

Representation of Arab Citizens in the Institutions of Higher Education In Israel

Editor: Dr. Nohad Ali

Haifa-Jerusalem, November 2013



סיכוי / سيكوي Sikkuy
העמותה לקידום שוויון אזרחי / الجمعية لدعم المساواة المدنية
The Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality

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Haifa and Jerusalem, November 2013

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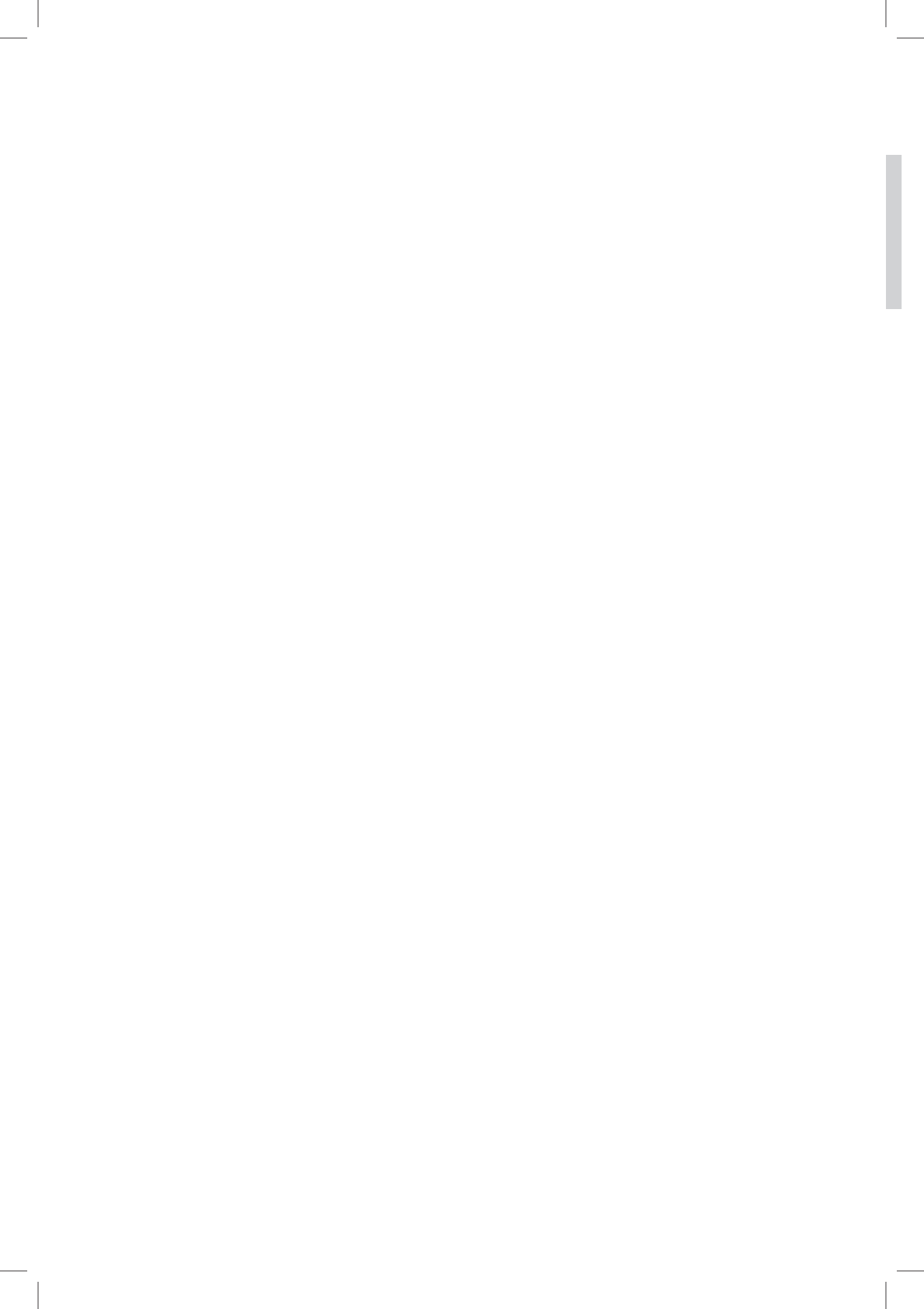
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Message from the co-executive directors

We are honored to present to you this study of the representation of Arab citizens in the Israeli research universities, conducted by Dr. Nohad Ali.

This innovative and comprehensive study is designed to provide an accurate and precise picture of the representation of Arab citizens in Israel's eight research universities: the University of Haifa, Bar-Ilan University, Tel Aviv University, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, the Weizmann Institute of Science, the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology, the Open University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The study, which is basically descriptive, examines the representation of Arab citizens among the students, faculty and administration, as well as among members of the boards of trustees and boards of directors.

There is great importance in the representation of the minority in the institutions of higher learning, on all levels and ranks, because in addition to the importance of finding places of employment and of social and economic mobility, the participation of the minority in the decision-making process in public institutions is of great importance. This is even truer of academic institutions that are supposed to be open, accessible and to encourage free discussion.

Unfortunately, the study before you points to a very gloomy and worrisome situation, in which the representation of the Arab public in all the universities, despite the differences among them, is very small and sometimes marginal to nonexistent.

We would like to take advantage of this opportunity to thank the Pears Foundation, which supported this study and its publication.

We thank Dr. Nohad Ali who conducted the study with the required professionalism.

We thank the members of the steering committee who accompanied the study, approved the research question, helped with the wording of the

questionnaire and deciding on the methodology, went over the conclusions and the findings, and were generous with their advice and support: Prof. Itzhak Galnoor, Prof. Muhammed Amara, Prof. Yousef Jabarin, Dr. Mary Totry, Prof. Gabi Salomon, Prof. Yossi Yahav, Prof. As'ad Ghanem and Yasser Awad. We also thank MK Dr. Ahmed Tibi, chairman of the parliamentary examining committee to examine the implementation of the proper representation laws, who helped us to obtain the committee's findings on the representation of Arab citizens in the institutions of higher learning in order to cross-reference and verify the data.

We also thank Prof. Faisal Azaiza of the University of Haifa, a member of the Council of Higher Education and the Committee for Planning and Budgeting. Our conversations with him were very helpful; Prof. Riad Agbaria of Ben Gurion University, who contributed a lot of his time and knowledge; Prof. Mustafa Kabha of the Open University; Prof. Elinor Saiegh-Haddad of Bar Ilan University; Dr. Naif Gross of the Hebrew University; Prof. Raanan Rein of Tel Aviv University; Rana As'ad of the dean of students office in the Hebrew University; Aghadir Abu Zarqa, coordinator of the Givat Haviva campus of the Open University; Mr. Rasool Saada, head of the department for advancing Arab students in the National Union of Israeli Students.

We also thank the members of the Sikkuy staff, who helped with their advice, opinions and production. Thank's especially to Thair Abu Rass, Azar Dakwar, Samah Alkhatib-Ayoub, Carl Perkal and Ms. Rana Smair.

A special thanks to attorney Ali Haider, co-executive director of Sikkuy during the conduct of the study.

The picture that arises from this report is a disappointing one. The Israeli academic institutions which are required to ensure equal opportunities to all, has failed to do so time and time again. This fact has a far reaching impact on Arab citizens and on Israel's ability to create an equal society and reduce the gap between Jews and Arabs.

The council for Higher education (CHE) and the university presidents must act decisively and invest all resources necessary to ensure fair representation of Arab citizens in the institutions they are responsible for. We hope this report will help change the situation, accelerate decision makers to take responsible decisions and help them promote immediate steps to improve the situation.

Sincerely

Jabir Asaqla and Ron Gerlitz

Co-Executive Directors

Introduction

For years Sikkuy has been paying special attention to equality in access and participation in the higher education system in Israel both in terms of monitoring and research. In 2008 we conducted a study on fair representation of Arab citizens in the higher education system and since then we have written a number of articles, policy papers and action programs designed to suggest ways of integrating Arab society into the system.

Hence, this study is only part of a larger plan designed to cover the subject of equal access to higher education in the public discourse. The main innovation in the present study is the introduction of an examination of Arab representation not only as consumers of higher education but as part of the decision-making system in the institutions of higher learning.

In order to develop the discourse about access and participation of Arab society in the decision-making system, we investigated several variables, including the numbers of students, academics serving as lecturers (with tenure), administrative employees in various departments and members of the governing bodies of the universities we studied. This study provides an overview of Arab representation in the organizational and academic systems of the universities we investigated.

In this report we used qualitative and quantitative research methodologies; qualitative tools included in-depth interviews and text analysis, and quantitative tools including questionnaires. The combination of the two methodologies enabled the study to maximize the advantages of both methods and to greatly minimize their weaknesses.

After the questionnaire was approved by members of the steering committee and successfully passed a pilot test, it was sent to the target population, which included the heads of the universities (seven universities and the Open University) and the heads of two colleges, The Western Galilee College and Kaye College, while the colleges serve as control groups regarding the representation and under-representation of all the research topics. The questionnaire was composed of 32 closed questions, and based on the pilot, it should take 60–70 minutes to complete, if the information is accessible.

