

The Leisure Culture Experiences of Bedouin Children Living in Unregulated Villages in the Southern Region (Negev) of the State of Israel

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Bedouin society in the State of Israel is a religious society—traditional, conservative, and patriarchal. The Bedouin society living in the State of Israel has gone through and is still going through many changes that affect the social definitions that characterize it and its ways of life. One of the troubling issues that characterize Bedouin society, related to the periods preceding the establishment of the State of Israel and for the most part a solution that has not yet been found, is the area of settlement of some of the Bedouin residents and their lives in villages defined as unknown villages. These villages, in accordance with the Bedouin society, are inhabited by families belonging to the same family nucleus. These settlements lack basic infrastructure such as electricity, roads, education, and communication infrastructure. The children living in this framework lack informal Hanukkah services such as playgrounds, diverse classes, and community centers. The research question at the center of this research seeks to examine how cultural interactions during leisure time (leisure culture) in a traditional space in the Bedouin diaspora between children and adults' mediate gender functional behavior patterns, assimilate conservative elements of a conservative society. The study is a qualitative study in which 21 pure observations will be made in their direct space—the children's rural living space where the desert book is located. The observations were conducted during the children's free time upon their return from school. The observations will be activated in the places where the children were located. The theory anchored in the field was used as a content analysis strategy—documenting the observations and the children's discourse. The research findings testify to a disturbing reality that includes only casual leisure culture that lacks any intentional and guided pedagogy. The children, in the absence of community centers and playgrounds, move between three focal points—central spaces: their homes and the homes of relatives and especially the grandparents' kitchen, the livestock facilities, and especially the sheepfold and the mountain—the hills that surround the village where they live. The presence of the children in the aforementioned spaces points to a traditional discourse that preserves social structures and customs from different traditions. Also, the guided placement (by adults, mostly men) of the children absolutely defines their gender roles in the present and in the future. The children hold an adult conversation combined with a children's conversation that includes an improvised game. The children get an opportunity for childish and sometimes emotional discourse in the less supervised spaces such as the sheepfold where sometimes there is an emotional discourse—reflective with an animal or in relation to an animal and in the open space—the mountain where they talk about a variety of topics of their choice.

Keywords: leisure culture, casual leisure culture, children's discourse, preservation of social structures, preservation of patriarchal social structure, gender space, Bedouins, unregulated villages, informal education

Literature Review

The experiences of leisure culture among children from the Bedouin society—living in the rural diaspora—in unrecognized villages in the State of Israel, have not yet been researched. The investigation of the experiences is based on a concept of spatial culture and through it the rural lifestyles of the children of the Bedouin communities living in this format since the founding of the State of Israel will be examined through the children's wanderings in the open desert spaces. The child's agenda, and especially the one after his return from the formal educational frameworks, refers to the totality of the cultural-spatial conditions that occur to the child during his free time. These places invite the child to move freely between places, the mental distance that exists between them is what defines his emerging perceptions. The movement of the child in his local space calls to him desert spaces rich in scenery on the one hand, alongside places that represent the foundations where traditionality is transferred between generations through essential economic facilities that are part of the child's "playground", in which he finds an alternative and an outlet for his natural curiosity.

Culture

The concept of culture fundamentally carries a value-judgmental meaning that includes a significant historical and social charge that is unique to each society. Through this value charge, the subjects that make up that culture can give internal and external definitions to the phenomena that accompany their lives, whether they are familiar or not (Mead, 1970). This cultural value load makes it possible to establish the standards of society and through them to distinguish between the cultural thing that is known and the non-cultural thing that is mostly not known and is part of a different culture or a deviation from the cultural norm in that society, which is sometimes accompanied by a cultural sanction (Meshonis, 1999). In addition, the concept of culture refers to all the achievements of a person or society, in the spiritual field, education, science, art, the organization of society, religion, and morality, as well as a certain lifestyle or behavior that is managed according to a pool of values and norms that define in detail what is right and what is wrong. Hence it refers to the set of aesthetic perceptions of the defined social characteristics (Regev, 2011).

From a sociological point of view, the definition of the term "accepted culture" is broad and according to this it expresses the democratic, egalitarian, pluralistic nature of many Western societies (Meshonis, 1999). According to this approach, it refers to the broad term culture as the tract of values, beliefs, ways of behaving, and the material objects that make up the environment of a people and represent the way of life of a people and define it as a people (Shapira & Ben-Eliezer, 1971; 1986). According to the anthropological approach, culture is defined as a set of values, ideas, and behavior patterns that are shared by all members of a certain society and are transmitted through a process of intergenerational social learning and not by biological inheritance. Further to this approach, culture is a set of rules or values that have been implemented by a certain society, resulting in behavior that is in the field considered appropriate and acceptable by that society and has common characteristics and rules of behavior (Haviland, 1999). Culture is assimilated into us starting from our childhood and we acquire its components throughout our lives. Through it, the cultural partners learn cultural components such as language and different beliefs and the ability to distinguish between what is proper and what is not proper (Levi-Strauss, 1980).

