a place of employment (3.9%), or that they did not know and deliberated about what they would do at the time (3.1%). Finally, it can be seen that 65.5% of the subjects (N=10) responded that they had actively searched for employment during their referenced period of inactivity.

***Table 5: Past Inactivity: Men and Women**

	Frequency%		Frequency%	
	Men		Women	
Non-integration into any framework from age 18 to present	229		213	
Yes	47	20.7	48	22.6
No	182	79.3	165	77.4
Number of Occurrences	47		48	
One time	23	48.6	26	54.2
Two times	3	7.0	7	15.0
Three or more times	15	31.9	13	27.7
I don't know/Refuse to respond	6	12.5	2	3.1
Monthly duration outside of framework	47		48	
0-3	28	59.3	24	50.0
4-6	8	17.5	12	25.4
7-12	8	16.3	8	16.9
More than 12	3	7.0	4	7.7
Reason for non-integration into framework after age 18	47		48	
Disease	5	10.4	0	0.0
Failure to find employment	4	9.0	5	11.0
Failure to find suitable employment	4	7.9	5	10.6
Preparation for post-secondary school	7	15.0	13	27.5

Preparation for the new school year	5	10.4	8	17.0
Waiting for acceptance from place of employment	3	6.9	2	3.9
Period of rest	3	6.3	3	5.9
Lack of knowledge and deliberation of what to do	3	5.5	2	3.1
Other	4	8.0	4	7.3
Don't know/refuse to respond	10	20.5	7	13.7
Active search for work	8		10	
Yes	8	100	7	65.5
No	0	0.0	3	34.5

*The data is weighed by the employment status (employed/student/employed student/inactive) and gender.

Table 6 (below) compares the *inactive* and *active* participants in relation to each of the independent variables. It appears that a higher percentage of inactive youths are exposed to risk factors, although their increase in exposure to risk factors in respect to students and workers is not dramatically higher. However, a number of exceptions do exist. For example, the mother's level of encouragement is about equal among the three groups. In the case of the two variables of access to a vehicle and the search for work in a Jewish space, students have very different needs than the other two groups. Most of them did not have access to car and they did not search for work in Jewish places.

In terms of the subjects' socio-economic status, it appears that the members of the NEET group are living in poorer towns and come from poor families. Both parents are less educated and almost half of them do not financially support their children, even though the children do not

work, nor do they have a means of financially supporting themselves. In terms of family support, the main variable that distinguishes the NEET behavior group from the other groups is the subjects' appreciation of a member of the extended family as a role model. Both parents' levels of encouragement are not very different across the groups. The percentage of those who do not get financial support among working individuals is higher, but since they earn their own money, they are not dependent on that support. In contrast, 80% of the students are financially supported by their families. In terms of accessibility, NEET youth tend to be concentrated more in the geographical periphery and two thirds of them do not have access to a private vehicle. In terms of feeling excluded from society, NEET youth are less fluent in Hebrew and they tend to avoid attempts to search for opportunities in the Jewish sector. A notion of shared identity frequently increases acceptance of minority members by majority members; however, in terms of the shared Israeli identity, there are no differences among the groups, with most of them assigning low salience to their Israeli identity.

Table 6: Percent of Subjects Exposed to Factors Enhancing NEET Behavior (N=442)

Aspect	Variable	% low		
		Students	Working	NEET
Socio-economic Status	Perceived Income (below average)	39	43	48
	Mother's Level of Education (no matriculation)	70	69	81
	Father's Level of Education (no matriculation)	22	24	32
	Socio-Economic Index of Town (1-3)	66	75	80
Family Support	No Financial Support from Family	21	69	54
	Role Model (none in extended family)	45	46	52
	Father's Level of Encouragement (below average)	71	72	63
	Mother's Level of Encouragement (below average)	65	68	65
Accessibility	No access to vehicle	62	20	64
	Reaching to Jewish Spaces (rarely)	3	9	11
	Index peripherality (1-2)	27	33	36
Sense of Exclusion	Sense of belonging in Jewish space (low)	33	47	48
	Hebrew Fluency (less than fluent)	20	27	38
	Salience of Israeli Shared Identity	13	18	17
	Didn't Search for Work in Jewish Places	43	28	56
Education	Less than Matriculation	0	20	28

In testing the differences among the three groups, we applied Post Hoc ANOVA as presented in Table 7. It appears that in four of the variables - perceived income; father's level of education; peripheral location of home town; and salience of Israeli identity - there are no significant differences in the distribution of risk factors among the three groups. The vast majority of the subjects grew up in families with below average income, in which the father had a low level of education and they were from peripheral towns in Israel. In addition, most of them assigned a low salience to their Israeli identity as an identity that is shared by Arabs and Jews in Israel.

Table 7: ANOVA among Students, Workers and NEET by Independent Variable (N=442)

Aspect	Variable	ANOVA		
		F-values	Sig.	Post Hoc
Socio-economic Status	Perceived Income (below average)	1.3	0.26	5
	Mother's Level of Education (no matriculation)	5.6	0.004	1
	Father's Level of Education (no matriculation)	1.3	0.27	5
	Socio-Economic Index of Town (1-3)	83	0.0001	4
Family Support	No Financial Support from Family	78	0.0001	3
	Role Model (None in extended family)	3.1	0.05	2
	Father's Encouragement (below average)	2.74	0.05	3

	Mother's Encouragement (below average)	1.4	0.25	4
Accessibility	No access to vehicle	42	0.0001	3
	Reaching to Jewish spaces (Rarely)	12.4	0.0001	3
	Index peripherality (1-2)	1.1	0.34	5
Sense of exclusion	Sense of belonging in Jewish space (Low)	3.43	0.03	4
	Hebrew fluency (less than fluent)	8.7	0.0001	2
	Salience of Israeli shared identity	1.2	0.28	5
	Didn't search for work in Jewish place	12.4	0.0001	4
Education	Less than matriculation	10.2	0.0001	2

1=NEET are significantly different from the other two groups.

2=NEET are significantly different from students and similar to workers.

3=NEET are different from workers and similar to students.

4=All groups are different.

5=All groups are similar

The mother's level of education is the single risk factor that significantly distinguishes NEET subjects from both of the two other groups. In all other risk factors, NEET individuals significantly differed from at least one of the other groups in terms of exposure. For example,

students tend to have positive role models in their families, while NEET individuals are less educated and less fluent in Hebrew. And, compared to working individuals who reached out to Jewish employers during their job search, NEET individuals proved to be shyer, received less encouragement from their fathers, and had little to no access to a car or any convenient form of transportation. We did find that working individuals receive less financial support from their parents, but they are also less in need of it, seeing as they receive their own salary.

In identifying risk factors that predict activity (study, work or NEET), we present the results of a multi-nominal logistic regression. At a second stage we repeat these regressions separately for women and men, hypothesizing that they are differently exposed to social structure and differently respond to it. This can be seen in Table 8.

The regression predicts 51 % of the variability in activity ($R^2_{\text{nagelkerke}}=0.51$; Sig.=0.0001). In comparing students to the NEET group and workers to the NEET group, it appears that the groups are affected differently by the risk factors. Students, unlike NEET, are affected to a large extent by their belonging to higher status groups. Many of their families earn incomes that are above average, their mothers are relatively more educated than the average Arab women and many of them have matriculated and are eligible for academic education. In addition, they tend to live in less deprived towns. Beyond their belonging to higher S.E.S. groups, physical and psychological access to Jewish space is also an important factor in predicting activity. Students experience lower levels of shyness in reaching out to Jewish spaces, although they have less access to private cars. However, they are compensated for this lack by well-organized public transportation to their academic institutions and/or they enjoy students' accommodations at their campuses.

Unlike students, working youth are affected to a larger extent by the risk factors of having a positive role model in their extended family, car ownership and having a decreased sense of shyness in searching for jobs in Jewish spaces. They get less financial support from their families but, since they earn their own money and frequently financially support their parents, they do not need financial support from their families

Table 8: Multi-Nominal Regression between Independent Variables and Type of Activity

(N=442)

Aspect	Variable	Regression Students vs. NEET)		Regression (Workers vs. NEET)	
		B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Socio- economic status	Perceived income (Below average)	0.28	0.05	0.12	0.51
	Mother's Level of education (no matriculation)	0.49	0.03	0.39	0.17
	Father's Level of Education (no matriculation)	0.18	0.39	0.21	0.44
	Socio-economic Index of Town (1-3)	0.37	0.05	0.39	0.05
	No financial support from family	0.18	0.37	1.50	0.0001
	Role Model (none in extended family)	.33	0.32	1.01	0.01

Family support	Father's Level of Encouragement (below average)	0.52	0.04	0.29	0.29
	Mother's Level of Encouragement (below average)	0.39	0.12	0.05	0.89
Access-ability	No access to vehicle	0.69	0.04	1.92	0.0001
	Reaching to Jewish spaces (rarely)	0.38	0.03	0.18	0.38
	Geographical Periphery Index	0.19	0.52	0.21	0.57
Sense of Exclusion	Sense of Belonging in Jewish Places (low)	0.12	0.14	0.043	0.67
	Hebrew Fluency (less than fluent)	0.27	0.31	0.22	0.41
	Salience of Israeli Shared Identity	0.49	0.77	0.23	0.28
	Didn't Search for Work in Jewish Place	0.05	0.88	0.82	0.05
Education	Less than Matriculation	0.85	0.001	0.04	0.88

In order to focus the analysis on the risk factors that affect the NEET group, we repeated the multi-nominal logistic regression, isolating the NEET group from the two other groups. We defined a dichotomous dependent variable that distinguishes between the NEET behavior group and the active youth, regardless of their type of activity (Table 9). The analysis reveals that almost all variables that represent socio-economic status, family support and accessibility to Jewish spaces significant affect NEET behavior. Surprisingly, the variables that represent a sense of marginalization do not affect NEET behavior. Interestingly, while a mother's education affects NEET behavior and a father's education does not affect NEET behavior, the inverse is true about rates of parental encouragement: a mother's encouragement does not affect NEET

behavior, while a father’s encouragement does affect NEET behavior. In addition, the peripherality of subjects' resident towns does not affect NEET behavior.

Table 9: Multi-Nominal Regression between Independent Variable and Orientation to NEET

Aspect	Variable	Regression	
		B	Sig.
Socio-economic Status	Perceived Income (below average)	0.28	0.05
	Mother’s Level of Education (no matriculation)	0.49	0.02
	Father’s Level of Education (No matriculation)	0.21	0.28
	Socio-Economic Index of town (1-3)	0.45	0.05
Family Support	No Financial Support from Family	0.66	0.0001
	Role model (None in extended family)	0.68	0.05
	Father's Level of Encouragement (below average)	0.44	0.04
	Mother's Level of Encouragement (below average)	0.25	0.27
Accessibility	No Access to Vehicle	1.17	0.0001
	Reaching to Jewish Places (rarely)	0.35	0.02
	Geographical Peripherality Index	0.11	0.23
	Sense of Belonging in Jewish Places (low)	0.06	0.41

Sense of Exclusion	Hebrew Fluency (less than fluent)	0.01	0.96
	Salience of Israeli Shared Identity	0.15	0.32
	Didn't search for work in Jewish Places	0.22	0.44
Education	Less than Matriculation	0.22	0.44

In this study, we tried to examine which aids might lead subjects to integrate into work or study.

Among the men (N=52) it can be seen that the majority (55.0%) believe that a Direction Center might help, while 20.0% believe that online information about jobs and job vacancies could help. The same rate of respondents believed that a course in the Hebrew language or professional development could help. Just 5.0% responded that accessibility to place of employment might help them integrate. A slightly different picture can be seen among the women (N=83). Among the women, 43.6% believe that a Direction Center might help, while the same percentage of women (14.5%) believe that accessibility to place of employment and a course in the Hebrew language could help. 12.7% of women believed that professional development might help, while 10.9% believed that online information about jobs and job vacancies would help. Finally, 3.6% noted different options (refer to Table 10).

Table 10: Aids for Integration into Employment/Education Market*

	Frequency %		Frequency %	
	Men		Women	
	52		83	
Direction Center	55.0	29	43.6	36
Accessibility to place of employment	5.0	3	14.5	12
Professional Development	10.0	5	12.7	11
Online information about jobs and vacancies	20.0	10	10.9	9
Hebrew language course	10.0	5	14.5	12
Other	0.0	0	3.6	3

In adding the responses to the open interviews, it seems that most youths feel they lack the information and qualifications to compete in the labor market. They do not have the language qualifications. Similarly, they do not know the Jewish sector well enough in a way that either deters them from reaching out to find jobs or pushes them to underestimate their qualifications for jobs. Several of them complained that they did not realize the relevancy of education in opening opportunities in the labor market. It seems that it is extremely important to follow the years in high school with an educational program that exposes children to the labor market, especially the Jewish one. It is also important to give them the skills needed to compete beyond basic professional skills and to reduce shyness when contacting Jews. The second conclusion is that improved transportation, especially for women, is essential for the integration of Arab workers in the labor market. Improvements must be made in be cutting down price and commuting time. The third conclusion is that it is extremely important to bring the weaker

segments of the youths closer to the labor market through improved professional training systems. This should also be done by following up with the less educated youths—mainly the dropouts—and channeling them to professional training programs that improve their familiarity with the labor market. The next section will more clearly illuminate some of the issues that the youths themselves point to in clarifying their NEET behavior.

IV. The Qualitative Studies: Male and Female Arab Youth's Perspectives on NEET Behavior

While the larger qualitative survey gave valuable feedback on the causes and factors involved in NEET behavior, and the interviews on education and NEET behavior helped us understand some of youths' perspectives, the full voices of the youths themselves were lacking. Therefore, we felt it was necessary to conduct more detailed interviews with some of the respondents, in order to better understand all the aspects of NEET behavior and its causes. The following qualitative studies allowed us to more fully understand how the youths see themselves and how their self-image and hopes for the future related to their NEET behavior. It also helped to highlight how gendered and collectivist expectations played into NEET behavior, revealing motivations not visible in the quantitative or educational study.

Methods

Samples

We conducted in-depth interviews with 40 young Arab women and 20 young Arab men. Thirty of the women were between the ages of 18-24 and 10 were between the ages of 25-30. The men were between the ages of 18-22—the ages during which their Jewish counterparts typically serve in the army. With the exception of a few participants from mixed cities, the grand majority of the women and men that were interviewed were from central and northern Israel—the areas with the

two largest concentrations of Arabs. Thirty of the women were chosen randomly, and the men were selected through snowball sampling. In terms of the 10 women who were not randomly chosen, as well as the snowball sampling of the men, we attempted to represent subjects from different social classes and marital statuses and maintain proportional representation for each of the three study areas: northern towns, central towns, and mixed cities.

Both the women and men's samples include Muslim and Christian Arabs, whereas Bedouins and Druze were excluded from the study. As many Bedouin and Druze men serve in the Israeli army and subsequently demonstrate different forms of integration into the Israeli labor market, they require a separate study of their own. The sample represents a significant range of lifestyles and positions typical of the situation of young Arabs in Israel. However, given the qualitative nature of the study on the one hand, and the number of interviewees on the other hand, we cannot claim that the sample is nationally representative of the target population, especially in statistical terms.

Instruments

The purpose of the questionnaire given to the interviewees in the qualitative study was to examine the relationships between the aspirations, expectations and plans for the future of those sampled and the accumulation of resources such as human, social and cultural capital. This examination distinguished between the mobilization of these resources in Jewish versus Arab spheres. The questionnaire also included questions in order to examine the respondent's family background in key socio-demographic contexts.

The following are the main topics to which the interviews related:

A. Questions about the history of the participants' actions and inactivity from the moment they graduated to the age at which they were interviewed.

B. Questions that examined how young people plan their personal, family, professional and academic futures, their self-perception and self-image, and their attitudes toward society and the state.

C. Questions regarding the sources of recruitment of various types of capital: human, social, cultural, and economic. A series of questions examined the educational environment in high school and the academic achievements at the end of this period. We also asked questions about the number and quality of the Arab and Jewish social networks of which the individual is a member and which help him to integrate into the employment market and society. We also asked about cultural capital resources as Hebrew fluency, exposure to Hebrew culture and Hebrew studies.

D. Questions on the socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees and their families, including: age, gender, household composition, and the type of locality of their residence.

In summary, the questionnaire examined self-training aspirations, expectations, and behaviors for the future. In addition, we examined issues related to the accumulation of human capital, such as their control of Hebrew, their perceptions of work and studies, family, recruitment of members, contribution to society, and participation in civil society.

Procedures

The personal interviews took place in locations that the subjects chose—places where they felt comfortable and free of external pressures. It is worth noting that, in terms of the men, these places were more often than not their own personal homes. They were conducted in Arabic and each interview lasted at least one and a half hours, with several of them lasting for more than two hours. A number of them took place over more than one meeting due to their extended length. The interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees and the quotes were extracted from the taped interviews. We encoded fictive names to the interviewees and the real names were stored in a secure location at the university. One researcher translated the quotes from Arabic to English and the other researcher translated the English version into Arabic again, in order to make sure that the texts meanings were not distorted.

The women and men's interviews varied. Regarding the women, we left the interviews open to the sensitivities and subjective experiences of the interviewees, but prompted them with pre-prepared questions. The questions focused on descriptions of NEET behavior from the time they turned 18, their aspirations and dreams for professional and family life, their expectations of fulfilling their aspirations during the next five years and what they were doing in order to achieve these goals.