While waiting for the completed questionnaires we conducted most of the in-depth interviews with the relevant people, and held informal conversations with key figures. After the data from the quantitative study was gathered, the statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS software, and the interviews were analyzed with the interpretive method.

The study demonstrated that the trend of an increasing number of Arab students in the higher education system, which began in the mid-1970s and has continued since then is still very far from closing the gaps. In the 2012–2013 academic year Arabs constituted 10% of undergraduate students, 7.3% of graduate students, and only about 4% of doctoral students. Arabs represent 1.75% of the faculty at the universities and no more than 0.9% of the administrators. Only 1.9% of those serving on the board of trustees or the board of directors are Arabs.

The findings explicitly indicate an unacceptably low representation of the Arab population in the higher education system on all the levels examined. It bears mention is that the higher the degree the smaller the percentage of Arabs.

Sikkuy calls on the government to act immediately and vigorously to address this gloomy situation. First and foremost we call on the government to include Arab society, with its representative organizations, in a multi-stage program to increase the percentage of Arabs in higher education. The government must cooperate with the dozens of Arab and Jewish organizations and institutions working to promote higher education, in addition to the organizations working to include Arab academics.

Our recommendations are as follows: The government must increase access to higher education among young Arabs, and among women in particular. Sikkuy has recommended many programs to encourage the inclusion of Arab students in higher education, and we will continue to do so. We believe that the first step for including students, academics, administrators, and members of the board of directors in higher education in Israel lies in establishing institutions of higher education in Arab cities and communities, which will serve the entire Israeli population. This issue has been discussed extensively among the Israeli public and in Arab society, and progress on this issue will only benefit everyone involved.

Above all, we think that absorbing more Arab academics is easier than increasing the percentage of Arab students in higher education. The process of including Arabs begins with fair representation on the governing bodies

of the universities; when Arab academics become part of the policy- and decision-making system we will be able to see genuine progress on this issue. Arab academics will naturally be able to suggest solutions for adding Arabs to the administrative staff, increasing the number of students and addressing the problem of unemployed Arab academics, a painful issue that in recent years has begun to receive greater media attention.

In Israel there are tens of thousands of Arab college graduates who do not have work commensurate with their abilities. Thousands more are added each year, without a solution being offered by the authorities. These college graduates could be the difference between a progressive, enlightened and prosperous society and a backward and unequal one. We therefore welcome the decision to employ 500 female Arab teachers in Jewish schools beginning in the current academic year. We are awaiting additional initiatives of this kind in other areas where there is a large number of Arabs who are unemployed or have jobs that do not suit their abilities.

Sikkuy will continue to monitor, write and promote suggestions to solve this issue, both on the professional and the governmental levels. This study is not our first on the subject, but part of a long process that began many years earlier. We understand that the process is a long one, and we are pleased to see progress on several planes, we believe wholeheartedly that the issue of fair representation of Arab society in the higher education system is one of the cornerstones of Jewish-Arab relations in this country for the coming decades.

Foreword

One of the only subjects on which Israeli society agrees is the importance of access to education for all the population groups in the country. Education is the umbilical cord for a divided Israeli society. Not only is the higher education system virtually the only place in which all parts of Israeli society take part, but it is the place that shapes the future social elites.

For the past decade we have been seeing the first signs of a small change in the establishment's perception of Arab society in Israel, from seeing it as a minority that constitutes a potential danger and a threat, to the beginning of a discourse that acknowledges the establishment's discrimination against the Arab population. Leading figures in the Israeli economy, in industry and in academia are today speaking about Arab society as a potential partner in the development of the Israeli economy in the next generation.

Arab society is young and dynamic, about 60 percent are below the age of 30. From the experience of our global world in the 21st century, there are only two options for dealing with this demographic fact. The first option is including and leveraging Arab society, and especially young people and academics, and the second is inclusion of Arab cadres in the government, the economy and the academia.

Sikkuy has for years been keeping track of Arab representation in the higher education system. This monitoring comes from a belief that Israeli academia is the main melting pot from which it is possible to promote the values to which we aspire.

The following quantitative study deals with the representation of Arab citizens in Israel's eight universities¹ (Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, the University of Haifa, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Tel Aviv University, Bar-Ilan University, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Open University and the Weizmann Institute of Science), in five main areas: the percentage of Arab students from the BA to the doctoral level; representation on the faculty, from the position of lecturer and higher; representation on the permanent administrative staff (not included in the category of "contract worker"); representation on the universities' governing bodies (boards of trustees, boards of directors, etc.).

Minority representation in institutions of higher learning, at every level, is of great importance. Higher education plays a central role in the future ability to earn a living and in social and economic mobility; but aside from that, minority participation in the process of decision-making in public institutions, certainly when it comes to academic institutions that are supposed to be accessible and open to all and to foster free discussion, is also important.

In a democratic regime people who acquire higher education expect equality in a long series of rights, among them the right to equal opportunity in employment, including in the higher education system.² A class of academics helps to create skilled human and professional capital and new employment opportunities, and assists social and economic mobility.³ Higher education creates access to centers of decision making and to positions from which it is possible to influence the public sphere; in particular, the balance of power in academia and the formation of elites. In the case of Israel, it contributes to enriching existing knowledge and creating knowledge from new perspectives. The participation of Arab Palestinian citizens in academia contributes to the variety on the cultural academic landscape, influences the public agenda and equips the minority with tools for advancing its rights.

According to Sami Meri,⁴ higher education among the Arab minority is a tool both for social mobility and for social and political change. The Shochat Committee Report on reforms in the higher education system (2006) noted that the successful integration of Arab citizens in the universities is crucial for Israeli society and the Israeli economy in order to promote modernization, economic growth and equality. But in Israel there are large disparities among various communities and groups, as a direct result of the class structure, where those of European and American origin are still at the top, those of Asian and African origin in the middle, and the Arabs on the bottom. Members of different groups therefore have different starting points, which perpetuate the economic, social, class, ethnic and national inequality.⁵

Higher education significantly promotes the Arabs' chances of integration into the job market, and studies have shown that while its acquisition empowers the Arab minority and can end its marginalization, but Arabs nevertheless suffer discrimination in the job market. That means that education still does not lead to full equality of opportunity.⁶ But this should not lead us to conclude that higher education is pointless; on the contrary, the barriers should be removed in order to lead to mobility, excellence and representation.

The disparity in income in similar professions challenges the principle of equality, and this also applies to such disparities between Jewish and Arab academics. The Council for Higher Education data indicate that Arabs receive a relatively low remuneration for higher education compared to Jews their salary is about 35% lower than that of their Jewish colleagues.⁷

Since the start of the millennium efforts have been made to absorb Arab academics into the faculty in institutions of higher learning by means of foundations and stipends, and through initiatives of the CHE, the Committee for Planning and Budgeting, and the universities themselves. As a result of these efforts the number of academics in the higher education system has increased slightly, but the situation is still far from satisfactory.

The small number of stipends available to an Arab research student compared to his Jewish colleague makes it very difficult to reduce the gaps between the two communities and aggravates the under-representation of Arabs in institutions of higher learning. Awad's study paints a gloomy picture of Arab representation in these institutions. In the administrative staff of the universities and colleges the problem is far more serious, with the findings indicating clear under-representation in administrative positions.⁸

The present study offers up-to-date and precise data, which we received as far as possible from the academic institutions themselves, and tries to lay the infrastructure for a broader and more in-depth study that will deal with the barriers to opportunities for fair representation for Arab citizens in Israeli universities.

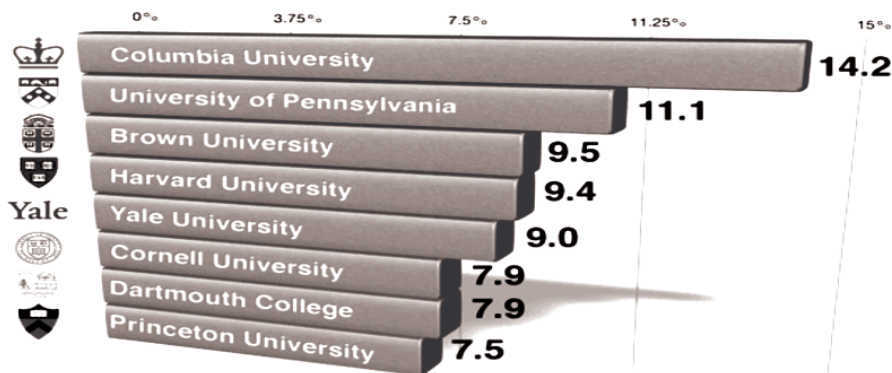
Chapter 1

Minorities and higher education

For minority groups in a multinational and multicultural society education is of special importance. The education system can be a factor aiding development and advancement or a conservative factor that, fosters social stagnation. In the modern state university and education have always been perceived as a means of raising the professional and social status of the minority group.⁹ One reason why governments invest in education is that they see it as a tool for shaping society, and their interest in it increase with the spread of the belief that it has a decisive influence on social inequality and that the social role of the individual is affected by the education he receives.¹⁰ As a result of globalization, migration, modernization etc., today over 90 percent of the countries in the world are heterogeneous in terms of their citizens' ethnic origin, nationality and culture.