Processes of change that take place in a particular society originate from external influence processes (mostly) that arise through intercultural meeting points in diverse spaces. These intercultural encounters sometimes lead to a change in the cultural customs that were known until the point of change, creating a cultural change—consciousness among the members of the culture and expressions also through environmental changes in the place and space of the settlement and in the educational institutions (Lieberman, Ravavi, & Cranial, 2000).

Space and Place

The geographical space composed of all three-dimensional representations contains the representations of space, place, and environment and is defined as the location where spatial science relationships occur (Portugali, 2000). According to the physical-geographical perspective, space is a thing—an abstract thing that is measured in mathematical terms, derived from the assumptions of the positivist approach. It is not anchored in time and is “indifferent” to people’s concerns (Merleau-Ponty, 1978). According to the phenomenological approach, space constitutes a phenomenon or perhaps a dimension that cannot be separated from human consciousness and the set of actions that accompany it. Space is defined as a dynamic-active essence, dependent on the contexts of time of occurrence, the society inhabiting it, and the age of those operating in it. It changes as a function of the conditions in which it exists such as the time of day, seasons, and weather. Also, space does not exist uniformly as one essence, but as a fragmented-shattered and diverse essence. Different human societies operate in it and through it, according to the dimensions existing in their perceptual and tangible personal world. Space is an engine that constitutes culture and serves as a reflection of it. Therefore, the use of it, the choice of location, its planning, design, and population with details must always be in relation to the context: goals, events, and the power relations between people (Relph, 1989; Tilley, 1989).

Space is a phenomenon related to time, society, and societies; different groups and individuals operate in it according to the current dimensions in the subjective world (Tzur, 2010). One of the parameters that seeks to define the perception of mental well-being positions it alongside the spatial reality surrounding human beings and the way it is arranged. Thus, space has the potential to generate a mental experience to the same extent that the mental experience can be expressed in space (Greenfield, 2015). The design of the educational space harbors great potential that can enhance the sense of belonging and commitment to the educational process of those residing in it, and especially the main consumers of space—children (Aviezer, Vib, & Golden, 2021). Studies have shown that there is a positive correlation between the length of stay outside the classroom—outdoors, and the positive impact on student learning and their motivation (Greenfield, 2015; O’Brien, 2009).

Leisure Culture

Leisure is a concept about which research began to develop in Western societies since the seventies of the last century. The research documented from around the world deals with leisure culture in the context of children and teenagers. On the other hand, in Israel it is very limited and with regard to the leisure culture of children in the Bedouin society it is almost non-existent (with the exception of a few studies that dealt with the leisure culture of children in the general Arab society (Abu Elhijah & Heush, 2018) and which is not the Bedouin society) and hence the uniqueness of this study which is a pioneering study in the field and integrates ethnographic research elements within it. The limited studies done in Israel are by Engel-Yeger (2012) and Weissblat (2011).

According to the functionalist approach of Roberts (1978), Parker (1983), and Stebbins (1992), the category of leisure must be analyzed paying attention to the complex relationships between leisure and other variables such as: work, family life, individual choice, and freedom. But from the point of view of Benjamin (1955), it is not possible to establish sharp and absolute boundary lines between leisure and other social categories. The relationships between leisure and other fields are dynamic and represent processes of change and the relationships between them are never static or fixed (Padeva, 2018).

Veblen (1955) defined leisure as the consumption of time without productivity. In his opinion, the two essential differences between leisure activity and work activity lie in the purpose of the activity and its productive capacity, because leisure activity does not yield products of economic value, after all it is seen as the property of the rich. In his definition, there are three points of view for the definition of leisure which later developed into the main concepts of leisure: leisure is a function of an existential situation involving freedom and the ability to make decisions. Other researchers proposed additional definitions. For example, Kraus (1994) presented four accepted meanings for leisure, each of which represents a completely different concept of the same concept.

The term “leisure” reflects those hours of the day, during which we do not deal with the necessities of existence such as preparing food, sleeping, working, studying, and taking care of household needs. It is widely believed that leisure activities contribute to personal development, promote autonomy and self-determination, encourage a sense of independence, and contribute to a person’s physical and mental health and normal social relations (Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Passmore & French, 2003). The perception of leisure depends on culture, and it is culture that determines our value judgment regarding leisure (Mashiach, Spector, & Veronen, 2004). It is the cultural values that decide to what extent a certain activity is legitimate, good or bad, acceptable or unacceptable to society. In different societies and cultures there is a different reference to the legitimacy of leisure (Weber, 2010). In other cultures, the concept of leisure is broad, and leisure is seen as a value, and work is a means that enables the creation of leisure and is designed to achieve it. In this framework, the concept of leisure is an existential condition based on two approaches: leisure as the quality of action and leisure as a dimension of life (Kelly & Freysinger, 1999). Likewise, it is common to think that people’s leisure time activities determine the nature of society and the quality of life of the individuals in it (Frenkel, 1981). Leisure is engaging in a familiar activity that can be defined and refers at the same time to the individual’s inner world and social functions. The pursuit of leisure led to the expansion of the definition of the concept and leisure came to be perceived not only as time left over from other activities, but “as free time” as a result of personal choice (Mashiach et al., 2004).