The men's interviews, on the other hand, were developed in three stages. First, we asked the participants to describe in their own words their past biographies and their wishes and expectations for their futures. We followed this with questions concerning the ways in which they plan to fulfill those expectations and wishes. Second, we added clarifying questions in order to construct a coherent and clear description of the subjects' biographies. Many clarifying

questions asked for details concerning transitions from one job to another, including reasons for the changes and details about periods of inactivity. Third, we added challenging questions that were intended to clarify inconsistencies and unexplained gaps between actions, expectations, wishes, etc. Other questions were intended to highlight aspects of inactivity that the interviewees hesitated to discuss directly.

Table 11: Basic Characteristics of the Male Interviewees (N=20)

Characteristics		Frequency
Marital status	Married	3
	Single	13
	Engaged	4
Employment Status	White Collar Professions	1
	Students	2
	NEET	5
	Swinging	5
	Blue Collar Jobs	7
Age	18	3
	19	5
	20	3
	21	4
	22	5
Residential Areas	Northern Triangle	3
	Southern Triangle	3
	Mixed Cities in the Northern Districts	4
	Mixed City in the Central District	4
	Galilee	6

The broader study occurred via telephone calls. Communications were conducted through landlines and cellular phones between the hours of 4:00 PM and 9:00 PM. The survey took between 25 to 30 minutes to complete.

Results for Male NEET Behavior

Given the profound inequality between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority described above, we may expect the behavior of young Arab adults to be shaped accordingly. Khattab (2002; 2003a) shows that the rational structural model focuses on the impact of both structural characteristics and minority groups' access to socioeconomic resources on the aspiration of youths, yet ignores the impact of minority values, norms, beliefs and perceptions. In his research, he demonstrates how the future orientation of Arab high school students in Israel is affected by the perceptions and expectations of the family and community regarding education and employment. This orientation is often out of line with the actual opportunity structure.

In contrast to Khattab's (2003a) research group, the young adults aged 18-22 that participated in the present study are at an age when both the majority and the minority societies expect them to begin integrating into the labor market. These social expectations make them hyper-aware of the obstacles they must overcome, especially as compared to their high-school aged counterparts who are still sheltered in their geographic isolation. Our findings show how the exposure to these obstacles affects the future orientations of young adults and how the consequential reshaping of their expectations and wishes affects their NEET status.

Male interviewees' temporal orientation

The quotes below demonstrate the temporal orientations that Arab youths adopt in their integration into adult life as a basis for understanding their agency.

Young people tend to develop *strong future and weak past orientations*, as one of the youths demonstrates:

“I am not a gifted person. I am an average person but not everything in life depends on schooling. I am an entrepreneur. I see myself in the future as a big construction contractor who employs dozens of workers. There is a high demand for it in the labor market and I can learn it.”

Note that the construction industry opens its doors for Arab social mobility more than many other branches in the Israeli economy (Lewin-Epstein, Kalev, Marantz & Slonim, 2015).

The strong future orientation of this youth is based on the belief that his investment will pay off regardless of the obstacles he faces. However, as indicated by our interviews, many Arab youths give up on their future dreams around the ages of 16-19, due to feeling that they are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty and discrimination. Many spoke painfully about the loss of their dreams. Most participants emphasized their poverty as a reason for losing focus on future orientation:

“I would have liked to complete my high-school studies and reached a better standard of living than the one my parents are at now, but unfortunately, this proved economically unfeasible I was forced to leave school because of the difficult economic situation at home and not because I was not a good student . . . I dropped out in order to help put food on the table. Today, with my salary, I pay the electricity bill, buy medicines for my dad and give my younger sisters pocket

money for school . . . At grade 11, I had two options: use drugs and try to escape reality or get a grip on myself and start working to help my family. Regrettably, there was no third option . . . and this is why I am where I am now.”

This interviewee suggests that many around him fall into despair and turn to crime, drugs and NEET behavior. To avoid this path, he commits himself unwillingly to what is available under the present circumstances.

Besides poverty, a second justification for giving up future orientations is rooted in the *discrimination* Arab youths face due to their ethnonational background. One youth said:

“It is hard for me to imagine a reality without obstacles. I live the obstacles – they are part of me and I am part of them. I am a Palestinian who lives in a state that insists on defining itself as Jewish. I live in a country that insists on excluding me because I am part of the nation that used to be here. My family is poor, my father is disabled – not exactly obstacles I can ignore and allow myself to dream or wish for something better in the future – not even for a single moment.”

Types of temporal orientations

We have characterized four dichotomous dimensions of temporal orientations with the first one distinguishing between *collectivist* and *individualist* orientations. The quotations above highlight the extremely strong commitment of the agents to their families and society. Unfortunately, it is this very collectivist orientation that has pushed them into the vicious cycle of poverty that they all mentioned. This position was best articulated by a 21-year-old from a poor family:

“I feel I must take care of my parents. It is hard to think of a future when my parents hardly survive. It is hard for me to think about saving for the future with my dad having no money for his medicines. Since I was a little boy, I saw how my dad helped his family. I saw the mutual responsibility. I do not think I can turn my back on our tradition as Arabs. I do not want to have a Western mentality and think only about myself.”

A 19-year-old youth from another poor family clarifies what it takes to betray the collectivist orientation, which he sees as the only way out of poverty:

“Our society is undergoing far-reaching transformation. I see youths moving to Tel Aviv, others who build a future for themselves in Germany or the US . . . and do not come back . . . I do not feel a duty to take care of my parents, because that is not my role in life. My success is not measured by my parents’ situation, but by my own achievements.”

The quotation shows that the youth is aware of the deep cultural gap between his collectivist milieu and the individualistic values in more modern societies.

The second dichotomy is *pugnacity/fatalism*. Those who refuse to give up any hope for a better future are forced to adopt a highly pugnacious orientation:

“I understand that something is wrong with our system, but I refuse to be one of those whose situation does not improve – I insist on succeeding like others have. I plan my future so that it will not look like my family’s past and present. I fight for every penny and save to study and develop. Maybe this way, I will also be able to help my parents from a position of strength rather than weakness.”

Youths hope to succeed even as the majority of their peers have failed due to discrimination. The dilemma many of them face is that building a future requires the adoption of a pugnacious orientation, which must also be associated with giving up a collectivist orientation. The last quotation (above) shows how the agent tries to solve the dilemma by arguing that by escaping from poverty, he will empower himself in order to help his family more effectively.

In contrast, fatalistic youths tend to blame the loss of their future on their origin as Arabs or Muslims living in a Jewish state:

“Maybe my situation is this way because I am Arab, maybe it is because I am not a big shot entrepreneur, maybe I am a loser, maybe it is because I am Muslim – I really do not know . . . To tell you the truth, I see everything in very dark colors; I do not even want to think about the future.”

The third dichotomy is between those who have succeeded or failed in *resisting temptations*.

This dichotomy may also be associated with the one distinguishing between those who are oriented toward their near or distant futures. Muhamad (age 20), who failed in high-school, described his present orientation as a result of the failure of the Arab education system:

“Everyone in the class that is now graduating from high school thinks only about girls, buying a car to drive around in the streets and show off, but nobody thinks about the future because we were not taught to think about the future, we were taught to live the moment.”

In understanding the different orientations as a combination of all four dichotomies, we distinguish between agents’ aspirations, which relate to unbounded wishes for the future; expectations, which relate to evaluations of what can be achieved within a limited time; and behaviors, which relate to what agents do in order to fulfill their expectations. Three types of orientations emerge from this analysis:

1. *Future-oriented*: These young adults are highly determined to study and/or work hard to succeed. They are motivated by satisfaction and the possibility of easier jobs, but mostly by higher income. They do not give up on their dreams, have high expectations and are willing to make the effort required to overcome structural barriers. In most cases, members of this group adopt individualistic and pugnacious orientations as well as a willingness to sacrifice their present in favor of their future. This position forces them to redefine their attachment to their family and relatives.
2. *The desperate* are highly rooted in the present and adopt a collectivist orientation. They tend to blame poverty and Israeli society's racism for their destiny, which they see no way out of. They have lost their dreams and do little to work for a better future. For example, one participant states: "I do not aspire to change my situation. I am realistic. What are the chances for an Arab guy to find a respectable job in this country? Today, even educated people do not find a job, so what are the odds someone like me would?"

It is important to note that despair is not necessarily associated with NEET behavior or physical inactivity, as indicated by the following quote: "I work as hard as I can. I am not lazy. I leave the house at five-thirty every morning. . . I do not see what I can do beyond that to make my future dreams come true – I am not sure I have a future. All I see is black. All I want is a place to live, a small apartment, but it looks so far-fetched and unreal."

3. *The fatalists* present high aspirations and sometimes even high expectations but fail to motivate themselves to translate their wishes into plans and actions. They often find it hard to delay gratification and to orient themselves to the distant future. They still dream about a

prosperous future but also adopt a collectivist and fatalist orientation that defines them as victims of poverty and discrimination.

For example, Ahmed (age 21), dreams of “becoming a chef in a big hotel in Eilat [a resort town on the Red Sea].” When asked what he does to come closer to fulfilling this dream, he began to stutter and then answered: “I do not know. I did not enroll in a college because I have no money. On the other hand, I am not willing to take just any job to save money for school. If my parents were rich, I would probably be elsewhere today.” When asked whether he did any research on higher education, he answered: “There is no point in checking because higher education is very far from me right now. I have no money . . . so in the meantime I am trying to enjoy the not-doing-anything.”

Perceived barriers in the development of future orientations

So far, the interviewees have emphasized their perception that poverty and deprivation block them from achieving social mobility. Rami (age 20) embodies these very perceptions:

“Money - only money can help me make my dreams come true . . . Today I know that without a working partner I would never be able to marry and have children, so having a partner will also help me fulfill my dreams. I will not ask my parents for help, because they are barely holding on themselves. I am not expecting anything from the state because they hate us and want us to remain in poverty—it is much easier for them to control us this way.”

Rami, who is clearly future oriented, has not given up on his aspiration to make a decent living. His emphasis on the need for a wife to work beside him is quite radical in Arab society where

men feel responsible for the family income and in many cases want their wives to be housekeepers (Haj-Yahya, Schnell & Khattab, 2018). Though unaware of this phenomenon, Rami points to the fact that less than 30 % of Arab women are in the labor market, further exacerbating this society's poverty.

Many youths also mention that their teachers' neglect of less motivated students is also an obstacle. This is particularly true in their failure to advise students on career choices:

“I also think that had anyone directed me during high school toward a certain occupation, like being a welder or an electrician, I would have at least had a vocation, without having to start searching for my future after graduating from high school. But the teachers did not care about us. I remember there were students who would smoke drugs and drink alcohol in the middle of class and the teacher did not even notice them.”

Others complain that they have been neglected due to their low status within Arab society:

“My greatest barrier is the fact that I am a member of a small family that has no influence in the elections. Had my father come from a big family, he could probably have employed me in one of the municipal positions.”

Waffi (age 18) blames his own family for not letting him grow:

“Everything requires their approval and requires me convincing them. But the problem is it is always impossible to convince them, they are thickheaded people, even though they mean well.”

He did not specify exactly how his father binds him, but from the interview we learned that his father pressures him to maintain his loyalty to the collectivist orientation.

Ethno-national exclusion

Many of the youths associate their poverty with lack of opportunities due to racism and discrimination against Arabs in Israel. The youths mention three main factors that determine exclusion: ethno-national discrimination in the labor market; a sense of alienation in Jewish milieus; and relatedly, lack of proficiency in Hebrew. The dependency on the Jewish labor market is described by Omar (age 22):

“I am building my future only around the Jewish economy. It is hard to develop in the Arab localities. Everybody is poor here and it’s hard to make ends meet; it is hard for them to survive. In the Jewish towns . . . there are well-to-do families . . . it is a population I am planning to serve. Fortunately, all my brothers and I have full command of both Hebrew and English, so we will also be able to serve new [Jewish] immigrants from the US and Canada – where the really big money is . . . I believe the obstacles are a product of our minds and that whoever wants to can succeed. It is always better to have supportive parents and a strong economic backing, but even without that I know it is possible to succeed.”

The discriminatory character of the Jewish labor market is described more poignantly by Yusuf (age 22):

“I would like to work in a desk job like most Jews do, but I know there is a lot of racism against Arabs. All employers would rather see us under the sun in the summer or under the rain in the winter—the Jewish workers get the good jobs with the air conditioning and we get jobs that will kill us slowly but surely! I look at my dad—he leaves the house every day before I wake up, comes back home, dines and goes to bed. What kind of life is that? The Jews have family vacations and they travel abroad, they eat out and have fun together . . .”

Yusuf describes life conditions in the second labor market in which workers are deprived of privileges common to organized labor markets (Piore, 1979).

Muhamad (age 20), with a future orientation, explains how military service by Jews is used as a mechanism to exclude Arabs from higher-status jobs:

“Some workplaces say it upfront that they want people after military service. I know it is hard to get into those places, but there are still many areas where you can find a job, especially if you are an Arab. I mean jobs that have to do with construction such as working in the dirt—Jews are not willing to do that and I think you can get ahead there and make a lot of money.”

Discrimination is also associated with sense of alienation when encountering Jews or visiting Jewish spaces. Jamil (age 20), highlights the sense of rejection by Jews in initiating inter-ethnic encounters:

“Jews never help Arabs if it does not first and foremost advance their own position. The bottom line is they do not like us and if it was up to them, we would never be here in the country.”

Samir (age 22), makes a direct connection between his alienation and lack of motivation to integrate in the general labor market:

“My first encounter with Jews was when I was almost at the age of 20. Before that time, I hardly walked around in Jewish places . . . I would be lying if I said the encounter with the Jews was not traumatic . . . I do not know what it is like to be a citizen in this country. Think about it: we cannot call ourselves Palestinians, we are not allowed to identify with the Palestinian people—everything is forbidden. I cannot see myself working in a Jewish place—they are very racist and

would rather not see us among them, and personally, I am not interested in pushing myself into a place where I am not wanted.”

One of the problems is the fact that Arab youths like Samir grow up in segregated Arab towns and are exposed to Jewish society for the first time only when they seek higher education or jobs, with little preparation for the cultural differences. This lack of experience deepens Arab youths' sense of alienation in Jewish places, as described by Yunes (age 20):

“I feel alien among the Jews. The space is very different. It is always quiet there, clean and tidy, not like in our places. You can feel somebody is taking care of the Jews, not like in our places.”

However, as we have already seen, some Arab youths relate to social relations with Jews as a potential social capital that is necessary for integration in the dominant Jewish labor market.

Samir (age 19), expresses this attitude:

“What a funny question. Of course I want contacts with Jews. It is a Jewish country run by the Jews and whoever wants to live and develop here must have contact with Jews. It is beyond immediate interests. I have Jewish friends, who never contributed anything to my life, but I treat them like brothers and the national thing never arises in the group.”

Abdallah (age 20) is representative of a more balanced attitude:

“It is not important for me to form relations with Jews, maybe only for work and not for other purposes. On the other hand, if I were to meet a Jew and there was good chemistry between us I wouldn't say no to friendship only because he is a Jew.”

Finally, some Arab youths refer specifically to their difficulty in Hebrew as an exclusionary factor. Walid (age 21), for example, hates having to speak in a language that he refers to as “not

his own”. Anwar (age 21), places the language gap in a broader cultural context, leading him to avoid encounters with Jews.

“At my age, it is very difficult to start seeing something new. When I was little, we watched Arab channels all the time and that is what I am used to. I am not used to hearing things in Hebrew. I feel that what they broadcast on Jewish TV does not speak to me and is unrelated to my reality. I would rather see what is going on around me in the exterior Arab world—life there is more similar to mine.”

Results for Female NEET Behavior

The disproportionate percentage of NEET women among Arabs led us to test the definitions adopted by Ekstein and Dahan (2011). These definitions included homemakers in a society in which homemaking involves raising several children and is perceived by many as normative. We have no doubt that, from the point of view of the national economy, women are expected to engage in the labor market. However, from the point of view of the individual, homemaking in families with an average of more than three children cannot be defined as a NEET behavior (Bynner & Parsons, 2002). We chose to deal with this dilemma by investigating the status of women within the household. We distinguished between women who feel themselves to be full partners in decision-making in the family and women who feel inferior to the males in the household.

Patriarchal norms are still strong among large sections of Arab society, but as a society in transition, these norms are being repeatedly questioned and challenged by women. In the struggle

between maintaining traditional norms of clear division in gender roles and career orientation among women, we can identify five typical responses: Whole-hearted homemakers; obedient homemakers; surrendering homemakers; forced homemakers; and career-oriented women.

High school hopes shattered

Common to most of these archetypes are the high hopes they share for the sense of self-fulfillment they experienced during the high school period, the need to fight for their freedom, and their disappointment due to loss of control over their destiny to males in their families and communities.

One young woman from a small town articulates how she feels about having had to abandon her high school dreams about a career:

“You have no idea what ambitious dreams I had when I finished high school. I was sure the world was waiting for me; I got one slap in my face after another. I discovered that the world is huge, but that it doesn’t have any room for me. I used to dream about developing independence, mainly economic, and studying accounting at the university; then I discovered that I am at a dead end.”

Another young woman from a small town in the north explains how her parents forced her to give up her wishes:

“In high-school I wanted to study medical cosmetics, but my parents forced me to take a short course on interior design instead. I refused it, but I will always remember that my family inhibited me from achieving my dreams. Today I am a homemaker like most of my Muslim classmates, who were also forced to give up their dreams and marry very young. The Christian women are different.