At the start of the millennium there are minority groups living in most of the countries in the world, with a sizeable minority in many of them. Research on minority representation in academia has not receive serious scholarly attention until recently, apparently due to the belief that academia is a paragon of liberalism, openness and equal opportunity, but the few studies that were conducted have completely contradicted this assumption. According to Jewsona et al.¹¹ a prevailing assumption is that traditional academic ethics does not recognize barriers to acceptance other than talent and ability, and therefore concepts such as equal opportunity for members of various ethnic groups were perceived as irrelevant in universities.

Percentage of African-American students in the freshman class at the eight Ivy League institutions, 2012



In a speech by Andrew Pilkington¹² at the annual conference of the British Sociological Association, he claimed that efforts to promote equality in higher education have waned in the past decade, because the efforts that were made had little effect. The government pays only lip service, the universities do not treat the subject seriously when they hire faculty members, and even the discourse about racial equality and ethnic diversity has become marginal in England. In light of all these things, it is not surprising to discover that members of ethnic minorities suffer from under-representation in higher education.

In his book Pilkington¹³ discusses the disdain for racial and ethnic equality in England, based on comparisons and parallels among a large number of public institutions in their attitude towards ethnic minorities. His studies found a surprising similarity between the police and the universities in their preference for whites and their discrimination against blacks and other ethnic minorities. Yolanda Niemann¹⁴ claims that only 6% of the professors in the United States are members of ethnic minorities.

The studies on the contribution of higher education to minorities do not present an unequivocal picture. According to some of them, minorities attribute importance to higher education in order to escape a fate of unemployment and social marginality.¹⁵ Higher education bridges gaps between the majority and the minority, empowers the minority and equips those who study with more opportunities to organize in order to improve the economic, educational and political situation of the minority.¹⁶

Minorities tend to see higher education as an important factor in their struggle for social and political rights¹⁷ and as a means of improving their access to economic resources. But the ability of academia to bridge gaps and empower minorities also depends on factors such as the openness of the socioeconomic system, the type of regime, the quality of the democracy, and, of course, the relationship between the minority and the majority in the country.

Higher education is responsible for the acquisition of five types of resources: professional resources, self-fulfillment and broadening horizons, social resources (an opportunity to make contacts and to meet with similar and different people), affiliations depending on religion and gender, and community resources, which are considered vital for the students' community.¹⁸

Studies have shown that the commitment of the Afro-American minority to higher education is greater than that of the majority group, because it is seen as a primary tool for social mobility.¹⁹ and that their aspiration to study is greater than that of the white majority.

In the United States the research has dealt with racial representation.²⁰ Some places adopted a policy of affirmative action in accepting African-American to institutions of higher learning, but they are still under-represented in the prestigious universities, as can be seen on page 16.²¹

In light of data that indicate that the gaps in education in the United States are widening, ending affirmative action for minorities in university acceptance is being increasingly debated. Of 43,000 doctorates awarded by universities since 1994, only 2.1% went to Hispanics and 0.3% to African-Americans. This is in a country where Afro-Americans have made great strides in terms of representation in the government, and where they are not encumbered by a different minority language or a national conflict.²²

Modood and Shiner,²³ who studied the representation of minorities in higher education in England, found that there has been a significant increase in the percentage of young people from minority ethnic groups in institutions of higher education,²⁴ but in England and in the United States there is still clear under-representation of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, African-American and Hispanic students. In addition, even when blacks, Muslims and Hispanics do study, they are accepted mainly to non-prestigious academic institutions (like the new universities in England).

Many researchers have tried to find the reasons for under-representation of minorities in academic institutions. Oplatka and Hertz-Lazarowitz²⁵ found a variety of causes in the research literature and emphasized some of them. Modood and Shiner pointed to the tendency of ethnic minorities to choose prestigious professions to which it is hard to be accepted and which are not always in geographical proximity; Richards²⁶ emphasized the biases of the dominant groups against certain groups in acceptance interviews; another study blamed financial restrictions,²⁷ Kettley²⁸ focused on low achievements in the schools and mistaken ideas regarding the role of the university in society. Other researchers examined the factors influencing the representation of female minority members in academia. Kettley emphasized the absence of family support and low aspirations; David²⁹ explained that the accessibility of academia to additional sectors does not necessarily guarantee them social equality and acceptance.

In Israel a compulsory education law was passed when the state was established, and Arabs benefited from it: The educational level of the Arab population in Israel has gradually increased, and economic and social-demographic changes have led to a situation where education has become a significant factor in the competition for resources³⁰ and the opportunity to open paths of mobility that had been closed to them until recently.

The Arab school system has undergone many changes since the establishment of the state. There has been an increase in the number of students and educational frameworks, and with them an increase in the quality of teaching and the educational level of the Arab population as a whole. However, the large gaps that still exist between the Arab and Jewish school systems make it difficult for Arab students to be accepted to institutions of higher learning, undermining the social and economic mobility of Arabs as individuals and as a group.³¹

In a 2003 article entitled "Ethnic Gaps in Education," Amnon Rubinstein, a former Israeli education minister, referred to the university entrance exams in the United States and compared the situation there to that in Israel. Rubinstein examined the U.S. data and claimed that after years of struggle to narrow them, the gaps in education between ethnic groups are gradually increasing: The percentage of high school graduates receiving a BA by the ages of 25–29 increased from 1994–1999 in all the sectors, but among whites it increased by 28% to 35%, and among blacks by 13 percent to 18 percent. Among Hispanics there was no increase. Rubinstein concluded that despite the affirmative action policy in the United States, the situation in Israel is better.

In 2010 Jabareen and Aghbariya³² published the "Education on Hold" report, in which they surveyed Arab education in Israel and described the discrimination at all stages from elementary school to higher education and the gap between Arabs and Jews in the percentage of those studying for a BA (3.9% compared to 7.9%, respectively) and an MA (0.5% and 1.9% respectively).

The study by Mustafa and Arar³³ demonstrated characteristics of higher education among the Arab minority in Israel, which stem mainly from their historical, social, and political background, and mapped conceptions and behavior patterns. They claim that higher education which has expanded greatly since the 1970s empowers the Arab minority and is likely to remove it from its social marginality.³⁴

Arar and Haj Yihye³⁵ also note that the under-representation of minority populations in institutions of higher learning is not unique to Israel. Their article discusses the characteristics of higher education among minorities in general, its importance for the minority, and its implications for patterns of living and employment. They focus the discourse on Arab high school graduates in Israel as part of a national minority, and note the barriers placed by the system to their acceptance to institutions of higher learning. They claim that many Arabs consider Jordan an alternative for acquiring a higher education.

Like many minorities worldwide, the Arabs in Israel see education as an important factor in their personal and social development,³⁶ and at the same time there is a growing awareness among them of the importance of education as a tool for political struggle and for social mobility.³⁷ But as we will see below, despite the changes and the accessibility of higher education, the class of educated Arabs in Israel is still small and the number of Arab academics in Israel is still low compared to Jewish society.

Chapter 2

Higher education in Israel – statistical data

In the past 20 years higher education in Israel has undergone dramatic changes³⁸ that are reflected among other things in the number of students and the structure of the system.³⁹

Until the 1990s higher education was offered by a limited number of institutions, virtually all of them universities. The 1990s saw the rise of less selective non-universities as a result of the academization of the teacher training institutes, the opening of regional public colleges, the granting of academic recognition to private colleges and the organization and licensing of branches of foreign colleges.

The expansion and variety tried to meet the growing demand, whether due to the increase in the percentage of those with a matriculation certificate or to the wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union. The universities, on their part, responded to the growing demand by making conditions for acceptance more stringent,⁴⁰ and by referring many of the new candidates to the new non-university institutions.

In 1995 the new system was enacted into law with the amendment of the Council for Higher Education Law (amendment no. 10), which created a system with four types of academic institutions: (1) universities, (2) public academic colleges (budgeted) (3) private academic colleges (unbudgeted). All these grant their graduates an academic degree that is recognized by the CHE. In addition, there are (4) branches of foreign institutions of higher education that operate under CHE licensing and grant foreign degrees.⁴¹

In 1989–1990 there were 21 degree-awarding institutions in Israel, with a total of 88,800 students.⁴² At the start of the millennium the rate of growth in the student population slowed significantly. This was due, among other things, to harsh budgetary cuts to the institutions of higher learning and restrictions on an increase in the number of students.⁴³

In 2011–2012 there were 67 institutions of higher education in Israel, with 306,600 students (including 47,900 students studying at The Open University and non-degree students, seven research universities, the Open University, 36 academic colleges (21 of them budgeted by the Committee for Planning and Budgeting and 15 private colleges), and 23 teacher training colleges. That year 300,000 students studied for an academic degree, of them 186,770 were BA candidates in universities and colleges.