They were allowed to follow their dreams and most of them studied in the university and are now working.”

A young woman from a small town pointed to the patriarchal system as the reason she was not able to pursue her dreams:

“I agreed to marry young because I was dominated by my father and my three brothers. I understood that once I married, I would be controlled only by my husband.”

However, some women did dream of marriage and family:

“From the day I remember myself my dream was to marry and raise a family. I imagined my home as a kingdom in which I would be the queen.”

Others were forced to study a gendered profession that would allow them to focus on their role as homemakers:

“I really wanted to study law at the university. My father asked me if I was crazy. ‘You are a female and as such you need to be a teacher that returns home at noon to be with the children at home. You are not allowed to aspire to more than that if you want to fulfill your destiny as a homemaker,’ he said. In the end, my father registered me for a teaching college and I felt that I was lucky that at least he cared about me. Most of my classmates were pushed to marry immediately after high school while their parents invested in their brothers studies instead.”

This point was stressed by another young woman:

“I was determined to study psychology at the university, but I had to confront bitter reality. My parents told me that they cannot afford the expenses of my studies. They gave priority to my brother’s future. They introduced me to a young groom who would allow me to study and who

promised to finance my study for a BA at the university. At the beginning everything sounded ideal but once we married he changed his mind and allowed me only to take a short course to become a kindergarten teacher's helper.”

The testimonies show that the end of high school and the transition to adult life is experienced by many young women as a time characterized by the loss of their dreams. In the next section we identify five strategies young women adopt in confronting patriarchal pressures. It should be noted here that while some families are more modern and encourage women to fulfill their dreams, other families are so traditional that their young women internalize the roles that are expected of them and perceive being a homemaker as self-fulfillment. Despite the lack of a quantitative survey, it seems that in the majority of the households of the women we interviewed, the matter is a source of tension and struggle in the family.

Five strategies for coping with patriarchal pressures

Almost all the NEET interviewed women were from poor families, and in many cases at least one of the parents had experienced NEET behavior in a way that confirms the sociological analyses common to studies on NEET. The women who studied or worked were of more diverse origins, including some women from poorer families, who were encouraged by their parents to become upwardly mobile through the labor market. However, here we focus our attention on ethnic and gender causes for NEET behavior.

The first group of NEET women is that of the *enthusiastic homemakers* who internalize and feel content in their role. As mentioned by one of our interviewees in a prior quote, they dream about the house as a kingdom and about themselves as the queens of the kingdom, achieving full control

over the house and sending their husband to support their good life at home. They are mainly women from traditional families who were educated to accept the patriarchal order.

A young woman from central Israel expressed this worldview in idealistic terms:

“I am eager to find a spouse who will rescue me from the poverty I am living in. I am eager to build my kingdom in my home. I do not want to work or study. All young women around me raise children and are very happy about it. I know my prince will appear, enabling me to fulfill my dream to become a wife and a mother.”

A second woman articulated the same worldview in a more practical way:

“At 18 I was already a mother and I am very satisfied with my choice. I see working mothers that can never enjoy their life. They are all the time under pressure so that they do not enjoy any role they play in life. I am privileged, I enjoy being at home and raising my children, and my husband makes a good income to support me. Many of my female friends work not to fulfill themselves but to bring income for the survival of the family.”

The comparison of being a housewife to a princess serves as a stark contrast to the lack of opportunities that await outside the home; low-paying jobs that are aimed at less educated women from a deprived minority. As researchers, we feel that this is an attempt to recruit fantasy into a reality of closed opportunities for Arab women.

Other women defined their double marginalization in less fantastic terms. One young woman said:

“I make decisions about my children and my husband makes decisions about our money. He is good at managing money and I am good at education. Each of us has our own well-defined role in

the family and this allows us to live together in harmony and in a way that helps me accept his seniority over me.”

Another young woman added an aspect to the situation:

“I feel my destiny is to take care of my family and give my children the best education possible. I do not want to work for 2000 shekels as a kindergarten teacher assistant and to return home nervous when all my income will be spent on help at home. Trying to work both inside and outside the home simultaneously is the greatest mistake women make.”

It appears that the traditionalist’s dream is stimulated by the limited opportunities open to women in the labor market due to their double marginalization as Arabs in Israeli society and as women in Arab society; we will see this phenomenon appear again in describing the group of forced NEET.

The second group is of females demonstrating NEET behavior is those who *accept their situations* as the lesser of evils. One woman described her position like this:

“To be honest I got married because I understood that in my parents’ home I am inspected both by my father and my three male brothers. Today I need to report my actions only to my husband. I do not have high expectations from life. I am married, I have a roof over my head, food and I have my children. I have a husband that from time to time tells me he loves me so I do not ask for anything else.”

Another woman added:

“I do not understand your question about my wishes. I have a man that allows me to go out to visit my family once a week, once a month we take a weekend tour with all the family, we have food

and the children are fine. To tell you the truth, I do not take part in making decisions, which are made by my husband and his parents, but I have to thank them for what I have.”

In the above cases, marrying young and compromising on aspirations for self- fulfillment are experienced as an escape from a more oppressive situation. As the interviewees mention, they were able to move from one extreme form of male inspection to a milder version—a move that allows for a more convenient day-to-day life.

The third group of young women was forced into NEET behaviors due to a *lack of access to the labor market*. They are constrained and forced to stay at home as homemakers. All of them have a limited level of formal education and most of them are from lower class families. The primary employment opportunities available to them are less rewarding and pay only lower salaries, thus making integration into the labor market rationally questionable.

One young woman from a small town in the Galilee complained about the low salaries that did not cover all of her expenses. She said:

“I haven’t worked in two years. In the past I worked for one year only and discovered that it did not make sense to work since my salary did not cover kindergarten for my three children. Furthermore, men in my family do not appreciate my effort. I still have to take all the responsibilities at home. My husband still did not help me in any way. I became the family servant both inside and outside the home.”

Another woman focused on discrimination against Arab workers in the Jewish labor market. She said:

“I studied to become a medical equipment technician. It required a big investment to study in Tel Aviv but in the end I could not find any job in my profession. At first I thought that I might need to further my professional training, but when I understood that I had no chance to find a job, I decided to marry. In the beginning, I had high ambitions but I have learned that as an Arab woman I have no right to any ambitions. I have no right to dream in this country. All my Jewish classmates found jobs except for me despite the fact that I finished school with high grades. I have learned that my destiny is to marry and have children and to be grateful for what I have. I am highly frustrated because I did not fulfill myself in the field I studied.”

But the barriers for integration in the labor market are rooted also within the Arab labor market. One young woman from a small town in Central Israel described her situation:

“Since I belong to a small clan nobody in the town is willing to employ me. At job interviews I am always asked who my father and my grandfather are as if I do not stand for myself. It drives me crazy that since I have the family name of a small and marginal clan I am automatically refused the job that is promised to a worker from a senior clan.”

Another young woman added:

“Without connections to senior and powerful families in the town, you have no chance of getting a job. In the past, this was only true of teaching positions in the municipal schools, but now it applies to all jobs in the town. This means that unqualified people get these jobs only because they belong to senior clans, while qualified people cannot get any job in the town because they are from the wrong families.”

A third young woman from a small town in the north of Israel clarifies:

“My clan lost the municipal elections, therefore all the youths who finished school this year from my clan were not able to get even one job in the town”.

Since marriages between Arab Israeli women with men from the West Bank (who seek Israeli passports) are quite common among women from poor families, and since the status of the families from the West Bank is extremely low in the Arab patriarchal society, the daughters of those intermarried families lose any chance to get a job inside Arab towns. One such woman said:

“Every workplace I came to for an interview confronted me with humiliating responses. Men from the occupied territories are treated like nothing and this treatment is transferred to their children. Even at the local supermarket I was refused because of my father’s name. My brother can work in Jewish places where one’s origin remains irrelevant but I am not allowed to leave my town for a job.”

These two factors depriving Arab women in the Jewish and Arab labor markets leave Arab women from marginal clans excluded from the labor market even if they study and are willing to leave their homes to find jobs in the general labor market.

The fourth group of NEET women is those who *surrender to patriarchal authority*. They try to fight for their self-determination, but in the end, they surrender and live their life in bitterness. One young woman from central Israel expressed it best:

“The problem in our society is that we are pressured to marry young and have children immediately. That’s why I married young. From society’s point of view if you are not married you are treated as an inferior person who is not worth anything. It is not relevant if you want to study and to develop. First you have to fulfill your main role, to marry and raise at least three children. If at the age of forty you still have the energy you can invest in yourself. But at this point you

discover that you do not have any energy to study anymore and that your chances to integrate into the labor market at this age are almost zero. It is sad but this is the story of most Arab women and I do not see any improvement among the young generation. Most of them are looking for marriage at a young age since they do not see any other role models.”

It seems that the next woman has convinced herself that sticking to the traditional form of gendered division of labor is the best solution for her:

“I know in five years I will be married. I will most likely not work because my husband will not allow me. I see that my two sisters are so busy with cooking, washing, cleaning and raising the children that they have no time for anything else, including themselves. The role of the woman is keeping the house in order, and the role of the man is to be the breadwinner. I will be the princess at home and he will be my slave outside of the home.”

But this dream is not fulfilled in many cases and the reality of homemaking sounds much less romantic:

“I think my main barrier to development is the fact that I am married to a traditional family that believes that women must be bound to their home. My spouse is also a problem. He is blocking me instead of supporting me. He is weak and he surrenders to his father and family. Therefore I decided to invest all my efforts and ambitions in my children and my partnership with my husband.”

An even worse situation is described by one young woman from central Israel:

“I would have liked to work very much, but when I see that women from my clan who work have no right to even touch the money they have earned because it enters the husband’s bank account,

and that these women are forced to beg their husband's for pocket money, I wonder why I should work if this is what I have to expect for myself?"

The fifth group is *rebellious women* who refuse to accept the patriarchal worldview and are willing to enter into conflicts with their surroundings in order to reach their goals. They are all exposed and influenced by the Western modernist worldview and by strong ambitions to leave home in order to progress. Most of the women we interviewed who also studied or worked felt that they had to struggle for their right to do so and that they had to confront resistance from the males in their surroundings, whether in the family or the community. Women from this group cannot see themselves as homemakers. As one woman said:

"I cannot see myself as someone who sits at home doing nothing. It is nice to be at home when the kids arrive from school but I need to fulfill myself, to expose myself to new ideas and new people."

She adopted wishes and expectations common to Western-modern society. However, living up to these expectations requires determination and willingness to rebel against the patriarchy, as one young woman described:

"I hate the society I am a part of. I feel the backwardness everywhere around me. I am forced to wear traditional dresses in order to avoid rumors against me. Women are forced to detach themselves from what they wish to be and to have to behave according to codes that do not fit normal people. Please understand, in my town I cover my head but in Jewish spaces where my father cannot inspect me I take it off. You see, I am forced to live a lie."

Many young women enter into conflicts with their families over their future. One young woman expressed it this way:

“I believe all my quarrels with my parents and family demonstrate my determination to fulfill my aspirations. I am not a passive human being. Nobody is going to open doors for me. I fight and I get what I want. I know in the future my father will not allow me to live on my own in Tel Aviv but I will fight for it and if worse comes to worst, I will leave Israel for the United States or Germany. I have friends there that I got to know through Facebook and they surely will help me, at least in the beginning.”

In this particular case, the woman is not sure she can achieve her aspirations in her home society. Another woman felt she may need to give up on marriage and raising a family in order to develop a career. She said:

“Today I am thirty years old and I am not sure anymore that I want to marry. I refuse to accept the common model which argues that I am worth something only if I am married. I am worth a lot due to the master’s degree I have, due to the managerial position I hold at a bank, and due to the fact that I am a strong woman who knows what she expects from life. When I was in my twenties my parents and brothers could control me, but now I just inform them about my plans. I do not wait for their permission. For example, I decided to travel to the United States with female friends. I first bought the flight tickets and then informed them, knowing that they do not have the authority to decide for me anymore. I cannot say that the process we went through in our family was easy but my efforts to educate them were successful.”

A third solution that makes rebellion viable was adopted by another woman from the Galilee:

“I make most of the decisions at home including the decision about the apartment we bought. My husband did not even finish junior high school. And I work as an office secretary so I manage the

home exactly as I manage the office I am working in. I know this is not a common arrangement in our society but between us it works excellently.”

Summary

This study reveals that the percentage of non-working women among our subjects was only 35 %. This is much lower than the percentage in the survey done by Ekstein and Dahan (2011) which was 52 %. It is, however, about equal to a survey performed by the Israel Democracy Institute (Hadad Haj-Yahya, 2016). The vast majority of the NEET women in the study were homemakers with children and only 3 were NEET who neither worked nor took on the responsibility of having children. In dividing the women according to their testimonies – those who in one way or another accept the patriarchal system, and those who made efforts to renegotiate their status – it appears that half of them accepted the traditional, male-dominated system while the other half dissented in one way or another. When we divided the women according to the status they hold within their families (defined by how active they are in decision-making in the realms of economics and education), we found that the women are divided evenly, with about one-third in each group. However, amongst those who have rebelled against the patriarchy, about half feel that they have power and status in their household, while amongst those who accept the patriarchal system, only 20% feel they can influence the decisions made in their household. 40% of those who accept the patriarchy and 32 % of those who rebel feel that they share their responsibilities, with their husband being responsible for economic decisions and them being in charge of their children’s education. The rest feel enslaved by the males in their lives.

Despite the fact that these results cannot be treated as a representative sample, they demonstrate the transitional situation of Arab society in Israel concerning the status of women. The majority of the women, with the exception of those who dreamt about becoming princesses in their homes, reported that they once dreamt of having fulfilling professional careers. The majority of them gave up on those dreams once they finished high school. Many of them described this sacrifice with pain, and told us about tensions within their families and their attempts to rebel. And yet, about half of them found themselves accepting or surrendering to the patriarchal systems, while the others rebelled and often paid high prices as a result. The more optimistic aspect of this story is that almost half of those who found the power to rebel succeeded in achieving power and control over their destiny, much beyond the achievements of those who decided to accept the patriarchy.

V. Discussion

The Scope of the Issue

The studies focus on ethnic and gender considerations in understanding young women's and men's integration into society and NEET behavior, respectively. The results of all of these studies build on one another, and each study can help us understand the others.

The Tal Dor survey, as well as the later studies, make clear that the societal pressures and expectations combined with structural restraints are limiting both male and female Arab youths' ability to integrate into society and the labor market in Israel. Issues in education and educational access contribute to the limits these youth face as they build their futures. Yet, even as they struggle to integrate, these youths are developing individual aspirations and goals for the future that are at odds with their collectivist society, especially among poorer families. These men and women have developed different reactions to the differing pressure placed upon them, with the male responses best described in a temporal manner (either future-oriented, fatalist or desperate), and the female reactions best described by their relationship to an acceptance or revolt against patriarchal norms. However, in both cases, NEET behavior was tied into their struggle against and acceptance of the barriers against them. Their actual goals for the future often changed once they came across constraints—either societal or cultural—that it seemed they could not cross.

Similar findings were reported in a study that tested the minorities' future orientations in England, showing that high wishes and aspirations for the future did not predict high achievements (Khattab, 2014). According to this study, Pakistanis with low aspirations and expectations could end up reaching high levels of achievement, thanks to intra-ethnic networks

and high family expectations. It might have been that, in that particular case, unlike that of the Arab society in Israel, the collectivist orientation of the Pakistani families operated in favor of the youths. Similar findings were reported by Archer and Francis (2006) with regard to the Chinese minority in the UK.

Unlike these minority societies, however, the Arab society in Israel is not a migrant society whose members preselected themselves. The Chinese and Pakistani individuals and/or their families were by default future-oriented and had high ambitions for their children. Conversely, the impoverished families of the Arab society in Israel seem unable to provide youths with effective resources and capital. Another factor that may explain this difference is the fact that the Arab minority in Israel is marginalized on more than one level: not only are they excluded on an ethnic basis, but they also face barriers linked to the fact that they are considered enemies of the state, as suggested by several interviewees. Consequently, we believe that the participants of the present study are more comparable to the youths who drop out of schools in the UK at the age of 16, in that both “know their boundaries” (Archer and Yamashita, 2003).

However, evidence from these studies shows that the structural constraints of poverty, racism and collectivist orientation do not determine the agent’s lifelong condition; rather, they can work to change their conditions despite these constraints. This was seen in male interviewees who adopted pugnacious and individualistic orientations, thereby gaining the power to overcome structural constraints. Similarly, some of our female interviewees were able to successfully revolt against expectations and become career women, although often with more difficulty than their male counterparts.

As mentioned in the theoretical background of this dissertation, Bradley and Davidson's (2008) classification best fits the styles of transition of Arab adolescents to adulthood with some addition suggested by Mortimer et al. (2013). Translating our results to their classifications, we found that 33% of the youths from this study are enrolled in post-high school and academic education, 30% are settlers who stick to one job and career, 22% are shifters who work in blue color or low status white color jobs, and 16% adopt long-term NEET behaviors. Those classified as settlers frequently feel the responsibility to support their poor families, giving up opportunities to study or to take high risks in their careers and they adopt a collectivist orientation of commitment to their families (Authors, 2017), which relates to the finding of the qualitative study which showed that the collectivist orientation can hold male youths back from individual economic success. Those considered “shifters” tend to experience cycles of employment and unemployment. In most cases, they are not in a hurry to join the labor market because it does not promise them mobility nor development.