During this period the student population increased by an average of 5.8% annually. The increase was due mainly to the opening of academic colleges in the 1990s and the beginning of the millennium. At the same time the slow increase in the number of BA students continued. In the universities their number remained stable, while in the budgeted academic colleges there was a moderate increase in their numbers. In the teacher training colleges there was a significant increase in the number of new BA students (8.1%) while the non-budgeted academic colleges saw the most significant increase (13.6%).⁴⁴

Of the students who studied in universities, academic colleges and teacher training colleges in 2011–2012, 75% were studying for a BA, 20.4% for an MA, 4.1% for a doctorate, and the rest were studying for certification. The number of new BA students increased that year by 4.7%. That is a change compared to a year earlier. The number of MA students increased that year by 3.8% (a moderate increase compared to 7.5%) in the previous year while the number of doctoral students remained unchanged.⁴⁵

It's interesting to note that in 2008–2009 MA students constituted 18.6% of the entire student body, while in 2011–2012 this number increased to 20.4%. The relative number of BA students decreased during this period from 76.5% to 75%.⁴⁶ In addition, ⁴⁷. 49,000 students were in the academic track at the Open University, about 44,400 of them for a BA and the rest for an MA and academic certification.

Below is a table presenting the students in the universities, academic colleges, and teacher training colleges, by degree, gender and population group.

Table 1: Students pursuing academic degrees, 2011–2012

	Universities	Academic Colleges	Colleges of Education	Total
BA				
	74,923	87,409	26,908	189,240
Women	54.5 %	49.7 %	80.3 %	55.9 %
Population groups				
Jews and others	86.4 %	93.6 %	73.7 %	87.9 %
Jews	83.0 %	90.1 %	72.7 %	84.8 %
Arabs	13.6 %	6.4 %	26.3 %	12.1 %
MA				
	38,340	9,318	3,101	50,759
Women	57.7 %	58.3 %	80.7 %	59.2 %
Population groups				
Jews and others	92.3 %	94.2 %	78.6 %	91.8 %
Jews	90.2 %	92.7 %	78.0 %	89.9 %
Arabs	7.7 %	5.8 %	21.4 %	8.2 %
Ph.D				
	10,590	---	---	10,590
Women	52.4 %	---	---	52.4 %
Population groups				
Jews and others	95.6 %			95.6 %
Jews	93.2 %			93.2 %
Arabs	4.4 %			4.4 %

Degree earners from the universities, the Open University, academic colleges and teacher training colleges by degree, gender, and social group.

Table 2: Holders of academic degrees, 2004–2010

Between 2004–2005 and 2009–2010 the number of BA students increased from 36,454 to 44,846. In 2004–2005, 87.7% of graduates were Jews and 10.7% Arabs. In 2010–2011 the percentage of Jews increased to 88.9% and that of Arabs declined to 8.7%. In those years the number of MA students increased

from 11,610 to 15, 559. In 2004–2005, 94.6% of MA students were Jews and 4.2 % Arabs. In 2009–2010 the percentage of Jews declined to 93.1% while that of Arabs increased to 5.5%. There was an increase in the number of those receiving a doctorate. In 2004–2005, 1,206 students received doctorates, in 2009–2010 the number increased to 1,534. In 2004–2005, 95.8% of recipients of doctorates were Jews compared to 2.5% Arabs. In 2009–2010 the percentage of Jews declined to 94.8% and that of Arabs increased slightly to 2.8%, as noted in Table 2.

	Total graduates 2004/05	Universities graduates	Open University graduates	Academic colleges graduates	Teacher training colleges	Total graduates 2009/10
BA						
	36,454	18,877	3,081	17,705	5,183	44,846
Women	60.2 %	57.2 %	59.9 %	52.5 %	81.5 %	58.3 %
Population groups						
Jews and others	89.3 %	90.4 %	95.9 %	95.8 %	70.3 %	90.6 %
Jews	87.7 %	87.3 %	93.9 %	93.1 %	69.6 %	88.0 %
Arabs	10.7 %	9.6 %	4.1 %	4.2 %	29.7 %	9.4 %
MA						
	11,610	12,909	481	3,622	595	17,607
Women	56.8 %	55.7 %	47.0 %	59.4 %	85.9 %	57.2 %
Population groups						
Jews and others	95.8 %	96.6 %	95.0 %	94.2 %	81.0 %	94.1 %
Jews	94.6 %	92.6 %	92.9 %	93.1 %	80.5 %	92.3 %
Arabs	4.2 %	3.4 %	5.0 %	5.8 %	19.0 %	5.9 %
Ph.D						
	1,206	1,530				1,530
Women	52.0 %	51.0 %				51.0 %
Population groups						
Jews and others	97.5 %	96.9 %				96.9 %
Jews	95.8 %	94.9 %				94.9 %
Arabs	2.5 %	3.1 %				3.1 %

Chapter 3

Higher education – among the Arab citizens of Israel

A. Historical and sociological background

The status of the Arab minority in Israel is entirely different from that of minority groups in Western countries. On the one hand Arabs are citizens of the country, and on the other they are part of the Palestinian nation, which is involved in an ongoing conflict with Israel⁴⁸. The political dispute between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority in Israel is based on a balance of powers that came into being in 1948, and on the fact that both the Jewish majority and the Arab minority consider themselves indigenous peoples and demand almost exclusive rights over one territory, which they consider an ultimate homeland.⁴⁹

In addition, the Arab population in Israel is relatively poor: 56.8% of Arab households, 59.1% of individuals, and 72.9% of children are considered poor, based on income (compared to 23%, 25% and 29% respectively among Jews).⁵⁰

In recent decades education has gradually become a top priority for Arab citizens, especially for women.⁵¹ Women now constitute over 50% of Arab's with academic degrees, and are today perceived as agents of social change and the keystone of the political and social rehabilitation of the Arab community in Israel.

Some claim that among the Arab public, education is a substitute for their lost land, constitutes a source of pride, and guarantees a source of income. Education does in fact enable the improvement of an individual's social and financial status within Arab society, but does not necessarily affect the place of educated Arabs in the Israeli–Jewish job market.

During the course of their studies Arab students accumulate important experience: They meet with Jewish students and acquire standardized knowledge. The university is one of the only public institutions in Israeli society in which Arabs and Jews meet as colleagues with equal rights and are supposed to enjoy freedom of expression, although in recent years this freedom has been restricted in the universities, and in quite a number of cases Arab students have been forbidden to express protest on campus.⁵²

In any case, the university is an important stage in the political education of Arab intellectuals, and despite the ethno-nationalist barriers of the Israeli job market, an academic education is a springboard to integration into society, not only economically but culturally and socially as well.⁵³ The Shochat Committee report states that the successful integration of Arabs is "vital for the society and economy in Israel in their aspiration for modernization, economic growth, and equality."

In the mid-1970s there was a significant increase in the percentage of 12th graders in Arab schools who studied the compulsory matriculation exam subjects in advanced tracks (4 units and more), thereby increasing their chances of being accepted to institutions of higher education. In the early 1990s the universities in Israel were under political and public pressure to increase their accessibility to the periphery of the country and to weaker populations. Wilensky examined the financial demands of the academic institutions relative to the ability of various communities, as well as the required environmental and academic conditions, and claimed that access is a function of demand for higher education versus the supply of places to study⁵⁴ and the degree of openness to minorities. So that access is determined in accordance with the educational background of those seeking to study and the ability of institutions of higher learning to absorb candidates from various classes and populations.⁵⁵

In the face of the barriers, and in the absence of a policy of Arab representation in academia as students, faculty or administrative employees several trends have developed: (a) compromise on the subject of study, leading to over-representation in the humanities and social sciences. Compromises like these prevented the development of an "academic ethos" and research in the fields of the humanities and society in Arab society, and have led many Arab graduates to turn to teaching. The saturation in this field increased even further in light of the shaky situation of the Arab local councils and their inability to absorb the graduates.

(b) higher education abroad, especially in the free professions (medicine, pharmacology, paramedical professions and engineering). In the past Arab students went to study in Eastern European countries, with the help of stipends from the Communist party. After the fall of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, many Arabs went to study medicine and engineering in Germany (at the peak period about 1,500 students a year); about 350 went to study in Italy; and about 500 in Romania. After the signing of the peace treaty with Jordan, Arab students began to study there. In the late 1990s there were 200 such students, and in 2008 there were almost 6,300 Arab students studying medical and paramedical subjects there, as well as Arabic and Islamic religion.⁵⁶ Wegan estimates that about 8,000 students study in Jordan every year, with about another 1,300⁵⁷ in universities and colleges on the West Bank,⁵⁸ where it is easier for them culturally and they don't experience the political alienation that is their lot in Israel.⁵⁹

Since the early 1990s a large number of academic colleges have been established in Israel. At the same time the universities opened their doors to residents of the periphery and the disadvantaged. Access to higher education began to expand already in the 1970s and the 1980s, but the real change that made education accessible to all sectors of the Israeli population began only in the 1990s.⁶⁰ Within a decade, and especially from 1982–1993, the number of students in the universities increased by 50%, and in the colleges by 700%. As a result the percentage of Arab students in the universities increased from 2.9% in the 1970s to 6.7% in the mid–1980s.⁶¹

The constant increase in the number of Arab students in Israel demonstrates that their low numbers prior to the increase was not due to cultural factors, but to the obstacles placed before them by the educational institutions, the neglect in elementary and high school education, and the structural barriers they face. These barriers are clearly evident in an examination of the percentage accepted to the universities relative to their numbers according to age group: In the mid–1980s Arabs were 22.7% of 18–year–olds, but only 7.4% of them were accepted to universities.⁶²

Two main barriers block the path of Arabs who want to acquire a higher education: The first is the failure to receive a complete and high-quality matriculation certificate that meets the minimum requirements of the universities, and the second is the failure to begin higher education during the first two years after high school.

In an interview in June 2011 in Haaretz,⁶³ Prof. Majid Al Haj, a former member of the CHE and former vice president and dean of research of the

University of Haifa, said that the Arab student faces several barriers: the psychometric exam, which is not culturally adapted to Arab examinees, and the teaching methods in the Arab schools, which are based on accumulating information in order to regurgitate it during the exam, without any development of critical, creative, or logical thinking. Regarding the barriers in the universities themselves, Al Haj said: "Today the Arab student spends the first two years dealing with the basic problems of his absorption in the university. There is no serious attention to the Arab student on the part of the universities and the colleges; another thing we discussed in the committee is the cultural atmosphere in the university, which leads to alienation in the Arab student because it is not based on a multicultural concept."

However, in recent years there has been a significant improvement in the percentages of eligibility for matriculation certificates, and as a result the percentage of those accepted to the institutions of higher education in the two years after high school has increased from 10.7% in 1991 to 19.2% in 2001. Al Haj believes that there are two reasons for this: (1) collective motivation, namely the desire of Arab intellectuals to contribute to raising the community's standard of living and to work for social and economic prosperity, and 2) individual motivation, namely a desire for personal advancement, a career and social status. The community of Arab academics in Israel feels a responsibility and a public mission to advance their civil, economic, and political status in the face of the problems and challenges within the community.⁶⁴

Mustafa⁶⁵ notes three factors that have influenced the acquisition of higher education among Palestinian Arabs in Israel. The first was the 1948 war, which led to the destruction of the urban cultural center of Palestinian society. After the war a defeated rural minority remained in the State of Israel, with a very high rate of illiteracy. Palestinian society that remained in Israel therefore had to start anew. Despite the decline in opportunities for higher education in Palestinian society as compared to the Jewish community, in some of the Palestinian cities the elite and the urban middle class were able to build an urban cultural center that was a basis for expanding the Palestinian intellectual elite and later for improving the level of education.

The British Mandate enabled the Jewish community to establish the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Technion in Haifa in the mid-1920s, but did not allow the Arabs to establish a Palestinian university or even an Arab-Jewish university. Despite that, the well-to-do families and the middle class were able to build an elite of university graduates who had studied abroad. Palestinian students studied in Arab universities in Cairo, Lebanon, and the West.

The second cause was the situation in the Israeli academic world. Higher education among Arab citizens developed in the Israeli universities, which were engaged in constructing the Zionist historical narrative and shaped an Israeli sociology that studied the development of the Arab minority in Israel in a distorted manner. The State of Israel has not allowed the Arab minority to establish an Arab university to this day, although attempts by ethnic minorities the world over show that institutions of higher learning that were established by minorities increased their access to higher education, expanded the class of intellectuals among them and preserved their cultural identity, and that these institutions improved the social, economic and political status of the minority group relative to the majority.

The Israeli government is preventing the establishment of an Arab university because it is afraid that it will turn into an arena of nationalist activity, and in any case the Israeli establishment refuses to approve autonomous independent institutions for Arabs. The absence of an Arab university that teaches in Arabic, and the fact that Arabs acquire a higher education in Israeli institutions, has affected their access to higher education, with its scientific research and its agenda, and has prevented the employment of Arab academics in institutions of higher learning and the development of a Palestinian narrative and sociology.⁶⁶

In December 2012 there was a ceremony to lay the cornerstone for the academic campus of the city of Nazareth, which is considered a first step on the way to building a university institution in Arab society.⁶⁷ Then-Education Minister Gideon Sa'ar opposed the initiative, claiming that such a university would undermine the integration of the Arabs into the country.⁶⁸

The third factor that has affected the acquisition of higher education among Arab citizens is their structural exclusion in all areas of life, and especially from places of work and centers of political influence. The place of Arabs in the Israeli economy is still marginal, and the possibility of developing a strong Arab economy is still not on the horizon. This exclusion has affected patterns of education and the perception of academic studies, and perpetuates dependence on the Jewish economy for Arab graduates. As a result, most Arab academics work in Arab communities.

The path of Arabs to higher education is a kind of obstacle course consisting of learning challenges, social and cultural challenges, and institutional systemic challenges. Problems include lack of interest in studies, difficulties in acceptance to institutions of higher learning and in completing a degree, and barriers to finding employment that is commensurate with their

education. Each stage is influenced by the preceding one, but often many obstacles appear at the same time and make it difficult to cope.⁶⁹

In the 1980s there was an increase in the percentage of Arab students in the universities, followed by a decline in the 1990s.⁷⁰ In the mid-1980s, 6.7% of all the university students were Arabs, and in the early 1990s the percentage dropped to 5.8%. The main reason for this decline is related to the employment problems faced by Arab academics and to unemployment among Arab graduates in general.⁷¹ The difficulty in finding a suitable job and the fact that the Arab economy is not strong enough to absorb them in fields such as engineering or natural sciences, leads many to make do with work in the local job market or teaching in the Arab school system. The Civil Service and the local councils cannot absorb academics who are not graduates of the humanities or the social sciences.⁷²

As mentioned, in recent years there has been an increase in the number of Arabs studying in Jordan and in the Palestinian Authority areas. In the near future the accessibility of Jordanian universities is likely to affect the patterns of acquiring higher education among Israeli Arabs and to create a new reality.⁷³ The group of young academics is steadily increasing and constitutes a link connecting the center and the periphery.

B. Statistical data and future plans

A report published by the CHE in 2012⁷⁴ surveys the state of education in Arab society, from the rates of eligibility for a matriculation certificate to the hiring of senior faculty in institutions of higher education. The gaps between the sectors when it comes to equal opportunity and access to higher education are profound and strongly rooted. For example, while almost half the Jews in a given year (44%) meet the minimum requirements of the academic institutions, among Arabs the number is only 22%. In addition, of those who do apply for studies, about 32% are not accepted, compared to only 19% of the Jewish population. Thus, 52% of Jews begin studies in academic institutions in an average year, compared to only 21% of Arabs.

Another barrier is what the paper calls "products of the formal education system." According to the data there is a gap of almost 18% in the percentage of those taking the matriculation exams (57% of Arabs compared to 75% of Jews), and almost half of the Arab examinees do not attain a certificate in the end (28% of Arabs receive a matriculation certificate compared to 51% of Jews). The psychometric exam has also turned out to be a significant barrier: A gap of 100 points was found between Jewish and Arab examination results. The greatest gaps were in the English exam, followed by verbal thinking and quantitative thinking.

But the gaps do not end with the “external” barrier, in other words, in initial ability to become integrated into the system. The CHE report exposes a far gloomier picture when it comes to equal opportunity within academia: The higher you go in the academic world, the lower the percentage of Arabs. Arab students constitute 11.3% of BA students, 7% of MA students, and only 3% of doctoral students. On the university faculties Arabs constitute only 2%. The difficulty of integration is already predicted by the data on dropouts among Arab students, and is also reflected in the phenomenon of “dragged-out degrees” pointed out by the paper.

In 2008–2009 the dropout rate for Arab students was about 15.4%, compared to only 10.8% for Jewish students. In the universities the gap between the Arab and Jewish dropout rates is about 4.2%, but in the budgeted colleges it is even greater, and in the engineering colleges it even reaches 11% to 25% among Arabs, compared to 14% for Jews. In addition, about 53% of Jewish students finish their degree on time, compared to only 36% among Arabs.