In terms of gender, two main contrasting results stand out with highly significant variance from this study. First, women have a much stronger tendency to adopt NEET behavior, mainly staying at home as housekeepers. Second, women have a stronger tendency to both enroll in preparatory classes aimed at being accepted to university, and to subsequently apply to universities. These two phenomena exemplify the struggle between patriarchal and Western values in Arab society in Israel concerning women's status in the family which was seen in greater detail in the qualitative study with the female interviewees. Our results show that Arab women in Israel are significantly less likely than men to have access to a car, be economically active, and to apply for a job with a Jewish employer. More than half of the women depend on financial support mainly from their fathers or their husbands on the one hand and are motivated to study by a role model

in their family. These results hint at a revolutionary process of freeing women from patriarchal bondages that, in our view, Arab society in Israel is currently experiencing that can yet again be seen in some of our interviewees' responses in our qualitative study.

Causes of the Phenomenon

This study confirms the importance of education in predicting differences between those who choose high education and those with NEET behavior. However, in predicting employment versus NEET, education levels do not affect the outcome, even if subjects' opinions on their educational opportunities are helpful in understanding how they view their career or educational progression (or lack thereof). Instead, the Tal Dor study supports our hypothesis that psychological ethnic-boundary closure leaves many members of the minority group out of the majority labor market with its greater range of opportunities. All three groups suffer inconvenience in crossing ethnic boundaries, but those daring to cross and overcome shyness in search for jobs in Jewish workplaces tend to integrate in the labor market while those who do not overcome the ethnic boundary closure tend to become part of the NEET group. Since members of marginal lineages are restricted from attaining jobs in the Arab towns, those who hesitate to cross ethnic boundaries remain in their towns of residence with almost no chance to find a job. And yet again, constraints of the movement of women due to patriarchal attitudes contribute to their inability to become part of the labor market.

Meanwhile, the quantitative analysis on the links between education and NEET behavior among Arab youths confirms the well-established conclusion that low socio-economic status and lack of family material and moral supports are the key factors in predicting students' failure in schools.

In our study, the students from lower S.E.S. groups with no parental support failed in school at higher proportions compared to those with more parental support from higher S.E.S. groups. Although the differences were statistically significant, there were many disadvantaged participants who overcame these obstacles. This result demonstrates the role of agency, showing how some of those who suffer from deprivation may succeed in school, as they are active agents who are able to transcend their barriers for growth.

The qualitative analysis on the education study highlights four ways the school can drive students to fail. First, it shows how the faith of students eager to receive the care from teachers that they do not receive at home is dependent on teachers' response. In the case that the teachers stand out to support such students, they have the chance to succeed. But once the students are neglected by their teachers, their likelihood of failing increases. Second, the students testify that many of the teachers do not know how to interest and attract them in class or demonstrate to them how the curriculum is relevant is to their future. They are bored and feel abandoned. This pushes some of them to look for attention in negative ways, which in turn leads the teachers to further ignore them. Third, the students' testimonies show how teachers favor the good students and the students from the more privileged lineages, which are also the lineages most teachers are from, and discriminate against the rest of the students. Students from marginalized lineages and classes are marginalized also in school. The system replicates the barriers found outside it. The teachers do not give them chances to succeed, humiliating them and leading them to lose confidence in themselves. Fourth, isolated in the bubble of the segregated Arab towns and lacking role models in their family, many of the students fail to see connections between their performance in school and opportunities for future careers. They do not realize the connection

and so fail to lay the groundwork for successful integration into the job market while they are in school.

In terms of family support, it is interesting to see the stronger influence of mothers' levels of education relative to fathers'. This is in line with the results in European countries (Carcillo, Stéphane et al. 2015) but it contradicts the results for the more patriarchal Mediterranean societies (Driouchi & Harkat, 2016). We explain this with two arguments: first, in traditional Arab societies, women are in charge of their children's education with minimal intervention from the father; second, most Arab fathers in Israel commute long distances on a daily basis, potentially being out of their homes for about 10 to 12 hours per day. Therefore, they are excluded from the education of their children and are thus less frequently role models for their children. However, concerning the power to encourage children to integrate into higher education, fathers tend to have a larger influence. This yet again points to the patriarchal attitudes seen in our qualitative study.

Young Arab Men and NEET Behavior

When it comes to how male Arab youths face the transition into adulthood, there are certain factors that stand out. Firstly, it is clear that young Arab men experience the transition to adulthood more extremely than their Jewish counterparts do. They are almost completely dependent on the Jewish economy for livelihood, yet in most cases, they are exposed to Jewish society for the first time in their lives upon entering adulthood. Half of the Arabs in Israel live under the poverty line (Arar and Haj-Yehia 2016) and most of the youths we spoke to associate this with different forms of formal and informal discrimination and racism. When venturing out

into Jewish society as adults, they are shocked by the cultural differences and find it difficult to cope with them, given the fact that they lack social networks in the Jewish society and experience language deficiencies. Under these circumstances, they struggle with developing their future orientation toward integration into adulthood.

Our study shows that only the adoption of a pugnacity orientation coupled with an individualistic orientation – despite the pressure within Arab society to adopt a traditionally collectivist one – can give young Arab men hope for a better future. Those who are less able to demonstrate a pugnacity orientation or to revolt against the pressures to adopt a collectivist orientation are more likely to turn to job opportunities that do not require intensive training and professionalization. This phenomenon perpetuates the vicious cycle of poverty in Arab society. In the worst case scenario, they fall into NEET behavior.

These findings echo studies that associate NEET behavior with poverty and social marginalization (Blackstone and Mortimer, 1994; Noh and Lee, 2017). By the same token, our results support studies that associate exposure to racist and exclusionary social forces with the chances minority members have for social mobility. This highlights the effects of racism on their self-esteem and coping abilities (Szymanski and Gupta, 2009).

The interviewees point out the damaging effects of racialized inter-ethnic relations on agents' motivations, deterring many of them from attempting any action towards integration in adult society by suppressing their dreams and aspirations for a more promising future. Sennett and Cob (1972) were the first to identify this phenomenon as “the hidden injuries of the working class.” Our study highlights the injuries of the combined effects of poverty, residential segregation, social exclusion and racism. These results are supported by Schnell & Haj-Yahya

(2014) who showed how both residential and activity segregation leaves Arabs with fewer integration capitals. In the Israeli case, the strong structural forces of marginalization leave most Arabs with low future orientation. In this sense, Khattab's (2003a,b) conclusion that Arabs are subjected to these oppressive forces is reasonable. However, we find that some of those who are adopting pugnacity and individualistic orientations succeed in breaking this vicious cycle of poverty.

Moreover, our results lend support to the early structural models describing routes for transition to adulthood (Mocanu, Zamfir, Lungu and Militaru, 2012; Keep, 2012). However, they indicate that the model presented by Mortimer, Vuolo and Staff (2014) and subsequent, more complex models (Bradley and Devadason, 2008; Farris and de Jong, 2014; Raffe, 2014) do not add much to the understanding of the process. Conversely, we do find that adopting a temporality model of agency is more useful in understanding agents' future orientations. Three types of such orientations emerged from our findings: future-oriented, fatalist and desperate. These types differed from each other in the youths' willingness to aspire to career-oriented futures and in their adoption of pugnacity and individualistic future orientations.

The findings on the Arab males suggest that the scholars that promoted temporality models (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Stamps and Bohon, 2006; Seginer, 2008; Gorard et al., 2012; St Clair, et al., 2013) help highlight the dilemmas faced by young Arab men in Israel in their transition to adulthood. Through these models, we differentiated between distinct attitudes and responses to structural obstacles preventing or making it difficult for members of this society to escape NEETHood and become integrated in higher education and/or the labor market.

We do find that the four dilemmas suggested by Beal (2011) are particularly useful in understanding Arab youths' strategies toward their futures. The first point that stands out is Arabs' perception of the vicious cycle of poverty they are caught in. All three orientations adopted by Arab youths respond to this awareness. Those who remain future oriented believe that only the adoption of a pugnacity orientation may lead them out of poverty. However, they also feel that the collectivist orientation they are socialized into becomes a barrier for escaping poverty and that only the adoption of individualistic orientation will give them a chance at altering their destiny. This dilemma leads them to feeling guilty towards the families they must leave behind in order to fight for their own success. Of course, those who still struggle to change their fate need to translate their aspirations into action plans and resist immediate temptations for the sake of their future. The same feeling of betrayal towards those who remain in the “ghetto” has been identified in the cases of other socially mobile minority group members who moved out of the Jewish ghetto (Schnell, 1994).

Those who adopt the two other attitudes of despair and fatalism continue to stick to their collectivist orientation despite knowing that this orientation drags them down to the very poverty they wish to escape. The main difference between the two orientations lies in the fact that the fatalists do not give up on their wishes and dreams for a better future, but they simultaneously do not see any realistic option of realizing them, while the desperate do not even dare to dream. Interestingly enough, the respondents pointed out that other youths around them tend to surrender to the fulfillment of immediate temptations, unlike them. Although they manage to escape crime for the moment, their lives are no less “immediate” in that they never seem to gather enough human and financial capital to do much more than satisfy the present, pressing needs of their families.

Young Arab Women and NEET Behavior

The study on women supports the sociological studies that explain NEET behavior by a set of factors associated with poverty. Most NEET women in the study came from poor families, where one of the parents did not work. They faced similar issues to our male interviewees. However, we found that ethnic and gender dimensions significantly added to understand the phenomenon among Arab women.

The strongest motif we found in the study is the restructuring that Arab society is undergoing from a patriarchal society to a Western-modern one. Only a small minority of the interviewees felt that they could fulfill themselves by being homemakers as is expected of them. The vast majority, on the other hand, developed high aspirations for self-fulfillment through higher education and development of a professional career according to the Western-modern worldview. This ideal is similar to the one demonstrated by Muslim young women in Britain (Ahmad, 2001; Abbas, 2010). Most of them were engaged in an intensive process of negotiating their status in society. It seems that in the Israeli case, women are forced to struggle much harder against their marginality in both the economy and the more structured patriarchy relative to Britain (Brown, 2006). Several examples in the article demonstrate the bitterness that followed opposition to familial patriarchy – and at times also against mothers – in the struggle for a higher place of power. The study's women spoke about it with pain. They mentioned how they were discouraged from studying and pushed to marry at a young age and have children—a factor that automatically binds them to their homes. Among the interviewed women, about half felt forced to surrender or at least to accept the patriarchal system, and about half felt that they succeeded in their struggle. The rest have remained

at home either because of economic constraints or because they are happy to fulfill themselves as the princesses of their homes.

In general, the interviews with these women exposed two sets of constraints that affect their decisions. The first is an economic constraint. In many cases, mainly among the less educated women, the low-paying jobs available to them as Arab women in Jewish markets and the need to commute long distances made it economically illogical to go to work. This idea was developed by Krause and Yonay (2009). It is similar in some ways to the issues the men we spoke to faced, wherein some jobs felt out of reach due to distance or a lack of funds necessary for training or commuting, although in the contours of the issue were more complicated by the women's status as female.

The second constraint was a cultural constraint, and it was a constraint unique to the female subjects. This relates to the traditional gendered division of labor and to the inferior status of women in the patriarchal system. However, the two constraints are related to each other. Some families invested less in the education of their daughters relative to their investments in the education of their sons, because in their view, their daughters were destined to marry and raise children. This decision automatically constrained their daughters economically, which shows how cultural narratives stimulated parents to invest less in the education of their daughters. The two constraints pushed some of the women to accept what is traditionally expected of them. In order to justify this decision, they glorify the role of a homemaker. Most of those who compromised with the cultural expectations placed on them spoke about their dream to become the queens of the household, while most of those who rebelled characterized the home as a prison. However, the fact that, in recent years, the percentage of women in higher education is on the rise and has now

reached more than half of the young population provides us with hope for women's success in their struggle for self-fulfillment and empowerment.

Like the different responses male youth were found to have to their own struggles in the labor market, the study highlights the essential role of agency by identifying five different forms of responses to the structural constraints young Arab women have to confront: identification with their role in the patriarchal system; surrender to the patriarchal system; compromising with the patriarchal system; economically enforced NEET; and career-oriented women. In most cases the responses are the result of conflicts and tensions in the family, in which both the women and the family are undergoing transitions.

IV. Conclusions

These studies focus on the transition of Arab youth, a marginalized native minority group, to adulthood. Based on the concepts of temporality and future orientation, and open interviews, we identify three types of orientations. We observe that Arab youths are required to adopt individualistic and pugnacity orientations in order to help themselves, although many of them perceive the adoption of these orientations as a betrayal to their kinship. Women are required also to break barriers for higher education and more rewarding jobs that make it profitable to work outside the home and to overcome patriarchal barriers within Arab society. While women might face their own issues in transitioning to adulthood, it is also clear that each genders' struggle has an impact on the other—male youths might struggle to provide for their families or take out their own economic stress on them through domestic violence or uncomfortable homes environments. And the lack of women in the workforce and patriarchal expectations of women to remain in the home and men to provide for them intensify the pressure on men to be able to succeed economically and also keep them from having help from their spouses in the economic arena. Discouraging half of the population from working as well as the structural and implicit biases that push Arab men to adopt NEET behaviors may also help to continue the cycle of poverty within Arab areas. It seems that both men and women need to push past the respective traditional expectations—whether those are based on communal ideals or patriarchal models—in order to find success and self-actualization.

While there is hope for these changes in the study, both in terms of male youths who have found success outside their communities or through focus on themselves as an individual and female

youths who have been able to successfully revolt against the expected narrative around the female gender, it seems that more work needs to be done.

Policy implications relate mainly to the educational system. There is a need to adopt affirmative action to close gaps between the Arab and the Jewish educational systems. Some of the youths complained of neglect within the school system themselves, where teachers ignored their students' poor behavior. They did not seem to care about what their students did in class. More investment in the Arab educational system is needed. The educational system does not prepare students for their participation in the workforce after school. Students complained that they needed professional guidance and orientation in order to integrate into useful professions. They claimed that they did not see a meaningful connection between the school curricula and their labor market trajectories. Therefore, professional guidance and presentation of positive examples of successful Arab youths who succeeded in breaking the vicious cycle of poverty may be useful. It might also be helpful to develop career development links from the Arab schools to areas outside of their localities to help students develop networks outside of their known areas and better Hebrew language programs.

Many youths expressed concerns that they felt hesitant in approaching Jewish employers due to lacking prior experience, which resulted in lower employment opportunities. As a consequence, they remained dependent on the smaller and inferior Arab labor market. Unfortunately, local jobs within the Arab town are secured to kinship members leaving individuals from lower status families with almost no opportunities for jobs both in the Jewish and the Arab labor markets. In trying to formulate a strategy that will minimize the likelihood of inactivity, participants expressed their wish to have access to vocational counselling and guidance centers, improved accessibility to wanted ads on the internet, and better Hebrew language proficiency. This

indicates a dire need for attention and help in improving the situation of Arab youths who want a way out and forward from their state of inactivity. A review of the list of such centers in Israel shows many centers in Jewish towns and cities and very few in Arab towns and villages. Surely, action is required to improve the situation of the future generation of Arabs in Israel.

Special attention might also be paid to readiness programs specifically for female youths, who may not see examples to follow in to achieve labor force participation. Many female interviewees expressed compromise with the patriarchal expectations placed on them because marriage and homemaking were improvements on their life under control of their fathers.

Programs to help these female youths would be useful. Also useful would be programs to try to encourage the society around them to see their potential.

Basic infrastructure improvement may also help. Both male and female youths complained on long commute times to job markets in Jewish areas. There was a lack of transportation or poor transport options. Investment in infrastructure connecting Arab areas might help. Further economic investment in the Arab areas themselves might also be useful. Labor development programs for these youths cannot provide them opportunities in their own areas. Further economic development of Arab areas might help to create some options. However, they may still be limited considering the importance of social connections in finding labor opportunities.

In general, these studies pointed to a range of factors involved in NEET behavior for Arab youths. As long as the issues of discrimination and social marginalization exist for the Arab minority, all instances of this behavior may be hard to address. However, encouraging individual action and rebellion against expectations along with an increase in career centers may help to aid this issue. Further study will also help to point to stronger solutions.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaires in Hebrew and Arabic

נספח 1: השאלונים בערבית ובעברית

תאריך إجراء المقابلة: _____

استبيان لأبناء 19-23 عامًا

مرحبًا. اسمي _____ من معهد الأبحاث "تالدور". نحن نُجري استطلاعًا لمواقف الشباب العرب حول مواضيع مختلفة تتعلق بالأمور التي تشغل باله وتهمه. رأيك مهمّ لنا، وسنكون شاكرين لك جدًا إذا شاركت في الاستطلاع. إجاباتك ستبقى سرّية وبدون اسم، وتُستخدم لأغراض البحث فقط. إذا لم تكن في سنّ 19-23 فهل يسكن في بيت أسرتك شابّ أو شابة في سنّ 19-23؟ هل نستطيع التحدّث معه أو معها والاستماع إلى رأيه أو رأيها في هذه المواضيع المهمّة؟. شكرًا ملاحظة لمن يُجري المقابلة: الاستبيان مكتوب بصيغة المذكر. وجّه الأسئلة بحسب جنس الشخص الذي تُجري معه الاستطلاع.

أسئلة للغربية:

1. هل أنت شابّ عربيّ في سنّ 19-23؟

1. نعم (انتقل إلى السؤال 3)

2. لا

2. هل يسكن في المنزل شابّ في سنّ 19-23؟

1. نعم (اطلب التحدّث معه)

2. لا (إنهاء المقابلة).

3. ما هي ديانتك؟

مسلم

مسيحيّ

درزيّ (اشكر الشخص وقم بإنهاء المحادثة)

لم يقدّم إجابة

أسئلة حول مميّزات الخلفيّة

4. جنس من تُجري معه المقابلة) لا تطرح هذا السؤال)

1. ذكر

2. أنثى

5. سنّ من تُجْري معه المقابلة: (ما هو عمرك من فضلك)؟

19

20

21

22

23

6. ما هي حالتك العائليّة؟ : (قم بقراءة الإمكانيات):

1. أعزب

2. متزوِّج

3. خاطب /مخطوبة

4. أرمل /مطلّق

7. هل لديك أبناء؟ إذا كان لديك أبناء، فكم عددهم؟

1. لا

2. واحد

3. اثنان

4. ثلاثة أو أكثر

8. ما اسم البلدة التي تسكن فيها؟:

9. ما هو عملك الأساسي في هذه الفترة؟

أعمل (مقابل أجر) (انتقل إلى السؤال 16)

دراسة فوق ثانويّة (جامعة، كليّة، دار معلمين) (انتقل إلى السؤال 24)

عمل (مقابل أجر) وتعليم (انتقل إلى السؤال 16)

تأهيل مهنيّ (انتقل إلى السؤال 24)

لست في أيّ إطار من هذا النوع

10. إذا لم تكن في أيّ من الأطر كما ذكرت، فما هو عملك أو انشغالك الأساسيّ (اقرأ الإمكانيات) (إلى من يُجري المقابلة: المطلوب

إجابة واحدة فقط)

أمّ شابة لأبناء وأربيهم وأعتني بهم (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)

رَبّة منزل بدون أبناء (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)

أستعدّ للدراسة الجامعيّة (أقوم بتحسين نتائج الامتحان البسيخومتريّ وامتحانات البجروت) (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)
في الخدمة المدنيّة (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)
أبحث عن عمل (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)
فترة استراحة مخطّطة
أواجه حالة صحيّة أو نفسيّة (انتقل إلى السؤال 12)

11. فصل :

12. إذا لم تكن في أيّ من الأطر في هذه الفترة) العمل أو التعليم أو التأهيل المهنيّ)، فما الذي يمنعك من الانخراط في إطار معيّن في هذه الفترة؟) اقرأ الإمكانات (لمن يجري المقابلة :إجابة واحدة فقط)

- لا أجد عملاً إطلاقاً
- لا أجد عملاً يلانم متطلّباتي
- لا يتوفّر لديّ مال للدراسة
- غير مقبول لدى العائلة أن أتعلّم أو أعمل
- لا أريد الانخراط الآن - أنا أتهياً للدراسة في السنة القادمة .
- لا أريد الانخراط الآن لأنني في فترة إجازة
- لا يعرف /يرفض

13. هل تنوي الدخول إلى عالم العمل /الدراسة في السنوات القريبة؟) اقرأ الإمكانات)

1. نعم، في السنة القريبة القادمة
2. نعم، في السنوات الثلاث القريبة القادمة
3. نعم، لكن ليس في السنوات القريبة القادمة
4. ربّما
5. ربّما لا) انتقل إلى السؤال 25 .
6. من المؤكّد لا) انتقل إلى السؤال 25 .

14. هل هنالك أمرٌ ما يمكنه مساعدتك في الدخول إلى عالم العمل /الدراسة؟

1. مَرَكِز توجيّه) انتقل إلى السؤال 25)
2. إمكانيّة الوصول إلى أماكن عمل) انتقل إلى السؤال 25)
3. التأهيل المهنيّ) انتقل إلى السؤال 25)
4. معلومات في الإنترنت حول أماكن عمل
5. دورة في اللغة العبريّة) انتقل إلى السؤال 24)

6. وإمكانات أخرى تخطر ببالكم :

15. فصل : _____ (انتقل إلى السؤال 25)

16. ما هو عدد ساعات عملك في الأسبوع بشكل عام؟ _____ ساعة

17. ما هي المهنة التي تعمل فيها؟ (سجل بدقة) _____

18. منذ متى تعمل في هذه المهنة؟

أقل من نصف سنة

ما بين نصف سنة وسنة واحدة

3-1 سنوات

4 سنوات فما فوق

19. اذكر الفرع الاقتصادي الذي تعمل فيه: (على سبيل المثال: الزراعة/ صيد السمك/ الصناعات وغير ذلك):

20. ما هي قومية مشغلك؟

يهودي

عربي

مشغل حكومي

21. هل تعمل في البلدة التي تسكن فيها؟

نعم (انتقل إلى السؤال 23)

لا

22. ما اسم البلدة التي تعمل فيها؟ _____

23. ما هي المدة التي تعمل فيها في مكان الشغل الحالي؟

أقل من نصف سنة

ما بين نصف سنة وسنة واحدة

3-1 سنوات

4 سنوات فما فوق

(إذا كنت فقط تعمل انتقل إلى السؤال 25)

24. ما نوع المؤسسة التي تتعلم فيها؟) اقرأ الإمكانيات)

جامعة

كلية نظرية

كلية هندسة

دار معلمين

مؤسسة فوق ثانوية مهنية

مؤسسة لتأهيل رجال الدين

هل حصل منذ بلوغك سن الثامنة عشرة (18) أنك لم تكن منخرطاً في إطار منظم (عمل؛ دراسة؛ تطوع؛ تأهيل مهني) لفترة 3 أشهر أو أكثر؟

نعم

لا (انتقل إلى السؤال 31) .

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

كم مرة حصل هذا الأمر؟ (المقصود بهذا : فترة الأشهر الثلاثة فما فوق التي لم تكن خلالها في إطار منظم (العمل؛ التعليم؛ التطوع؛ التأهيل المهني)

مرة واحدة

مرتين

3 ثلاث مرات أو أكثر

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

كم من الوقت استغرقت الفترة التي لم تكن خلالها في إطار منظم (العمل؛ التعليم؛ التطوع؛ التأهيل المهني)؟ _____ أشهر / شهراً

25. لماذا لم تكن في إطار منظم في تلك الفترة؟) اقرأ الإمكانيات)

مرض (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

لم أعر على عمل (انتقل إلى السؤال 30)

لم أعر على عمل يناسبني (انتقل إلى السؤال 30)

تهيأت للدراسة فوق الثانوية (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

انتظرت افتتاح السنة الدراسية - تأهيل مهني، كلية أو جامعة (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

انتظرت قبولي في مكان العمل (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

فترة استراحة أو مهلة زمنية (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

لم أعرف ما أريد القيام به / تخبّطت في ما أردت فعله (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)
آخر .

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض (انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

26. فصل () انتقل إلى السؤال 31)

27. هل بحثت عندها عن عمل بشكل فعلي؟ (يجب تعريف المصطلح) كما في استطلاعات القوى العاملة (أي: من لا يكون في دائرة العمل، لكنّه صرّح أنّه يريد العمل، ويستطيع العمل بدءاً من الأسبوع القريب) تعريف استطلاعات القوّة العاملة)

نعم

لا

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

إلى أيّ درجة أنت راضٍ أو غير راضٍ عن حياتك في هذه الأيام؟

1. راضٍ جداً

2. راضٍ بما فيه الكفاية

لست راضياً كثيراً

لست راضياً إطلاقاً

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

عندما تفكّر في حياتك، ما الأمر الذي يهّمك تحقيقه بالدرجة الأولى؟ (اقرأ الجمل 1-8 بترتيب متغيّر)

1. العلم والمعرفة

2. أن أكون غنياً

3. النجاح في العمل

4. الحياة العائليّة السعيدة

5. قضاء الوقت والانبساط

6. أن أكون من المشاهير

7. مساعدة الآخرين

8. القيام بالفروض الدينيّة

9. (لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

28. وفي الدرجة الثانية؟ (اقرأ الجمل بترتيب متبدّل)

1. العلم والمعرفة
2. أن أكون غنياً
3. النجاح في العمل
4. الحياة العائلية السعيدة
5. قضاء الوقت والانبساط
6. أن أكون من المشاهير
7. مساعدة الآخرين
8. القيام بالفرائض الدينية
9. (لا تقرأ) (لا يعرف) / يرفض

بحسب شعورك، ما هو احتمال تحقيق الأمور التي تريدها في الحياة؟

1. احتمال مرتفع جداً
2. احتمال مرتفع بدرجة معقولة
3. احتمال متوسط
4. احتمال متدنٍ بدرجة معقولة
5. احتمال متدنٍ جداً
6. (لا تقرأ) (لا يعرف) / يرفض

من بين الأمور التالية، ما الذي قد يمنعك في الأساس من أن تحصل على ما تريد في الحياة؟ (إلى من يجري المقابلة: اقبل جواباً واحداً فقط)

- النقص في المال
- التمييز ضدّ العرب في الدولة
- أنّ المجتمع العربي مجتمع محافظ
- الأعباء العائليّة (الاعتناء بالأبناء، وبالأهل الكبار السنّ)
- غياب الدعم من قبل العائلة
- التحصيل غير الكافي في الدراسة في سنوات سابقة
- الأسباب الصحيّة أو النفسيّة
- (لا تقرأ) (لا يعرف) / يرفض

في المُجمل: عندما تفكر في مستقبلك، هل تشعر أكثر بالأمل أم باليأس؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

1. بالأمل أكثر بكثير
2. بالأمل أكثر بقليل

3. باليأس أكثر بقليل
4. باليأس أكثر بكثير
5. (لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

29. هل حاولت التقدّم إلى صاحب عمل يهودي للعمل لديه؟

1. نعم
2. لا

30. هل واجهت أنت شخصياً تمييزاً من قِبَل يهود في القبول للعمل؟

1. نعم
2. لا

ما هي الشهادة التي تحملها اليوم؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

1. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الابتدائية أو المرحلة الإعدادية أو الثانوية الجزئية
2. شهادة مهنية
3. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الثانوية بدون شهادة بجروت
4. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الثانوية مع شهادة بجروت جزئية
5. شهادة بجروت كاملة
6. شهادة إنهاء من كلية فوق ثانوية وغير أكاديمية
7. مصادقة على دراسة أكاديمية جزئية
8. اللقب الجامعي الأول كاملاً (BA)
9. اللقب الجامعي الثاني أو الثالث (MA) ، الدكتوراه (أو شهادة موازية
10. ليس بحوزتي أيّ شهادة
11. (لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

31. ما هو مجموع عدد سنوات دراستك؟: _____

ماذا برأيك سيكون تحصيلك العلمي بعد 5 سنوات من اليوم؟

(إلى من يجري المقابلة: احرص على أن يكون التحصيل المذكور هنا أعلى أو موازي ممّا ورد في إجابته السابقة)

1. كما هو عليه اليوم
2. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الابتدائية أو المرحلة الإعدادية أو الثانوية الجزئية .
3. شهادة مهنية

4. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الثانوية بدون بجروت
5. شهادة إنهاء المدرسة الثانوية مع شهادة بجروت جزئية
6. شهادة بجروت كاملة
7. شهادة إنهاء من كلية فوق ثانوية غير أكاديمية .
8. دراسة أكاديمية جزئية
9. اللقب الجامعي الأول كاملاً (BA)
10. اللقب الجامعي الثاني أو الثالث (MA) ، الدكتوراه (أو شهادة موازية).
11. (لا تقرأ (لا يعرف /يرفض

ما هو نوع المدرسة الثانوية التي درست فيها؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

1. عربية رسمية (حكومية)
2. يهودية رسمية (حكومية)
3. مسيحية خاصة
4. إسلامية خاصة
5. يهودية خاصة
6. ثانوية مختلطة (يهودية عربية)
7. لم أدرس في المدرسة الثانوية إطلاقاً
8. (لا تقرأ (لا يعرف /يرفض
9. مدرسة اخرى:

إذا لم تُذكر المدرسة أعلاه، فاذكرها هنا

ما هو الفرع الدراسي الذي درست فيه في المدرسة الثانوية؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات) :

- لم أدرس في المرحلة الثانوية
- الفرع العلمي (الرياضيات، الفيزياء، الكيمياء، البيولوجيا، وما شابه) .
- الفرع الأدبي (الأدب، التاريخ، العلوم الاجتماعية، وما شابه) .
- الفرع المهني : كالحاسوب والإلكترونيكا وما شابه (فروع ذات مكانة مرتفعة)
- الفرع المهني : ميكانيكيات السيارات، وقص الشعر وما شابه (فروع ذات مكانة متدنية)
- آخر (فنون، سينما، اتصالات وما شابه)
- (لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

32. عندما تفكر في مسألة عملك بعد خمس سنوات، هل تعتقد أنك: (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

ستعمل في مكان عمل بوظيفة كاملة؟

ستعمل في مكان عمل بوظيفة جزئية؟

لن تعمل خارج نطاق مصلحة الأسرة؟

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

33. ما هي المهنة التي تريد أن تكون قد اكتسبتها بعد مضي 5 سنوات من الآن؟ (سجل ذلك بدقّة _____)

34. جنس من تُجري معه المقابلة) لا تطرح هذا السؤال)

1. ذكر

2. أنثى) انتقل إلى السؤال (49)

35. (للذكور فقط) المعدّل دخل الرجل في الوسط العربي يقارب 5,800 شيكل. هل تعتقد أنّ دخلك بعد 5 سنوات سيكون) اقرأ
الإمكانيات):

كما المعدّل

أقلّ من المعدّل

أكثر من المعدّل

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

(انتقل إلى السؤال (50)

36. (للإناث فقط) معدّل دخل المرأة في الوسط العربي يقارب 4,400 شيكل. هل تعتقد أنّ دخلك بعد 5 سنوات سيكون) اقرأ
الإمكانيات):

مثل المعدّل

أقلّ من المعدّل

أكثر من المعدّل

(لا تقرأ) لا تعرف / ترفض

37. عندما تفكّر في حالتك العائلية، هل بتقديرك ستكون بعد خمس سنوات:

أعزب (إلى من يجري المقابلة: لا تذكر هذا الأمر إلا إذا كان المستطع أعزب اليوم)

مخطوبًا (إلى من يجري المقابلة: لا تذكر هذا الأمر إلا إذا كان المستطع أعزب أو مخطوبًا الآن)

متزوجًا بدون أولاد

متزوجًا مع أولاد

مطلقًا

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

38. كم سيكون باعتقادك عدد أولادك بعد خمس سنوات من اليوم؟ (سجل الرقم بدقة)

39. أين تسكن اليوم؟ اقرأ الإمكانيات)

في منزل العائلة، في الوحدة السكنية نفسها (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

في منزل العائلة، في وحدة سكنية منفصلة (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

في شقة منفصلة بملكيتي (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

في شقة مستأجرة في نفس بلدة عائلتي الموسعة (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

في شقة مستأجرة في بلدة أخرى غير تلك التي تسكن فيها عائلتي (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

في مساكن الطلبة (انتقل إلى السؤال 54)

مكان آخر

40. اذكر من فضلك ما إذا كنت تسكن في مكان آخر غير ما ذكر أعلاه

قل لي من فضلك : إلى أي درجة صحيحة كل واحدة من الجمل التالية بالنسبة لأمك؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

(لا تقرأ) لا ينطبق عليه (ليس لديه أم) / لا يعرف / يرفض	صحيحة جداً	صحيحة بدرجة معينة	غير صحيحة بدرجة معينة	غير صحيحة إطلاقاً	
5	4	3	2	1	41. أمي تشجعي على تحويل البيت والعائلة إلى محور حياتي
5	4	3	2	1	42. أمي تشجعي على التعلّم وعلى بناء مسيرة مهنية، لكن في بيئة عربية فقط
5	4	3	2	1	43. أمي تشجعي على التعلّم وتطوير مسيرة مهنية حتى لو اقترن الأمر بالخروج إلى مناطق يهودية

قل لي من فضلك : إلى أي درجة صحيحة كل واحدة من الجمل التالية بالنسبة لأبيك؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

(لا تقرأ)	صحيحة	صحيحة	غير	غير	
-----------	-------	-------	-----	-----	--

لا ينطبق عليه (ليس لديه أب) / لا يعرف/ يرفض	جداً	درجة معينة	صحيحة درجة معينة	صحيحة إطلاقاً	
5	4	3	2	1	44. أبي يشجّعني على تحويل البيت والعائلة إلى محور حياتي
5	4	3	2	1	45. أبي يشجّعني على التعلّم وعلى بناء مسيرة مهنية، لكن في بيئة عربية فقط
5	4	3	2	1	46. أبي يشجّعني على التعلّم وعلى بناء مسيرة مهنية حتى لو اقترن الأمر بالخروج إلى مناطق يهودية

47. الشخصية التي تشكّل قدوة بالنسبة لك؟

ليس هنالك شخصية تشكّل قدوة بالنسبة لي (انتقل إلى السؤال 62)

عائلتي الصغيرة

عائلتي الموسّعة

في محيطك القريب / الحيّ / البلدة

في دائرة أصدقائك

48. ما هو سبب اختيارك للشخصية القدوة في السؤال السابق) : اقرأ الإمكانيات (

نجاح الشخصية في التحصيل العلميّ

نجاح الشخصية في العثور على عمل

النجاح الاقتصاديّ

النجاح في المجتمع

النجاح في مجال الدّين

النجاح الاجتماعيّ (خطبة/ زواج أو إقامة عائلة، تربية الأولاد) .