The gap in the dropout rates between the universities and the colleges is even sharper when we take into account their high percentage of Arab students. Of all the Arab students, about 11.5% study in universities, compared to 24.5% in teacher training colleges. There were also large differences among the various universities: At the University of Haifa Arabs constitute over 30% of the student body, but in the Hebrew University less than 12%, in Tel Aviv University less than 9%, in Ben-Gurion University slightly over 5% and in Bar-Ilan University less than 3%.⁷⁵

Many Arab students have benefited from the establishment of the academic colleges and many could be accepted by them, but other than those who seek teacher training, the universities are still the preferred institutions. The percentage of Arab students reached 8.1% at the start of the millennium, with 9.8% studying for a BA. Three main factors led to this increase: The higher success rate in the matriculation exams (from 22% in the mid-1990s to 38% at the start of the millennium), the increase in the percentage of female Arab students, and the link between the number of years of study and employment rates: The employment rate among Arab academics is still higher than among non-academics.⁷⁶

The percentage of Arab students studying for an MA increased from 3.6% in 1990 to 5.1% in 2004 and 9% in 2012,⁷⁷ but in doctoral studies the percentage remained unchanged. The percentage of Arabs in the University of Haifa has remained stable during the past decade and is now 35% of all Arab students. The number of female Arab students is slightly higher than that of male Arab students in the university. The percentage of Arab students studying

at the Hebrew University declined in the past three decades due to the establishment of colleges, and according to the CHE report the percentage today is less than 12%.⁷⁸

Since the 1990s many Arab students have also been absorbed in the regional colleges. In Bar Ilan there is an increase in the number of Arab students, due to the establishment of branches in other areas of the country. In fourth place in terms of the percentage of Arab students is the Technion, followed by Tel Aviv University and Ben Gurion University.⁷⁹

Data published by the Schochat Committee about the 2005–2006 faculty indicate that the senior faculty⁸⁰ constitutes about 53.3% of the total faculty in the universities, and numbers 4,576. On the other hand, there are 4,010 non-senior faculty members,⁸¹ constituting 46.7% of the faculty, which numbered 8,586 in 2005–2006. The technical and administrative staff of the universities numbers 8,558. The total manpower in the universities, including senior faculty, non-senior faculty and technical and administrative staff for 2005–2006 was 17,144.

In 2006–2007, of the 4,576 members of the senior faculty in the universities, 64 were Arabs, in other words 1.4% (in 1999 the number was 1%). The situation of technical and administrative manpower is no better: Of an administrative staff of 8,558, only 23 (0.26 %) were Arabs (see Table 3). The largest number of Arab lecturers was in Ben Gurion University, followed by Tel Aviv University, the University of Haifa and the Hebrew University. In the other universities there are a handful of Arab lecturers.⁸²

Table 3: Faculty and administration in the universities, 2006–2007 ⁸³

	Jews (%)	Arabs (%)	Total
Senior faculty	4,512 (98.6%)	64 (1.4%)	4,576
Administrative staff (technical and administrative)	8,535 (99.74%)	23 (0.26%)	8,558

Source: Sikkuy survey of universities and colleges in 2007

Administrative Staff

In a press release on June 1, 2011, a parliamentary commission of inquiry on the subject of hiring Arab employees in the Civil Service, headed by member of the Knesset Dr. Ahmed Tibi, outgoing Education Minister Gideon Sa'ar referred to the gloomy statistics presented in the committee about the under-representation of Arab citizens in higher education, and said that increasing access to higher education for the Arab sector is a goal of the Education Ministry. "The Arab population suffers from under-representation in the higher education system, but I have no doubt that increasing access will lead to an increase in the percentage of Arab students and members of the faculty. I'm optimistic and convinced that in the coming years we will see significant progress. The Education Ministry will formulate a work plan in cooperation with the academic institutions to improve the representation of the Arab sector."

The CHE data sent to the committee indicate that:

In 2011, only 2.7% of faculty members in Israel were Arabs.

In the higher education administration the percentage of Arabs is even lower, and totals 1.6% of all employees (not including contract workers).

The CHE, which is a statutory body, employs only one Arab out of 85 employees, including temporary workers without a tenure.⁸⁴

In an interview with Haaretz in June 2006,⁸⁵ Dr. Danny Gera, who was the professional consultant to the commission of inquiry headed by MK Tibi, said: "The CHE statistics attest to the fact that in the higher education system the rate of Arab employment is low by any standard. This percentage is even lower than in the Civil Service, where the integration of Arabs also fails to meet the goals of government decisions (which mandated that by 2012, 10% of all Civil Service employees would be Arabs). In addition, if out of about 160 senior employees in the administration of the institutions of higher learning there are only two Arabs, it is hard to escape the conclusion that Arab employees are virtually excluded from the administration of the institutions."

In response the CHE said that "In recent years a series of steps have been taken to hire representatives from the non-Jewish sector in academic institutions. In this context dozens of Maof scholarships were given to outstanding students, who eventually will become faculty members in the various institutions. At the same time, as part of the five-year plan in the higher education system, access to higher education for students from the

non-Jewish sector will be expanded. In that context about 3,600 designated for students from Arab society will be added."

The Committee of University Heads told a Haaretz reporter that "There is a direct ratio between the percentage of Arab students and the percentage of Arab faculty in the universities" an incorrect claim, as we will see later in the chapter on findings. The Committee of University Heads added: "Throughout the years there has been an increase in the number of Arab students, and therefore we expect to see more students becoming part of the junior and senior faculty. In addition, quite a number of young people from the Arab sector are now being hired to join the university faculties through the Maof scholarships designated for that population. We believe that there is room to increase the number of Maof scholarships, which contribute directly to increasing the number of Arab faculty members."⁸⁶

A simple calculation of the increase in the number of Arab students relative to the Arab faculty reveals that there is a large gap to close. As mentioned the percentage of Arab students in the universities reached 11% in the 2011–2012 academic year (this figure is not precise either, as we will see later in the chapter on findings).

In summary, the figures on the representation of Arabs as academic and administrative staff are not consistent, and are often based on estimates. According to the CHE statistics,⁸⁷ which were published in 2012, only 11% of BA students in the institutions of higher learning in Israel are Arabs about half their percentage in the population – and the higher the rank the lower the percentage.

In an attempt to deal with the growing gaps, the Committee for Planning and Budgeting approved a new CHE program whose main feature is to offer a basket of services that the various institutions can provide in order to support Arab students. The program, which costs over NIS 300 million, will be implemented gradually until the 2015–2016 academic year. According to the program, each institution will be asked to prepare a long-term plan in the coming year with clear goals and objectives for absorbing Arab students varying their fields of study, accepting them for advanced degrees and improving the quality of their studies. CHE participation in the support will be determined in accordance with the university plans.

For example, in order to strengthen the absorption of students in their first year of studies and to reduce the percentage of dropouts and those who drag out their degree, an average basket totaling NIS 4,666 will be offered

to each student, focusing on social support, individual academic support, advice and development of learning skills, and cultural activities. The entire basket will be granted to institutions based on the dropout rate of their Arab students relative to the average dropout rate of the Jewish population in all the institutions.

About two months before the beginning of the year the Arab students will be eligible to participate in a program for enrichment in the Hebrew language, study skills, and academic orientation with the support of the Committee for Planning and Budgeting (at a cost of up to NIS 1,824 per student). In addition, in order to be eligible for the budget the institutions will have to translate their website into Arabic. The Open University will begin already this year with an experiment that includes the study of various subjects in Arabic.

The program is also trying to provide a solution to gaps that were found already in the planning stage. Starting in the 2012 academic year there is a plan to open centers of information and exposure to academia in Arab population centers, where high school students with potential of being accepted to a university will receive information about the education institutions and the fields of study, and will be offered preparatory workshops, scholarships etc. The centers, to be established at a cost of NIS 300,000, will operate under the supervision of a steering committee of public figures and members of academia most of whom are Arabs; by 2014–2015 such centers are expected to operate in 25 communities.

Another goal is to provide access to pre-academic preparatory institutions to the Arab population. Of 12,300 students who studied in such institutions in 2010–2011, only 6% were Arabs, and 57 % of them did not go on to academic studies within the next three years (as compared to 48% of the Jews). The efforts to provide access will be directed to Hebrew language enrichment and to paying for dormitories and transportation, a preparatory course for the psychometric exam and scholarships for 20% of the Arab graduates of the preparatory institutions. The overall sum is about NIS 6,000 per student, and the Committee for Planning and Budgeting will provide each institution with a one-time budget of up to NIS 50,000 to market the preparatory course to the population. To deal with the low percentages of integration of Arabs in advanced degree programs and in the faculty, there will be scholarships for outstanding students in all the institutions, which will be required to report to the CHE on the integration of Arab faculty members.

The comprehensive plan is part of a five-year plan brought for government approval two years ago by the chairman of the CHE, former Education Minister Gideon Sa'ar, and chairman of the Planning and Budgeting Committee, Prof. Manuel Trajtenberg. The goal of the program was to make higher education accessible to the geographic and social periphery, to the ultra-Orthodox population and to minorities. According to Prof. Trajtenberg, "The program will make it easier for the minority population, to become integrated into higher education and later into the job market as well. Our investigations demonstrated that one of the barriers is a lack of access, and the program will provide a solution prior to entering the system, and closely monitored guidance in the first years.⁸⁸

Chapter 4

The Study

A. Methodology

The question of the representation of Arab citizens on university faculties in Israel and the patterns of discrimination in hiring and absorption in institutions of higher education has been almost ignored in research, despite its importance to the Arabs in Israel. Most of the research on the subject relies on committee reports, press releases, civil society reports and short reports from the CHE. An exception is the survey conducted by Sikkuy as part of the Fair Representation and Employment Equity project in October 2007, which examined the number of Arabs employed in the senior faculty in 65 academic institutions, and the number of Arabs in the administration. The response to the survey was about 20%. In the universities and colleges that failed to respond to the survey a private effort was made to receive information from the Arab staff (Sikkuy conducted a similar survey in 1999, and its results were published that year in a Fair Representation report by Sikkuy. At the time the percentage of responses was similar).

As mentioned, this study wants to examine the representation of Arab citizens in Israeli universities. For the purpose of the present study we used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods a questionnaire, in-depth interviews, and a textual analysis in order to exploit the advantages of both methods and to minimize their weaknesses as far as possible.

The questionnaire that was sent to university heads was composed of 32 questions designed to attain specific information regarding the goals of the study, and most of the findings were based on this information. After it was assembled, the questionnaire was validated with the help of experts in the field in order to ensure that the questions accorded with the objectives of the study.

Partially structured interviews were conducted with lecturers and with members of Arab administrative staff in the universities. The study also used informal interviews with Arab faculty members and with those in

administrative positions (such as assistants and advisers to university presidents and students active in the National Student Union and in the Arab student committees.) These interviews and conversations helped us both to confirm information and to obtain information that we were unable to get directly from those who answered the questionnaires.

We also learned from previous studies that dealt with similar issues, and gathering the material contributed to enriching the information in our study. In addition, in order to compensate for the refusal of the interviewees or the university heads to answer the questionnaire, we analyzed texts and available information, such as research reports of official institutions or of civic society organizations, research literature, databases, websites of the universities and colleges, articles in the media, publications of the Central Bureau of Statistics and the CHE, information from Knesset investigative committees, and publications of the Knesset Center for Research and Information, etc.

After the questionnaire was approved by the members of the steering committee and successfully passed a pilot, it was sent to the target population, which included the heads of the research universities (seven universities and the Open University) and the heads of two colleges the Western Galilee College and Kaye Academic College of Education. One of the colleges did not respond. As mentioned, the questionnaire is composed of 32 closed questions, and if the information is accessible it takes about an hour to answer. But most of the universities claimed that the information requested was in the hands of many factors and therefore it took them a long time to collect it. Therefore, while we waited for the questionnaires we held most of the in-depth interviews and many informal conversations with key figures. The in-depth interviews were analyzed using the method of interpretive analysis. After collecting the data from the quantitative study, we analyzed the findings with the statistical software SPSS.

B. Findings and summary

Five of the university presidents from the University of Haifa, the Technion, the Open University, Ben-Gurion University and the Hebrew University (or someone else on their behalf) responded fully to our request, filled out the entire questionnaire, or answered in writing all the research issues they were asked to discuss. Tel Aviv University provided most of the information relating to the research questionnaire, but Bar-Ilan University provided partial information that we were forced to complete with in-depth

interviews and informal conversations with faculty members and those in other positions, or from the university website. These two universities claimed that they did not have information about the ethnic origins of the students and employees.

The Weizmann Institute adamantly refused to cooperate with the study, with the same argument. The information about Weizmann was therefore gathered from informal sources and from the institute's website. The heads of the Western Galilee Academic College provided full information about all the research questions. Kaye Academic College of Education in the Negev did not respond to our request, despite reminders and phone conversations with institution officials.

The response rate to the research questionnaire was very high: 62.5% full response; 25% partial response and 12.5% failure to respond. In previous Sikkuy studies from 1999 and 2007, the response rate of university heads was under 20%.⁸⁹ The findings presented below were therefore sent by university heads, and to a great extent reflect the representation of Arab citizens in the seven research universities in Israel in the five areas of the study: Arab students in the universities; Arabs on the faculty⁹⁰ and in the administration; Arab members of the board of trustees; Arab members of the board of directors of the institutions under study. Some of the findings presented below differ somewhat from the analyses of the central bureau of statistics or the CHE because their data is based on estimates or information that the universities sent directly to them or the Knesset committees. Some of the information was partial and most was unverified.

The study did not make do with this data alone, but was based on the data from the universities, which were later verified and cross-referenced in the field. We also interviewed senior faculty members, advisers to university heads on Arab student affairs,⁹¹ members of the student associations, employees of the dean of students and others, as noted in the chapter on methodology.

Students

In 2011–2012 a total of about 298,400 students were studying for an academic degree in all the institutions of higher education in Israel 258,700 in the universities, the academic colleges and the teacher training colleges, and the rest in institutions that grant a degree but are not among the three types of abovementioned institutions. Some 75% (194,100) were studying for a BA

(58,100 of them new students), 20.4% (52,700) for an MA, 4.1% (about 10,600) for a doctorate, and the rest for a certificate. In the 2011–2012 academic year about 155,800 students studied in the research universities, for all the degrees, 14,895 were Arabs, 9.6% of all university students in Israel. That means that the representation of Arab citizens of the country among university students is about half of their representation in the general population, and far less than their representation in the relevant age group. It should be noted that this study deals with students in Israel, and does not take into account those studying in Jordan (whose numbers are estimated in the thousands), Europe (several hundred) and the rest of the world (several hundred).

Table 4: Distribution of Arab and Jewish students by degree and academic institution 2011–2012 ⁹²

Students/ Institution	BA		MA		Ph.D		Total Jews	Total Arabs
	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews	Arabs		
University of Haifa	6,164 (69.7%)	2,679 (30.3%)	5,538 (80.3%)	1,360 (19.7%)	968 (86.5%)	152 (13.5%)	12,670 (75.1%)	4,191 (24.9%)
Technion- Israel institute of Technology	6,943 (81.75%)	1,550 (18.25%)	2,157 (96.5%)	78 (3.5%)	887 (96.5%)	33 (3.6%)	9,987 (85.7%)	1,661 (14.3%)
Tel Aviv University	14,599 (90.1%)	1,613 (9.9%)	10,129 (95.4%)	489 (4.6%)	2,148 (97.4%)	58 (2.6%)	26,876 (92.6%)	2,160 (7.4%)
Bar-Ilan University	17,079 (97.8%)	378 (2.2%)	6,000 (98%)	12,594 (2%)	1,921 (98.9%)	22 (1.1%)	25,000 (98%)	525 (2%)
Ben-Gurion University	13,440 (96.4%)	508 (3.6%)	4,700 (96.3%)	181 (3.7%)	1,400 (97.4%)	37 (2.6%)	19,540 (96.4%)	726 (3.6%)
Hebrew University	11,500 (89.7%)	1,321 (10.3%)	6,800 (97%)	216 (3%)	2,700 (96.6%)	95 (3.4%)	21,000 (92.8%)	1,632 (7.2%)
Open University	34,809 (91.6%)	3,518 (8.4%)	3,481 (93.7%)	235 (6.4%)	-----	-----	41,720 (91.7%)	3,753 (8.3%)
Total	104,534 (90.4%)	11,567 (9.6%)	38,805 (93.6%)	2,684 (6.4%)	10,024 (96.2%)	397 (3.8%)	156,793 (91.5%)	14,645 (8.5%)

The increase in the percentage of Arab students in recent years is more significant in the colleges than in the universities. The CBS data from 2011 indicate that 12% of BA students are Arabs.⁹⁹ The percentage who studied for a BA in the colleges and go on for advanced degrees is very small.

The highest number of Arab students is found in the University of Haifa, where they constitute about 25% of all the degree students. The lowest percentage is in Bar Ilan University (not including the colleges operating under its aegis, some of which have a relatively high percentage of Arabs. The percentage of Arab students in the Safed Academic College, for example, is almost 60%, and in the Western Galilee Academic College about 40%).

Faculty

According to Central Bureau of Statistics data, in recent years there has been a decline in the number of members of the senior faculty or those with permanent jobs in the universities. In 1999–2000 there were 4,684 faculty members, and since then the decline in the number of positions has continued until it reached 4,326 in the 2009–2010 academic year a drop of about 7.6% in a decade.

The findings of our study indicate that the trend of decline has been checked, and since the 2009–2010 academic year, 257 new senior faculty members have joined the system. One explanation is the government decision of November 2010 to begin a multi-year project to try to bring Israeli scientists back from abroad.

The findings of the study indicate that in the past academic year 4,665 senior lecturers taught in Israeli universities, 4,583 Jews and 82 Arabs (1.75%) lower than the CHE estimate regarding the percentage of Arab lecturers (2.7%).¹⁰⁰ From a comparison with data from previous years we find that in 1999 there were 64 Arab lecturers, constituting 1% of the senior faculty in the research universities, while in the 2006–2007 academic year their representation increased to 1.4%. From 1999–2000 until today 18 Arab lecturers have joined the senior faculty an increase of 0.25% compared to 1999–2000. This means that from 1999 to 2012 the number of Arabs on the university faculties increased at a rate of 0.02% annually.