49. إلى أيّ درجة تشعرين بالراحة أو عدم الراحة في بيئة يهودية؟) اقرأ الإمكانيات (

لا أشعر بالراحة بدرجة كبيرة

لا أشعر بالراحة بدرجة معينة

ما بين بين
 أشعر بالراحة
 أشعر براحة كبيرة جداً .
 (لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

ما هو مستوى إلمامك اللغة العبرية (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض	جيد جداً	جيد	متوسط	ضعيف	
5	4	3	2	1	50. المحادثة
5	4	3	2	1	51. القراءة
5	4	3	2	1	52. الكتابة

53. ما هي الوتيرة التي تصل فيها إلى البلدات اليهودية؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

لا أصل إلى هناك إطلاقاً (انتقل إلى السؤال 76)

مرة في العام تقريباً

مرة كل بضعة أشهر

مرة كل بضعة أسابيع

كل أسبوع

كل يوم

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

ما هو هدف / أهداف وصولك إلى البلد اليهودي؟

لا	نعم	
2	1	54. العمل
2	1	55. الدراسة
2	1	56. تمضية وقت الفراغ
2	1	57. المشتريات
2	1	58. العلاجات الطبية

59. آخر	1	2
---------	---	---

60. (فصل)

61. جنس من تجري معه المقابلة) لا تطرح هذا السؤال (

1. اذكر) انتقل إلى السؤال 76)

2. أنثى

62. (للنساء فقط) برفقة من تخرجين في المعتاد لقضاء الوقت في بلد يهودي؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

بدون مرافقة أحد

مع أحد أفراد عائلتي

مع صديقتي

مع زميلاتي في الدراسة / في العمل

(لا تقرأ) لا تعرف / ترفض

63. ما هو موقف أفراد عائلتك القريبين تجاه العمل في المدن والقرى اليهودية؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

لا يمكّنوني من العمل في بلد يهودي

يمكّنوني من العمل هناك، لكنهم ليسوا مسرورين من ذلك

لا يعارضون الأمر

يشجعونني على العمل في بلد يهودي

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

أين كنت تفضّل ممارسة النشاطات التالية- في محيط عربي أم في محيط يهودي؟

محيط عربي	محيط يهودي	(لا تقرأ) محيط مختلط	(لا تقرأ) الأمران (سيان عندي)	(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف/ يرفض	
1	2	3	4	5	64. العمل
1	2	3	4	5	65. الدراسة
1	2	3	4	5	66. قضاء وقت الفراغ

5	4	3	2	1	67.المشتريات
5	4	3	2	1	68.العلاجات الطبيّة
5	4	3	2	1	69.ترتيبات مع مؤسسات حكومية
5	4	3	2	1	70.السكن

71. هل كان سيضايقك أم لن يضايقك أن تسكن إلى جوارك عائلة يهودية؟

سيضايقني

لن يضايقني

(لا تقرأ) لا أعرف / أرفض

هل يمكنك تعريف قوة هويتك من واحد إلى خمسة (بحيث يمثل 1 القوة الأدنى ويمثل 5 القوة الأعلى)

(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض	مرتفعة جدًا	مرتفعة	متوسطة	متدنية جدًا	متدنية	
6	5	4	3	2	1	72. إسرائيليّ
6	5	4	3	2	1	73. عربيّ
6	5	4	3	2	1	74. فلسطيني
6	5	4	3	2	1	75. مسلم أو مسيحيّ

ما هو مستوى والديك الدراسي؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

	76. الأب	77. الأم
الدراسة في المرحلة الابتدائية	1	1
الدراسة في المرحلة الثانوية بدون شهادة البجروت	2	2
الدراسة في المرحلة الثانوية مع شهادة البجروت	3	3
أنهى/ت التعليم في سمينار أو كلية لتأهيل المعلمين	4	4

هَنْدَسَانِي	5	5
دراسة أكاديمية، اللقب الجامعي الأول	6	6
دراسة أكاديمية، اللقب الجامعي الثاني	7	7
دراسة أكاديمية، الدكتوراه	8	8
(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف/ يرفض/ متوفي/ة	9	9

حالة والديك التشغيلية:

78. الأب	79. ما هي المهنة التي يعمل فيها الأب
1	لا يعمل / لا تعمل، ولم يعمل / لم تعمل في الماضي
2	لا يعمل / لا تعمل؛ لكنّه/ا يبحث / تبحث عن عمل
3	لا يعمل / لا تعمل؛ لأنّه/ا خرج/ت إلى التقاعد
4	يعمل / تعمل بوظيفة جزئية
5	يعمل / تعمل بوظيفة كاملة
6	(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف/ يرفض

ما هي المهنة التي تعمل فيها الام

80. الأم	81. ما هي المهنة التي تعمل فيها الام
1	لا يعمل / لا تعمل، ولم يعمل / لم تعمل في الماضي
2	لا يعمل / لا تعمل؛ لكنّه/ا يبحث / تبحث عن عمل
3	لا يعمل / لا تعمل؛ لأنّه/ا خرج/ت إلى التقاعد
4	يعمل / تعمل بوظيفة جزئية

5	يعمل / تعمل بوظيفة كاملة
6	((لا تقرأ) لا يعرف / يرفض

82. كيف تعرّف نفسك من حيث درجة التدين؟) اقرأ الإمكانيات (

متدين جداً

متدين

لست متدينًا بدرجة كبيرة

غير متدين

83. ما هي وتيرة ارتيادك لمكان الصلاة أو لمكان آخر يحمل دلالة دينية؟) اقرأ الإمكانيات (

كلّ يوم

كلّ أسبوع

كلّ أسبوعين أو ثلاثة

كلّ شهر

مرّات معدودة في السنة

لا أزورها إطلاقًا

84. هل تملك سيارة أو تستطيع استخدام سيارة شخص آخر على نحو ثابت لغرض السفر إلى مكان العمل أو إلى مكان الدراسة؟

نعم

لا

85. جنس من تجري معه المقابلة) لا تطرح هذا السؤال (

1. ذكر

2. أنثى) انتقل إلى السؤال (100)

86. (للذكور فقط) معدل الدخل الشهري للرجل العربي في إسرائيل في هذه الأيام هو 5,784 شيكل. هل دخلك اليوم:

أقل من المعدل بكثير

أقل من المعدل بقليل

مثل المعدل

أعلى من المعدل بقليل
أعلى من المعدل بكثير
(لا تقرأ) : لا يخصّه - لا يعمل)
(لا تقرأ) لا يعرف/يرفض
(انتقل إلى السؤال 101)

87. (للإناث فقط) معدل الدخل الشهري للمرأة العربية في إسرائيل في هذه الأيام هو 4,383 شيكل. هل دخلك اليوم:

أقل من المعدل بكثير
أقل من المعدل بقليل
مثل المعدل
أعلى من المعدل بقليل
أعلى من المعدل بكثير
(لا تقرأ) : لا يخصّه - لا يعمل)
(لا تقرأ) لا تعرف/ترفض

88. هل تعتاش من دخلك فقط، أم إنك تستعين بعائلتك؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

على دخلي فقط
أحصل على دعم جزئي من عائلتي
أحصل على دعم كامل من عائلتي
89. كيف تعرف الوضع المادي لعائلتك؟
1. ممتاز
2. جيد جدا
3. جيد
4. سيء
5. سيء للغاية
(لا تقرأ) (لا تعرف/ترفض)

90. ما هو عدد الاخوة والاخوات؟

91. ما هو مكانك بين الاخوة والاخوات؟

92. هل تعتمد على دخلك فقط، أم إنك تتلقى مخصصات من الدولة؟ (اقرأ الإمكانيات)

على دخلي فقط

أعتمد على مخصّصات إعاقه من التأمين الوطني / الدولة
أتلقي مخصّصات بطالة من التأمين الوطني / الدولة
أتلقي مخصّصات أخرى من التأمين الوطني) لا تشمل مخصّصات الأطفال / (من الدولة أو من طرف آخر
على سبيل المثال : شركة تأمين.)

93. ملاحظات _____ :

شكرًا جزيلًا

تأריך ביצוע הריאיון: _____

שאלון לגילאי 19-23.

שלום, שמי _____ ממכון המחקר "טל-דור". אנו עורכים סקר דעות של צעירים ערבים על נושאים שונים הנוגעים לסדר היום שלהם. דעתך חשובה לנו מאוד ונודה לך מאוד על השתתפותך בסקר. תשובותיך יישמרו בסודיות ובעילום שם וישמשו לצורך המחקר בלבד. אם לא, האם במשק הבית שלך מתגורר/ת צעיר/ה בגילאי 19-23? האם נוכל לשוחח אתו/ה ולשמוע את דעתו/ה בנושאים חשובים אלו? תודה.

למראיין: השאלון מנוסח בלשון זכר. יש לשאול בהתאם למין של הנשאלים.

שאלות סינון:

האם אתה צעיר ערבי בן 19-23?

1. כן (עבור לשאלה 3)

2. לא

האם בבית מתגורר צעיר בין 19-23?

1. כן (לבקש לדבר אתו)

2. לא (לסיים את הריאיון)

מהי דתך?

מוסלמי

נוצרי

דרוזי (להודות למרואיין ולסיים את השיחה)

לא ענה

שאלות על מאפייני הרקע

1. מין המרואיין: (לא לשאול)

1. גבר

2. אישה

2. (גיל המרואיין): אמור לי, בבקשה, בן כמה אתה.

19

20

21

22

23

3. מה מצבך משפחתי: (יש להקריא קטגוריות)

1. רווק

2. נשוי

3. מאורס

4. אלמן או גרוש

4. האם יש לך ילדים? אם כן כמה?

1. אין

2. ילד אחד

3. שני ילדים

4. שלושה ילדים או יותר

5. באיזה יישוב אתה מתגורר: _____

6. מהו עיסוקך העיקרי כיום? (להקריא קטגוריות)

עבודה (תמורת שכר) (לעבור לשאלה 11)

לימודים על-תיכוניים (אוניברסיטה, מכללה, סמינר למורים) (לעבור לשאלה 11)

לימודים (לעבור לשאלה 11)

הכשרה מקצועית (לעבור לשאלה 11)
אינני נמצא במסגרת כזו

7. אם אינך נמצא במסגרת כאמור, מהו עיסוקך העיקרי? (להקריא קטגוריות) (למראיין: רק תשובה אחת)

אימא צעירה ומטפלת בילדים
עקרת בית ללא ילדים
הכנה ללימודים אקדמיים (משפר פסיכומטרי ובגרויות)
שירות אזרחי
חיפוש עבודה
תקופת חופש יזום
התמודדות עם מצב בריאותי או נפשי

8. אם אינך נמצא כעת במסגרת כלשהי (עבודה, לימודים או הכשרה מקצועית) מה מונע אותך כעת מלהשתלב במסגרת? (להקריא קטגוריות) (למראיין: רק תשובה אחת)

אינני מוצא עבודה בכלל
אינני מוצא עבודה שתואמת את דרישותי
אין לי כסף ללימודים
לא מקובל מבחינת המשפחה שאעבוד או אלמד
אינני רוצה להשתלב עכשיו; אני בהכנות ללימודים בשנה הבאה
אינני רוצה להשתלב עכשיו; אני בתקופת חופש
לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

9. האם בכוונתך להיכנס למעגל העבודה/לימודים בשנים הקרובות? (להקריא קטגוריות)

1. כן, בשנה הקרובה
2. כן, בשלוש שנים הקרובות
3. כן, אך לא בשנים הקרובות
4. אולי
5. ככל הנראה לא
6. בטוח שלא

10. מה היה יכול לסייע לך להיכנס למעגל העבודה/לימודים?

1. מרכז הכוון

2. נגישות של מקומות עבודה

3. הכשרה מקצועית

4. מידע באינטרנט על מקומות עבודה

5. קורס בעברית

6. ועוד אפשרויות שעולות על דעתכם: _____

11. כמה שעות אתה עובד בדרך כלל בשבוע? _____ שעות

12. באיזה מקצוע אתה עובד? (רשום במדויק) _____

13. כמה זמן אתה כבר עובד במקצוע זה?

פחות מחצי שנה

בין חצי שנה לשנה

1-3 שנים

4 שנים ומעלה

14. ציין את הענף הכלכלי שבו אתה מועסק: (לדוגמה: חקלאות, דיג, משקים, תעשיות וכו') _____

15. מה הלאום של המעסיק שלך?

יהודי

ערבי

מעסיק ציבורי

16. האם אתה עובד ביישוב מגוריך?

כן

לא (עבור לשאלה 17)

17. באיזו יישוב אתה עובד? _____

18. כמה זמן אתה עובד במקום העבודה המסוים הזה?

פחות מחצי שנה

בין חצי שנה לשנה

1-3 שנים

19. באיזה מוסד אתה לומד? (להקריא קטגוריות)

- אוניברסיטה
- מכללה עיונית
- מכללה להנדסה
- סמינר למורים
- מוסד על-תיכוני מקצועי
- מוסד להכשרת אנשי דת

20. האם מאז שהיית בן 18 הייתה תקופה של שלושה חודשים ומעלה שבה לא היית במסגרת מסודרת (עבודה, לימודים, התנדבות או הכשרה מקצועית)?

- כן
- לא

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

21. כמה פעמים זה קרה? (הכוונה: תקופה של שלושה חודשים ומעלה שבה לא היית במסגרת מסודרת (עבודה, לימודים, התנדבות או הכשרה מקצועית))

- פעם אחת
- פעמיים

שלוש פעמים או יותר

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

22. כמה זמן ארכה התקופה שבה לא היית במסגרת מסודרת (עבודה, לימודים, התנדבות או הכשרה מקצועית)? _____ חודשים.

23. באותה תקופה מדוע לא היית במסגרת מסודרת? (להקריא קטגוריות)

מחלה

לא מצאתי שום עבודה

לא מצאתי עבודה מתאימה לי

התכוונתי ללימודים על-תיכוניים

המתנתי לפתיחת מסגרת: הכשרה מקצועית, מכללה או אוניברסיטה

חיכיתי לקבלה למקום עבודה
מנוחה או פסק זמן
לא ידעתי מה לעשות עם עצמי/התלבטתי מה לעשות
אחר. פרט _____
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

24. האם חיפשת אז עבודה באופן פעיל? (יש להגדיר את המושג, כמו בסקר כוח אדם של הלמ"ס. כלומר מי שאינו בכוח העבודה, אך אמר שהוא מעוניין לעבוד ויכול להתחיל לעבוד כבר בשבוע הקרוב (הגדרת סקר כוח אדם של הלמ"ס)

כן

לא

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

25. עד כמה אתה מרוצה או לא מרוצה מהחיים שלך כיום? (להקריא קטגוריות)

1. מאוד מרוצה

2. די מרוצה

3. לא כל כך מרוצה

4. בכלל לא מרוצה

5. לא יודע / מסרב להשיב

26. כשאתה חושב על החיים שלך, מה הכי חשוב לך להשיג בדרגה הראשונה (הקרא 1-8 בסדר מתחלף)

1. ידע והשכלה

2. להיות עשיר

3. הצלחה בעבודה

4. חיי משפחה מאושרים

5. לבלות וליהנות

6. להיות מפורסם

7. לעזור לאנשים אחרים

8. לקיים את כל המצוות של הדת שלי

9. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

27. ומה במקום השני? (הקרא 8-1 בסדר מתחלף)

1. ידע והשכלה
2. להיות עשיר
3. הצלחה בעבודה
4. חיי משפחה מאושרים
5. לבלות וליהנות
6. להיות מפורסם
7. לעזור לאנשים אחרים
8. לקיים את כל המצוות של הדת שלי
9. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

28. מה להרגשתך הסיכוי שתשיג את מה שאתה רוצה בחיים?

1. סיכוי גבוה מאוד
2. סיכוי די גבוה
3. סיכוי בינוני
4. סיכוי די נמוך
5. סיכוי מאוד נמוך
6. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

29. מכל הדברים הבאים מה בעיקר עלול למנוע ממך להשיג בחיים את מה שאתה רוצה להשיג?

(למראיין: לקבל רק תשובה אחת)

1. מחסור בכסף
2. אפליה נגד ערבים במדינה
3. השמרנות של החברה הערבית הכללית
4. העול של המשפחה (טיפול בילדים, בהורים מבוגרים)
5. חוסר תמיכה של המשפחה
6. הישגים נמוכים בלימודים בשנים שעברו
7. התמודדות עם מצב בריאותי או נפשי
8. לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

30. ובסך הכול, באיזו מידה אתה מרגיש יותר תקווה או יותר ייאוש כשאתה חושב על העתיד שלך?

(להקריא קטגוריות)

1. הרבה יותר תקווה
2. קצת יותר תקווה
3. קצת יותר ייאוש
4. הרבה יותר ייאוש
5. לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

31. האם ניסית להתקבל לעבודה אצל מעסיק יהודי?

1. כן
2. לא

32. האם נתקלת באופן אישי באפליה בקבלה לעבודה על ידי יהודים?

1. כן
2. לא

33. איזו תעודה יש לך כיום? (להקריא קטגוריות)

1. תעודת סיום של בית ספר יסודי או חטיבת ביניים, כולל תיכון חלקי
2. תעודה מקצועית
3. תעודת סיום תיכון ללא בגרות
4. תעודת סיום תיכון עם תעודת בגרות חלקית
5. תעודת בגרות מלאה
6. תעודת סיום של בית ספר על-תיכוני שאינה אקדמית
7. אישור לימודים אקדמיים חלקיים
8. תואר ראשון מלא (BA)
9. תואר שני או שלישי (MA, דוקטורט) או תואר מקביל
10. אין לי תעודה
11. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

34. כמה שנים למדת בסך הכול: _____

35. מה לדעתך תהיה רמת ההשכלה שלך בעוד חמש שנים?

1. כמו היום
2. השכלה גבוהה יותר מאשר היום, איזו? (למראיין: שים לב שאכן גבוהה יותר מתשובתו בשאלה הקודמת)
3. תעודת סיום של בית ספר יסודי או חטיבת ביניים, כולל תיכון חלקי

4. תעודה מקצועית
5. תעודת סיום תיכון ללא בגרות
6. תעודת סיום תיכון עם תעודת בגרות חלקית
7. תעודת בגרות מלאה
8. תעודת סיום של בית ספר על-תיכוני שאינה אקדמית
9. לימודים אקדמיים חלקיים
10. תואר ראשון מלא (BA)
11. תואר שני או שלישי (MA, דוקטורט) או תואר מקביל
12. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

36. באיזו סוג בית ספר תיכון למדת? (להקריא קטגוריות)

1. ממלכתי ערבי
2. ממלכתי יהודי
3. פרטי נוצרי
4. פרטי מוסלמי
5. פרטי יהודי
6. תיכון מעורב יהודי-ערבי
7. לא למדתי בתיכון בכלל
8. (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

37. אם בית הספר לא הוזכר לעיל, ציין אותו:

38. באיזו מגמה למדת בתיכון (להקריא קטגוריות)

- לא למדתי בתיכון
- עיונית מדעית (מתמטיקה, פיזיקה, כימיה, ביולוגיה וכדומה)
- עיונית הומנית (ספרות, היסטוריה, מדעי החברה וכדומה)
- מקצועית כמו מחשבים או אלקטרוניקה (מגמות יוקרתיות)
- מקצועית כמו מכונאות רכב או ספרות (מגמות יוקרתיות פחות)
- אחר (אמנות, קולנוע, תקשורת)
- (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

39. כשאתה חושב על התעסוקה שלך בעוד חמש שנים, האם להערכתך: (להקריא קטגוריות)

תעבוד במקום עבודה בהיקף של משרה מלאה
תעבוד במקום עבודה בהיקף של משרה חלקית
לא תעבוד מחוץ למשק הבית
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

40. איזה מקצוע היית רוצה שיהיה לך בעוד חמש שנים? (כתוב מדויק) _____

41. (רק לגברים) האם להערכתך בהשוואה להכנסה החודשית הממוצעת של גבר במגזר הערבי, שהיא קרוב ל-5,800 שקל, ההכנסה שלך בעוד חמש שנים תהיה: (להקריא קטגוריות)

כמו הממוצע
פחות מהממוצע
יותר מהממוצע
לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

42. (רק לנשים) האם להערכתך בהשוואה להכנסה החודשית הממוצעת של אישה במגזר הערבי, שהיא קרוב ל-4,400 שקל, ההכנסה שלך בעוד חמש שנים תהיה: (להקריא קטגוריות)

כמו הממוצע
פחות מהממוצע
יותר מהממוצע
לא יודעת/מסרבת להשיב

43. כשאתה חושב על מצבך המשפחתי, האם להערכתך בעוד חמש שנים תהיה:

רווק (למראיין: להזכיר רק אם רווק היום)
מאורס (למראיין להזכיר רק אם רווק או מאורס היום)
נשוי ללא ילדים
נשוי עם ילדים
גרוש
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

44. כמה ילדים אתה חושב שיהיו לך בעוד חמש שנים? (כתוב מדויק) _____

45. היכן אתה גר כיום: (להקריא קטגוריות)

בבית ההורים באותה יחידת דיור

בבית ההורים ביחידת דיור נפרדת
 בדירה נפרדת בבעלותי
 בדירה בשכירות באותו יישוב כמו המשפחה הרחבה שלי
 בדירה בשכירות ביישוב אחר מהמשפחה שלי
 במעונות סטודנטים

46. אם אתה גר במקום אחר ממה שצוין לעיל, אנא ציין:

אמור לי עד כמה כל אחד מהמשפטים הבאים נכון ביחס לאימא שלך? (להקריא קטגוריות)

בכלל לא נכון	די לא נכון	די נכון	נכון מאוד	(לא להקריא) לא רלוונטי (אין אימא) / לא יודע / מסרב להשיב
1	2	3	4	5
47. אמי מעודדת אותי לרכז את החיים שלי סביב הבית והמשפחה				
1	2	3	4	5
48. אמי מעודדת אותי ללמוד ולפתח קריירה מחוץ לבית, אבל רק בסביבה ערבית				
1	2	3	4	5
49. אמי מעודדת אותי ללמוד ולפתח קריירה גם אם זה כרוך ביציאה לאזורים יהודיים				

אמור לי עד כמה כל אחד מהמשפטים הבאים נכון ביחס לאבא שלך? (להקריא קטגוריות)

בכלל לא נכון	די לא נכון	די נכון	נכון מאוד	(לא להקריא) לא רלוונטי (אין אבא) / לא יודע / מסרב להשיב
1	2	3	4	5
50. אבי מעודד אותי לרכז את החיים שלי סביב הבית				

והמשפחה					
5	4	3	2	1	51. אבי מעודד אותי ללמוד ולפתח קריירה מחוץ לבית, אבל רק בסביבה ערבית
5	4	3	2	1	52. אבי מעודד אותי ללמוד ולפתח קריירה גם אם זה כרוך ביציאה לאזורים יהודיים

53. דמות לחיקוי עבורך היא דמות שנמצאת ב-?

אין לי דמות לחיקוי (לעבור לשאלה 48)

במשפחה הגרעינית

במשפחה המורחבת

בסביבה הקרובה/ השכונה/ היישוב

במעגל החברים שלי

54. מה הסיבה לבחירת דמות החיקוי שציינת בשאלה הקודמת: (להקריא קטגוריות) (למראיין):

לקבל רק תשובה אחת)

הצלחתה של הדמות לרכוש השכלה

הצלחתה של הדמות למצוא עבודה

הצלחה כלכלית

הצלחה קהילתית

הצלחה דתית

הצלחה חברתית (אירוסים/נישואים או הקמת משפחה, גידול ילדים)

55. באיזו מידה אתה מרגיש נוח או לא נוח בסביבה יהודית? (להקריא קטגוריות)

מרגיש מאוד לא נוח

מרגיש די לא נוח

ככה-ככה

מרגיש די נוח

מרגיש מאוד נוח

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

מה הרמה שלך בעברית? (להקריא קטגוריות)

	חלשה	בינונית	טובה	טובה מאוד	(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב
56. דיבור	1	2	3	4	5
57. קריאה	1	2	3	4	5
58. כתיבה	1	2	3	4	5

59. באיזו תכיפות יוצא לך להגיע ליישוב יהודי? (להקריא קטגוריות)

בכלל לא (לעבור לשאלה 55)

בערך פעם בשנה

בכל כמה חודשים

בכל כמה שבועות

בכל שבוע

בכל יום

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

60. מהי המטרה העיקרית שבגללה אתה מגיע ליישוב יהודי?

עבודה

לימודים

בילויים

קניות

טיפולים רפואיים

אחר (פרט) _____

61. (לנשים בלבד) בלויית מי את יוצאת בדרך כלל לבילוי ביישוב יהודי? (להקריא קטגוריות)

לבד, בלי ליווי

עם אחד מבני משפחתי
 עם חברות
 עם עמיתות לעבודה/לימודים
 (לא להקריא) לא יודעת/מסרבת להשיב

62. מהי העמדה של בני משפחתך הקרובים בנוגע לעבודה ביישוב יהודי? (להקריא קטגוריות)

לא מאפשרים לי לעבוד ביישוב יהודי
 מאפשרים לי לעבוד, אך אינם שמחים שאני עובד שם
 אינם מתנגדים
 מעודדים אותי לעבוד ביישוב יהודי
 (לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

איפה היית מעדיף לעשות את הפעילויות הבאות — בסביבה ערבית או בסביבה יהודית?

	בסביבה ערבית	בסביבה יהודית	בסביבה מעורבת (להקריא) (לא)	לא משנה/אותו הדבר (להקריא) (לא)	(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב/לא רלוונטי
63. עבודה	1	2	3	4	5
64. לימודים	1	2	3	4	5
65. בילוי פנאי	1	2	3	4	5
66. קניות	1	2	3	4	5
67. טיפול רפואי	1	2	3	4	5
68. סידור עניינים עם גורמים ממשלתיים	1	2	3	4	5
69. מגורים	1	2	3	4	5

70. האם היה מפריע לך או לא היה מפריע לך לקבל משפחה יהודית כשכנים שלך:

היה מפריע לי
 לא היה מפריע לי

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

71. עד כמה אתה מרגיש או לא מרגיש ישראלי? (להקריא קטגוריות)

בכלל לא מרגיש ישראלי

לא כל כך מרגיש ישראלי

מרגיש די ישראלי

מרגיש מאוד ישראלי

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

האם תוכל להגדיר את עוצמת הזהות שלך מ-1 עד 5? (1 = נמוכה ביותר; 5 = גבוהה ביותר)

נמוכה מאוד	נמוכה	בינונית	גבוהה	גבוהה מאוד	(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	2	3	4	5	6

72. ישראלי

73. ערבי

74. מוסלמי או נוצרי

מה ההשכלה של אביך ושל אמך? (להקריא קטגוריות)

	76. האם	75. האב
יסודית	1	1
תיכונית ללא תעודת בגרות	2	2
תיכונית עם תעודת בגרות	3	3
סיים מכללה, סמינר או בית מדרש למורים	4	4
הנדסאי	5	5

אקדמית, תואר ראשון	6	6
אקדמית, תואר שני	7	7
אקדמית, תואר שלישי	8	8
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב; מת	9	9

מה המצב התעסוקתי של אביך ושל אמך?

	.78 האם	.77 האב
לא עובד/ת וגם לא עבד/ה בעבר	1	1
לא עובד/ת אך מחפש/ת עבודה	2	2
לא עובדת כי יצא/ה לפנסיה	3	3
עובד/ת במשרה חלקית	4	4
עובד/ת במשרה מלאה	5	5
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב; מת	6	6

79. איך היית מגדיר את עצמך מבחינת רמת הדתיות שלך: (להקריא קטגוריות)

מאוד דתי

די דתי

לא כל כך דתי

לא דתי

80. באיזו תכיפות אתה מבקר במקום תפילה או במקום אחר בעל משמעות דתית? (להקריא

קטגוריות)

בכל יום

בכל שבוע

בכל שבועיים-שלושה

בכל חודש
פעמים ספורות בשנה
אף פעם

81. האם אתה בעל רכב או שיש באפשרותך להשתמש ברכב של מישהו אחר על בסיס קבוע לצורכי נסיעה לעבודה או ללימודים?

כן
לא

82. (לגברים בלבד) השכר החודשי הממוצע לגבר ערבי בישראל כיום הוא 5,784 ש"ח. האם ההכנסה שלך היום:

הרבה מתחת לממוצע
מעט מתחת לממוצע
כמו הממוצע
מעט מעל הממוצע
הרבה מעל הממוצע
(לא להקריא): לא רלוונטי, לא עובד
(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

83. (לנשים בלבד) השכר החודשי הממוצע לאישה ערבייה בישראל כיום הוא 4,383 ש"ח. האם ההכנסה שלך היום:

הרבה מתחת לממוצע
מעט מתחת לממוצע
כמו הממוצע
מעט מעל הממוצע
הרבה מעל הממוצע
(לא להקריא): לא רלוונטי, לא עובדת
(לא להקריא) לא יודעת/מסרבת להשיב

84. האם אתה חי רק על הכנסתך או שאתה נעזר במשפחתך? (להקריא קטגוריות)

רק על הכנסתי
נתמך על ידי משפחתי באופן חלקי

נתמך על ידי משפחתי באופן מלא

85. איך אתה מגדיר את מצבך הכלכלי?

מצוין

טוב מאוד

טוב

רע

רע מאוד

(לא להקריא) לא יודע/מסרב להשיב

86. כמה אחים ואחיות יש לך? _____

87. מה מקומך ביחס לאחים ולאחיות שלך? _____

88. האם אתה חי רק על הכנסתך או שאתה מקבל קצבה מהמדינה? (להקריא קטגוריות)

רק על הכנסתי

נתמך על ידי קצבת נכות מהביטוח הלאומי/מהמדינה

מקבל דמי אבטלה מהביטוח הלאומי/מהמדינה

מקבל קצבה אחרת מהביטוח הלאומי (לא כולל קצבת ילדים) / מהמדינה /
מגורם אחר (למשל חברת ביטוח)

תודה רבה

"ההשפעה של חסמים במרחב החברתי על חוסר מעש והבניית אוריינטציית העתיד של צעירים ערביים בגילאי 18-22 בתקופה בת זמננו".

תקציר המחקר

*נסרין חדאד חאגי-יחיא

בשנים האחרונות נרשמה עלייה משמעותית בשיעור הצעירים הנמצאים במצב של חוסר מעש (NEET) בעולם המערבי. מגמה זו מהווה בעיה חברתית כלכלית שזכתה לתשומת לב מחקרית ניכרת (Gregg & Tominey, 2011; Lee & Wright, 2011; Coles, Godfrey, Keung, Parrott, & Bradshaw, 2010; Furlong, 2006; Sachdev, Harries, & Roberts, 2006). חוסר מעש משמעו אי-השתלבות במסגרת פורמלית כלשהי כמו תעסוקה, לימודים או הכשרה מקצועית. התופעה הישראלית של חוסר המעש, בדגש על אותותיה בקרב החברה הערבית בישראל תעמוד במוקד מחקר זה.

המעבר מגיל ההתבגרות לבגרות המוקדמת הוא התקופה המשמעותית ביותר לגיבוש התכניות לעתיד. בתקופה זו מעצבים הצעירים ציפיות ושאיפות עתידיות המכוונות רכישת הכשרה מקצועית, השכלה, קריירה ותכנון חיי משפחה. תהליך עיצוב הציפיות והשאיפות מכונה בספרות המקצועית "אוריינטציות העתיד" (Staff & Mortimer, 2008), המוגדרת כמערך של שאיפות, ציפיות ופעולות שצעירים נוקטים ביחס לעתידם בתחומי התעסוקה והלימודים (חטאב, 2003). קבוצות שאינן זוכות לפתח במידה מספקת מיומנויות, כישורים, השתייכות לרשתות חברתיות או שליטה בשפה הדומיננטית במדינה, עלולות להתקשות להשתלב בשוק העבודה (זעירא, בנבנישתי ורפאלי, 2012).

עבור קבוצה גדולה של צעירים ערבים בישראל, "אוריינטציית העתיד" לעיתים לוטה בערפל. במקרים רבים הם נדרשים להשתלב בשוק העבודה וההשכלה בגיל מוקדם עקב אחוז גבוה יחסית של נפגעים ממערכת החינוך, וכן לפרוש ממנו בגיל מוקדם עקב ריבוי משרות בעלות אופי שדורש כוח פיזי (כ-60% מהגברים הערבים מועסקים בעבודות הדורשות מאמץ פיזי). משכך, אפשרויות התעסוקה וההשכלה העומדות בפניי הצעירים הערבים מעטות וקיים קושי בקרבם להתמודד עם חסמים מבניים שנובעים מאפליה אתנית ללא הכוונה ממסדית (ישיב וקסיר, 2013). יתר על כן, המיקום השולי של הערבים במרחב החברתי של הדמוקרטיה האתנית הישראלית, שבה המרחב החברתי מאופיין בגבולות סגורים בין יהודים לערבים (סמוחה, 2001), כמו גם ההגבלה של הזכות למרחב של נשים בתוך החברה הערבית – פועלים כולם לצמצום נגישותם של צעירים ערבים למשאבי הון במגזר היהודי השולט במידה רבה על המשאבים הכלכליים, התרבותיים והחברתיים בישראל, ולהגבלת יכולתם להשתלב בשוק העבודה (מיעארי, נבואני וחטאב, 2011).

ואכן, בישראל, לפי סטטיסטיקות רשמיות של הלשכה המרכזית לסטטיסטיקה, רמות חוסר המעש בקרב צעירים יהודיים דומות לרמות חוסר המעש של צעירים במדינות אירופה (כ-17.3%), אולם על פי נתוני סקר כוח אדם של הלשכה המרכזית לסטטיסטיקה (הלמ"ס) שפורסם בשנת 2016 נראה כי אחוז חסרי המעש בקרב הצעירים הערבים גבוה הרבה יותר משיעורם באוכלוסייה ומגיע לכשליש משכבת הגיל 18-22. נוסף על כך, בעוד שבקרב הצעירים היהודים שיעור חוסר המעש דומה בין גברים ונשים, בקרב הצעירים הערבים נשים סובלות משיעור חוסר מעש גבוה משמעותית מזה של גברים: 52% מהנשים סובלות מחוסר מעש לעומת 26% מהגברים (דהן ואקשטיין, 2011). חלק מהפער הזה נובע מהכללת אימהות צעירות בקבוצת מחוסרי המעש, אך יש לשער כי בחלקו נובע הדבר גם מגורמים נוספים. השוואה בין נשים נוצריות למוסלמיות מלמדת שבעיה זו תמורה בעיקר בקרב מוסלמיות (Khattab 2002; Shdema, 2013), עובדה המרמזת על קיומם של גורמים תרבותיים להיקף חוסר המעש של נשים ערביות (קינג, נאון וולדה-צדיק וחביב, 2009) ועל חשיבותן של מערכות חינוך נוצריות איכותיות בצמצום ממדי התופעה.