Table 5: Distribution of faculty members (Arabs and Jews) by academic institution

	Jews (%)	Arabs (%)	Total
Haifa	569 (96.1%)	23 (3.9%)	592 (100%)
Technion	552 (98.75%)	7 (1.25%)	559 (100%)
Tel Aviv	923 (98.5%)	14 (1.5%)	937 (100%)
Bar-Ilan	660 (99.7%)	2 (0.3%)	662 (100%)
Ben-Gurion	800 (97%)	25 (3%)	825 (100%)
Hebrew University	1000 (99.1%)	10 (0.99%)	1,010 (100%)
Open University	79 (98.75%)	1 (1.25%)	80 (100%)
Total	4583 (98.25%)	82 (1.75%)	4,665 (100%)

As shown in Table 5, the University of Haifa and Ben Gurion University had the largest number of Arab faculty members, but there, too, the number is not high. Bar-Ilan University and the Hebrew University had the lowest percentage (less than 1%). In the other universities too, the percentage of Arab lecturers is marginal (1.25–1.5%).

The study also examined the percentage of deans, faculty heads and directors in the universities. Of the 67 deans, there was one Arab in 2011 (Prof. Majid Al Haj, dean of research at the University of Haifa) who meanwhile has concluded his term, and today there is not a single Arab dean in any Israeli research university, and the same is true of faculty heads and directors. But there are isolated faculty members who have served and are serving in recent years as department heads in the universities.

Administrative staff

The members of the administration in the universities are particularly important because of their frequent contact with the student body and the fact that they mediate between them and the faculty and the university authorities. Fair representation of Arab citizens on the administrative staff should make things easier for Arab students, reduce their sense of strangeness and alienation, and open new employment opportunities for students and graduates.

The findings of the study indicate that Arabs hold very few administrative positions their percentage is even lower than that of Arab faculty.

Table 6: Distribution of members of the administrative staff (Jews and Arabs) by academic institution

	Jews (%)	Arabs (%)	Total
Haifa	751 (97%)	24 (3%)	775 (100%)
Technion	1,458 (99.2%)	12 (0.8%)	1,470 (100%)
Tel Aviv	1,450 (99.4%)	9 (0.6%)	1,459 (100%)
Bar-Ilan	1,000 (99.9%)	1 (0.1%)	1,001 (100%)
Ben-Gurion	1,355 (99.8%)	3 (0.2%)	1,358 (100%)
Hebrew University	1,200 (99.9%)	1 (0.8%)	1,201 (100%)
Open University	855 (97.5%)	22 (2.5%)	877 (100%)
Total	8,069 (99.1%)	72 (0.9%)	8,141 (100%)

Of over 8,141 members of the administration in the universities, only 72 are Arabs (0.9%). Among administrative assistants to department heads or faculty coordinators there is not a single Arab.

The CBS and CHE figures, as reported in the media, stated that in 2006–2007 there were 8,558 administrative employees in the universities, 23 of them Arabs (0.26% of the total). The same sources stated that in 2011, about 1.6% of all administrative employees were Arabs. As mentioned, these figures are far higher than the findings of our study. The differences apparently stem from a difference in the definition of the administrative staff. We will once again emphasize that our figures were taken from the universities themselves.

Board of Trustees

The board of trustees is a type of general assembly of the university, and serves as the supreme authority that supervises the administration of the university and all its assets, according to the constitution of the institution. Among other things, its role is to decide on the overall university policy, determine its objectives, approve its budget, and supervise its administration, and deal with its objectives and promote them.

Based on the recommendations of the administrative committee, the board of trustees must handle the university budgets, and for that purpose to concern itself with donations, foundations and assets; coordinate activities with the associations of friends of the universities in Israel and abroad; appoint or ratify the appointment of the university president, the comptroller, the legal adviser and the accountant; and approve the granting of honorary degrees by the university.

The board of trustees receives an annual report from the administration regarding the conduct of its affairs, assets and businesses, the university's annual and long-term programs and budgets, the establishment of new academic bodies or structural changes in existing academic bodies, and regarding important arrangements between the university and other groups. Among other things, the board of trustees is authorized to approve changes in the university constitution. The members of the board of trustees are public representatives from Israel and abroad who are active in public, economic, social, cultural, educational and scientific activity, as well as representatives of the academic senate and faculty, the associations of friends of the university, the administrative staff, the students and the alumni. The members of the board of trustees also elect the members of the board of directors that appoints the president and the senate.

This is therefore an important and influential body, and fair representation of Arab citizens on it would have a positive effect on them, on higher

education in general, and on the connection between the Arab population and the university, but the findings of the study demonstrate that their representation is far from satisfactory.

Table 7: Distribution of Board of Trustee members (Arab and Jews) by academic institution

	Jews (%)	Arabs (%)	Total
Haifa	211 (93.4%)	15 (6.6%)	226 (100%)
Technion	378 (99.7%)	1 (0.3%)	379 (100%)
Tel Aviv	100 (100%)	0	100 (100%)
Bar-Ilan	106 (100%)	0	106 (100%)
Ben-Gurion	70 (98.6%)	1 (1.4%)	71 (100%)
Hebrew University	67 (100%)	0	67 (100%)
Open University	44 (95.7%)	2 (4.3%)	46 (100%)
Total	976 (98.1%)	19 (1.9%)	995 (100%)

As can be seen in the table, of 995 board of trustee members in Israeli universities, only 19 are Arabs 1.9 % of all the members. If we add the number of the members of the board of trustees of the Weizmann Institute, which does not include a single Arab, the percentage of Jewish members increases and that of Arabs declines.

Board of Directors

The board of directors is the executive arm of the university and has supreme responsibility for determining its policy and strategy. It supervises the organizational structure and the administration of its assets. The board of directors has the authority in all the affairs of the university that have not been specifically granted in the constitution or the regulations to another arm of the university, with the exception of the academic authority, which

belongs to the rector. To illustrate, if the board of trustees is like a parliament, the board of directors is the government. Therefore, the main appointments in the university pass through it and are approved by it. Because this institution is the operative and active body in the university, membership in it will help the representation of social groups and university appointments. Under-representation of certain groups on the board of directors indicates their peripheral status in the entire institution.

Table 8: Distribution of the members of the board of directors (Arabs and Jews) by academic institution

	Jews (%)	Arabs (%)	Total
Haifa	24 (96%)	1 (4%)	25 (100%)
Technion	24 (96%)	1 (4%)	25 (100%)
Tel Aviv	13 (100%)	0	13 (100%)
Bar-Ilan	39 (100%)	0	39 (100%)
Ben-Gurion	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)	21 (100%)
Hebrew University	12 (100%)	0	12 (100%)
Open University	12 (100%)	0	12 (100%)
Total	144 (98%)	3 (2%)	147 (100%)

The findings of the study indicate that in the 2011–2012 academic year there were 147 board of directors members in Israel, only three of them Arabs (2%).¹⁰³

In summary, the representation of Arab citizens in the institutions of higher education constitutes the following numbers:

The percentage of Arab students in Israeli universities is 9.6%

The percentage of Arab faculty members in Israeli universities is 1.75%

The percentage of Arab administrative staff in Israeli universities is 0.9%

The percentage of Arab board of trustees members in Israeli universities is 1.9%

The percentage of Arab board of directors members in Israeli universities is 2%

Summary

This study is a product of discussions, research and the gathering of data by Sikkuy for a period of a year and a half. The importance of higher education and the right to it is one of the only issues enjoying a broad consensus in Israeli society, but since the establishment of the state most of the resources have been channeled to Jews. In the past decades we are witness to an increase in the number of students in the Israeli institutions of higher learning, but this increase has not been translated into significant participation by Arab intellectuals and academics in the higher education system, as policy makers or as holders of senior leadership positions in the academic institutions.

It is our hope that this study will contribute to publicizing the subject of Arab representation in academe and will arouse a profound and penetrating public discourse on the issue.

Arab students will constitute an integral and important part of the cultural, economic and political elite in the coming decades. Increasing their percentage in the system will only reinforce the strength of Israeli society in general, and will contribute to an improvement in the very problematic relations between Jewish and Arab society in the country. In order for this "elite" to be able to advance in the future there is a need for a policy of immediately absorption and integration into the system today. Employment of Arab academics, both as lecturers and as administrative workers, including their appointment to boards of directors, is essential. Sikkuy will continue to monitor and report on the absorption and employment of Arab citizens in the higher education system in the coming years.

The research findings indicate a very gloomy picture of Arabs in the higher education system. Arabs constitute fewer than 10% of students in all degree programs, while the percentage of lecturers, members of the administrative staff and directors is no more than 3% at best. In some of the universities Arab representation in some of the categories we examined is zero!

This situation obligates the Council for Higher Education and the university administrations, and the relevant government institutions, to act immediately and intensively to include Arab lecturers on the faculty of the institutions of higher education. In addition, we must act to include Arab representatives in its internal institutions and to end the policy of almost total exclusion of

Arabs from these institutions.

We are aware of the CHE plans to encourage the inclusion in higher education of Arab students, and believe that this is a correct and important step, which we welcome. We at Sikkuy will monitor, accompany and assist in the implementation of those programs, and hope that their implementation really will begin in the current academic year, which begins in October 2013.

Sikkuy will work together with its many partners in the relevant government institutions such as the CHE and the Education Ministry, and with the university administrations in order to increase the representation of Arabs as students, lecturers, administrators and members of the boards of directors of the universities.

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Thair Abu Rass

Director of the Fair Representation & Employment Equity project for Sikkuy
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