על רקע זה, עבודת המחקר בחנה וחיידשה במספר סוגיות מרכזיות ובכלל זה תהליכים המובילים צעירים וצעירות ערבים להיקלע לחוסר מעש בהקשרים חברתיים, תרבותיים, מגדריים, אתניים ולאומיים בהם הם פועלים. עבודת המחקר עמדה על ההבדלים המגדריים ועל האופן בה החברה הערבית בישראל מנתבת את צעירה משני המינים למסלולי השתלבות או לעיתים אי השתלבות בעולם העבודה וההשכלה הגבוהה. נוסף על כך העבודה בחנה את חסמי גיוס משאבי הון ממקורות בחברה היהודית מניסיונם של הצעירים הערבים, כמו מחסום השפה, הירתעות מהימצאות במרחב יהודי, הבנת הקודים התרבותיים של חברת הרוב וכן נכונות של הצעירים להיטמע בחברה הישראלית. סגנונות של אוריינטציות עתיד אצל צעירים ערבים תוך בחינת תוקף המודלים המערביים המייחסים לשיוך מעמדי תפקיד מרכזי בעיצוב אוריינטציית עתיד של צעירים, ולאור המאפיינים הייחודיים למיעוט הערבי בישראל. העבודה גם הגדירה את השוליות וההתבדלות המרחבית באמצעות חשיפת המקורות של גיוס משאבי הון אנושי, חברתי ותרבותי ממקורות בחברה הערבית בלבד או גם בשילוב עם החברה היהודית כמו למשל דרך חשיפה למרחבים משותפים כמו האוניברסיטאות ו/או מקומות עבודה בישראל. בנוסף העבודה בחנה את הקשר בין שוליות והתבדלות גאוגרפית לבין חוסר מעש. שוליות נמדדה במרחק ממרכז הארץ, בעיקר תל אביב, ובגודל היישוב; התבדלות נמדדה בהבחנה בין גיוס הון חברתי, תרבותי ואנושי ממשאבים בחברה היהודית או לחילופין מהחברה הערבית בלבד (Schnell & Haj-Yahya, 2014).

חשיבות המחקר ותרומתו

למחקר חשיבות תיאורטית ואמפירית. בהקשר התיאורטי המחקר מציע מספר חידושים של חקר חוסר מעש של צעירים והשפעות הגיאוגרפיות על חוסר מעש. כך למשל, עד היום כמעט ולא נשאלה השאלה היכן מגייסים בני מיעוטים אתניים משאבי הון אנושי, חברתי ותרבותי כמדד להתבדלות מרחבית-חברתית. רעיונות ראשוניים עלו במאמרם של שנל וחאג יחיא (2014) ושנל ושדמה (2018) אך מחקר זה הוא חלוצי בישום רעיונות אלה. בנוסף, ההשפעה של גורמים גיאוגרפיים כשוליות והדרה מרחבית לא נבחנה כמשפיעה על חוסר מעש וגיבוש של אוריינטציית עתיד. מבחינה זו המחקר הנוכחי מתחקה אחר האפקט של מכלול הגורמים החברתיים העשויים להשפיע תוך הדגשת האפקט העצמאי של המרחב על התופעה של חוסר מעש.

בהקשר האמפירי זהו מחקר חלוצי על חוסר מעש בקרב צעירים ערבים בגיל המעבר לבגרות כבסיס לבניית הערכה מבוססת של רמות חוסר המעש בקרב צעירים והתמודדות עם הסיבות לתופעת חוסר המעש. מחקר זה בחן לראשונה את תקופת המעבר מהתיכון לחיים בוגרים, תקופה בה רוב הצעירים הערביים פוגשים לראשונה את החברה היהודית ונאלצים להתמודד עם השתלבות בה כחלק מתהליך המעבר מתיכון לעבודה ו/או מערכת ההשכלה הגבוהה. למעשה, זהו המחקר הראשון בישראל הבוחן את תופעת חוסר המעש בקרב צעירים ערבים בגילאים אלה. המחקר סקר את כוח הניבוי של הגורמים המבניים האתניים; המרחביים; הסביבתיים סוציו-דמוגרפיים וכאלה הקשורים בבחירותיו של הפרט למשתנה התלוי חוסר מעש. המחקר זיהה את ההבדלים באוריינטציות העתיד ומידת חוסר המעש בין צעירים שבאו במגע ואינטראקציה עם החברה היהודית (מסגרות עבודה והשכלה) לבין אלו שלא באו במגע עם החברה היהודית.

שיטת המחקר

אוכלוסיית המחקר

אוכלוסיית המחקר כללה צעירים ערביים בני 18-23 מוסלמים ונוצרים. הערבים המוסלמים הם קבוצה הדתית הגדולה מקרב הערבים בישראל, הם כוללים שורה של תתי-קבוצות כמו עירוניים וכפריים, ונמנים על קבוצות סוציו-אקונומיות, פוליטיות ואידאולוגיות שונות. לאוכלוסייה הזו מעגלי זהות מצומצמים ומשמעותיים ביותר, ביניהם זהות לוקאלית יישובית וזהות "חמולתית" (שדמה, 2011). הערבים הנוצרים בישראל הם קבוצה קטנה יותר. גם הם נחלקים לזרמים שונים בנצרות ולעירוניים וכפריים, אם כי חלק ניכר מהם עירוניים, ובעלי מעמד סוציו-אקונומי שונה. הצעירים הבדוים בנגב לא נכללו במחקר האיכותני משום שיש להם אתגרים ייחודיים משלהם, יחד עם זאת חשוב להבהיר שהנתונים הרשמיים של המדינה בהם נעשה שימוש השוואתי כלל את הצעירים הבדואים בנגב. צעירים דרוזים לא נכללו גם הם בשל שירות החובה בצבא הישראלי. פלח זה לא נכלל גם בנתונים הכמותיים.

אזורי המחקר

אזורי המחקר הם אזור הגליל, אזור המשולש (הדרומי והצפוני), וערים המעורבות (ערים בהן מתגוררים ערבים ויהודים וערים או כפרים בהם מתגוררים נוצרים ומוסלמים).

כלי המחקר

מחקר זה נעשה בשילוב שתי שיטות מחקר - מחקר איכותני ומחקר כמותני. זאת על מנת לקבל נקודת מבט רחבה ומעמיקה על תופעת חוסר המעש בקרב צעירים ערבים בישראל.

המחקר האיכותני

החלק המרכזי של המחקר התבסס על מתודולוגיה איכותנית המבוססת על תפיסת המציאות כתהליך סובייקטיבי של הבניות חברתיות להן מעניק הפרט משמעות (Bryman, 1988). מחקר זה בחן את הדרך שבה חווית המציאות של המרואיינים משפיעה על ציפיותיהם, שאיפותיהם ופעולותיהם לבנית עתידם (Lieblich et al., 1998). במסגרת המחקר בוצעו ראיונות עומק עם עשרים גברים ערבים ועם שלושים נשים ערביות. הריאיון ניתח את חוויות העבר שלהם, את מצבם הנוכחי ואת אוריינטציות העתיד שלהם. המהלך האיכותני כלל שלוש תנועות מרכזיות:

ראשית, שיחזור הנרטיב בו עושים שימוש צעירים בניסיון לתאר את תהליך ההשתלבות שלהם בעולם ההכשרה העבודה והלימודים העל תיכוניים. ניתוח מעמיק של הראיונות מגלה כי נרטיבים של צעירים רבים כוללים שלבים כגון הקשר חברתי תרבותי פוליטי, הסתבכות, הערכה שמובילה לפעולה ולסיום.

שנית, מתוך התיאורים הנרטיביים בחנתי סגנונות שונים של חוסר מעש ואוריינטציות עתיד שעלו מתוך תיאורי הנחקרים ובאמצעותם גיבשתי בשלב הראשון תיאוריה תלויה שדה בדבר מבנים של אוריינטציות עתיד ומסלולי תיעול לחוסר מעש והקשר ביניהם כפי שהוא מתמסד בקרב צעירים ערבים בהקשר החברתי והתרבותי בו הם פועלים. בהמשך נעשתה השוואה בין המודלים שגובשו בספרות המבוססים על חברות מערביות כפי שהם מוזכרים בפרק התיאוריה.

שלישית, נבחנו התיאורים הנרטיביים ושאלות שהתייחסו ישירות למקורות מהן מגייסים משאבי הון אנושי, חברתי ותרבותי (בחברה ובתרבות של הרוב היהודי או המיעוט הערבי) עד כמה צעירים שואפים, מצפים ופועלים כדי לרכוש לעצמם הון אנושי חברתי ותרבותי שמקורו בחברה היהודית ושאמור להכשירם להתחרות במוסדות להשכלה גבוהה ובשוק העבודה באופן אפקטיבי.

המחקר הכמותי

כלי מחקר שעזר להשלים את התמונה היה שאלון סגור. מטרת השאלון היא לבחון את הקשרים בין השאיפות, הציפיות והתכניות לעתיד של הנדגמים, לבין היבטים של צבירת משאבי הון אנושי, חברתי ותרבותי תוך הבחנה בין גיוס משאבים אלה במרחב היהודי או הערבי. בתוך כך נכללו גם שאלות שמטרתן לבחון את הרקע המשפחתי של הנשאל, בהקשרים סוציו-דמוגרפיים מרכזיים. המדגם כלל 442 צעירות וצעירים, שנבחרו תוך שמירה על ייצוג פרופורציוני לקבוצות שונות כגון מגדר, אשכול סוציו-אקונומי, פריפריאליות וגודל ישוב המגורים. הניתוח התייחס לכלל האוכלוסייה מתוך הבנה כי מדגם זה אינו גדול מספיק כדי להסיק על הקשרים הנחקרים בתוך קבוצות משנה (למשל: בנות נוצריות החיות בערים מעורבות שמוגדרות כחסרות מעש).

תוצאות

המחקר העלה שקיים קשר סטטיסטי מובהק בין מאפייניו האישיים של הנבדק (מין והשכלה) לבין היותו חסר מעש. דהיינו, נשים ונבדקים בעלי השכלה נמוכה דיווחו יותר על היותם חסרי מעש. מעבר לכך המחקר אושש את המחקרים הקיימים הקושרים חוסר מעש לתמיכה חברתית בעיקר מהמשפחה ולמעמד. ממצא זה עולה מהמחקר הכמותני והאיכותני גם יחד. מעבר לכך המחקר מדגיש כי מיעוטים עלולים להיות מאובחנים בשיעורי חוסר מעש גבוהים יותר מהאוכלוסייה הכללית בגין הדרתם וניתוקם מאוכלוסיית הרוב. המחקר הכמותני מראה כיצד משתנים אלה מסבירים חלק גדול מהנטייה הגבוהה יותר של צעירים ערבים לחוסר מעש.

מעבר להקשר המבני המדיר, המחקר מציע גישה המעמידה במרכז את הסוכן הפעיל. ביחס לגברים המחקר מזהה שלוש אוריינטציות שונות של סוכנים: עתידי, פטליסטי ונואש. שלושת הטיפוסים נבדלו אחד מהשני בנכונותם לשאוף ולהיות בעלי אוריינטציות עתידיות אינדיווידואליסטיות או קולקטיביסטיות. צעירים המסוגלים להפגין אוריינטציה לוחמנית אינדיבידואליסטית הסיכוי שלהם להיקלע לחוסר מעש יורד ומנגד צעירים עם אוריינטציות עתיד נואשת קולקטיביסטית כנראה ימצאו את עצמם בחוסר מעש או במעבר בין עבודות עם תקופות הפסקה ממושכות. מכאן שרק סוכנים לוחמניים המוכנים לנתק עצמם מאחריות למצוקות של משפחותיהם הם בעלי סיכוי לצאת ממעגל העוני.

באשר לנשים, בחנו את התופעה מפרספקטיבה של מעבר החברה הערבית מחברה מסורתית פטריארכלית לחברה מודרנית מערבית מתוך ההבנה שיש לקחת בחשבון נוסף לגורמים שצוינו לעיל את מעמדן בחברה הערבית. העובדה כי יותר ממחצית הנשים בגילאי 18-22 מוגדרות כחסרות מעש מוסברות בין היתר באמצעות מאבק מגדרי או השלמה עם מצבן. המחקר זיהה חמש אסטרטגיות שאומצו על ידי נשים ערביות: קבלת המבנה החברתי הפטריארכלי; אסטרטגיית היכנעות/כניעה; אילוצים; התפשרות; ואלה שהולכות עם החלומות שלהן עד הסוף. הרוב המכריע של הנשים עוסקות במאבק עם החברה, ורובן מרגישות שהן נאלצו לוותר על חלומותיהן.

תודות

- ❖ להוריי, מרים ועלי חדאד על שהבאתם אותי עד הלום. אני מתמלאת גאווה על שזכיתם לראות אותי מגשימה חלום ומסיימת בהצלחה גם את התואר השלישי. עבודה זו מוקדשת בראש ובראשונה לכם.
- ❖ לבן זוגי ושותפי לחיים, סאג'ד, על התמיכה הבלתי מסויגת לאורך שנות הלימודים. אתה שותף נפלא לחיים וגם להישג זה. לשלושת בנותיי הנפלאות, כרמל, חלא וניל. אתן מקור האושר של חיי.
- ❖ לאדם שהפך להיות אב שני במהלך כתיבת התזה והדוקטורט, מורי פרופ' יצחק שנל. יצחק, מעבר להיותך מנחה מדהים, אתה אדם יוצא דופן, זו הייתה זכות להיות תלמידה שלך. תודה לזוגתך גילה ולכל המשפחה על שהארתם לי פנים תמיד, ופתחתם בפני את דלת ביתכם גם בשעות בלתי שגרתיות.
- ❖ למנחה שלי פרופ' נביל חטאב, על שדרשת ממני לעמוד בסטנדרט גבוה, ולא וויתרת גם כשאני וויתרתי לעצמי. גם כשהדרך נראתה מלאה במהמורות. תודה שעזרת לי להפוך את העקוב למישור.
- ❖ לד"ר סאמי מיעארי על הסיוע, הליווי וההדרכה במהלך כתיבת עבודה זו.
- ❖ לשני שופטי העבודה שביקשו לשמור על אנונימיות.
- ❖ לצוות הנפלא של בית הספר להיסטוריה באוני' ת"א : גברת יעל לוי, גברת אילת שלו ופרופ' אביעד קליינברג. בזכותכם אוני' ת"א הפכה מאכסניה לבית של ממש.
- ❖ לקרנות השונות שהעניקו לי פרסים, מלגות הצטיינות ומלגות קיום : קרן קונרד אדנאואר באוני' ת"א, מכון וולטר ליבך לחינוך לדו קיום יהודי-ערבי באוני' ת"א, ובית הספר להיסטוריה באוניברסיטת תל-אביב.
- ❖ לאיימן סיף, על שלימדת אותי כיצד ניתן לתרגם ידע מחקרי שהתגבש בין כתלי האקדמיה לכלי מדיניות שיוכל לשמש את מקבלי ההחלטות ולשנות מציאות חיים.
- ❖ לאנשי ונשות המכון הישראלי לדמוקרטיה, שהאמינו, סייעו ותמכו לאורך הדרך. בייחוד לפרופ' מוטה קרמניצר וד"ר תהילה שוורץ אלטשולר על שאפשרתם לי להשלים את כתיבת העבודה במקביל לתפקידי התובעני במכון.
- ❖ לצוות המוכשר שלי במכון הישראלי לדמוקרטיה, בראשם עו"ד עודד רון על זה שהיית לי לשותף וחבר, ועל שאפשרת לי להתפנות למלאכת הכתיבה כשהובלת את הפרויקט שלך בצורה מעוררת השראה.
- ❖ לרמי שוורץ, נכנסת לחיי בשנה האחרונה והפכת למורה דרך וחבר. תודה על שדחת בי להגיע לקו הסיום של העבודה.
- ❖ לחמותי סמירה וחמי עבדאללה חאג'י יחיא, תפילותיכם הצלחתני נתנו לי כוח לצלוח את המשימה.
- ❖ לכוח הנשי - ודאד, ניהאיה, אמירה וחכמת. על שתמכתן ועזרתן לי לעבור את השנים האינטנסיביות האחרונות.
- ❖ לצעירות ולצעירים הערבים, אתם התקווה שלנו לשינוי, אתם נושאים את החלום. כולי תפילה שעבודה זו תסייע - ולו במעט, להפוך את מציאות חייכם לפחות מורכבת וסבוכה מכפי שהיא כיום.

אוניברסיטת תל אביב

**הפקולטה למדעי הרוח
בית הספר להיסטוריה**

חיבור לשם קבלת התואר "דוקטור לפילוסופיה"

בנושא

"ההשפעה של חסמים במרחב החברתי על חוסר מעש והבניית אוריינטציית העתיד של צעירים ערביים בגילאי 18-22 בתקופה בת זמננו".

מוגש ע"י

נסרין חדאד חאג' יחיא

בהנחיית

פרופ' יצחק שנל ופרופ' נביל חטאב