According to the functional-structural paradigm that expresses a macro approach that supports the social order, which is seen as necessary for the proper existence of society, the researchers tended to regard leisure as a social institution and, as in relation to the other social structures, sought to provide explanations or predictions for the understanding of society in relation to its contribution to the division of labor in the system and the maintenance of social order, as in relation to the other social structures. On the other hand, within this paradigm, participation in leisure, which detracts from the time that could be spent at work, may be perceived in Western societies in a negative way, because it is dysfunctional—interfering with the social economic social order, which advocates the capitalist ethos (Lidor & Feigin, 2004). Unlike the functional-structuralist paradigm, the conflictual paradigm, which refers to confrontation, conflict, and strife, emerged as a subversive approach to the functional approach. As such it criticizes and confronts her. Instead of concentrating on supporting the social order, it

concentrates on identifying failures and challenging the deficiencies that exist in social reality. This macro approach grew out of awareness and commitment to certain values such as freedom and human equality and under the influence of various social struggles, such as the uprising of social groups against the discriminatory social order. Under these influences we are witnessing a change in leisure research and its definitions. In this context, leisure is defined as a social marker or as cultural capital. These definitions can be linked to the work of the pioneers in the field: Veblen (1955) who referred to ostentatious consumption and identified that wealth and social distinctions are characterized by conspicuous consumption and leisure for Bourdieu (1984; 1986), who examined social capital.

The symbolic interaction-social construction approach to the study of society whose founder is Herbert Blumer (1986) is a micro approach. This approach is interested in the interrelationships between the individuals in society and tries to explain processes by observing the social actors and the way in which social action produces a social structures. The prevailing definition of leisure in this context is leisure as a mindset and as an experience. This concept considers the feelings and emotions of the participant in leisure and reflects the flexibility that allows variation between individuals and not between groups in choosing the type of activity.

Serious Leisure and Casual Leisure

The importance of leisure has been increasing in recent years, especially in view of social transformations in the environment of children and teenagers and in light of changes that have taken place in the institution of the family, the school, and the community. The definition of the term "leisure as free time" remains calculable because it allows social comparisons (Mashiach et al., 2004). The concept of serious leisure refers to the set of activities that require involvement, concentration and investment of resources that include significant physical effort and mental concentration, time, and money, which, like work, can provide a sense of meaning and satisfaction (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014).

This pattern refers to six categories that define the experience of the individual from this activity: persistence in the leisure activity, investing a significant personal effort, a career in leisure that refers to achievements and a significant occupation in leisure, receiving products over time, a deep identification with the leisure activity and the development of a unique ethos as part of belonging (Stebbins, 2001b; 2007b) for the group that represents the social world of the leisure activity in which the individual participates. Part of the definition of serious leisure depends on the social reference to this time through its quality and the resources dedicated to it. A serious leisure culture is also conditioned by the availability of leisure infrastructures provided by society's institutions (Larson, Green, & Cordell, 2011; Newman, Tay, & Diener, 2014; Weissblat, 2011). This inventory deals with health, educational, economic, educational, and social resources of the individual (Kariv, 2003; Stebbins, 2007a).

Quality leisure activity may be a basis for the advancement and empowerment of the individual, but the lack of this activity may cause inaction which can sometimes lead to the choice of wrong ways involved in non-normative actions (Gilad-Granot, 2004). Therefore, the way in which we take advantage of our free time and manage it can be defined with the help of the individual and society can define the nature of the society in which we live and the nature of the individual (Kariv, 2003; Goddin, Rice, Bittman, & Saunders, 2005; Newman et al., 2014). Casual leisure is a concept defined as a short-term activity that causes the participant significant immediate pleasure. This activity has a central Donist component, when the participants experience, during the participation in the leisure event, a feeling of daily refreshment. Casual leisure culture is an experience that may give its partner a certain and sometimes momentary sense of well-being. This type of leisure does not include the six categories

that characterize the serious leisure culture and therefore at the basis of the definition of this term there is no expectation of significant learning or the development of a deep sense of obligation. According to the popular perception, casual leisure does not contribute to a sense of full life and a sense of satisfaction and establishes the understanding among those who experience this type of leisure, that life in this format lacks significant excitement and it may even lead to boredom and restlessness (Stebbins, 2001a). At the core of casual leisure this may invite risks and it has an inferior and even negative image (Hayosh, 2017).

Leisure culture is associated in the minds of many with hedonism, escapism, and pleasure without obligation, but leisure hours are not necessarily the opposite of investment of work and are not necessarily the same as complete idleness. This definition is linked to the concepts: Labor and Work. While the concept of Labor is identified with working life in the capitalist culture—hard—instrumental work, the concept of Work is linked to action for the needs of cultural formation through which people create an identity for themselves and their community and establish self-definition outside the urgent existential needs that are tied to a livelihood (Arendt, 1958). Although the leisure activities are not exempt from the existing labor conditions, this aspect is disguised through their playfulness, as well as through other forms of resistance to it such as: laziness, lack of seriousness and equanimity, towards the industrial logic of the leisure industries and the popular cultural goods they produce (Tinkcom, 2002).

Informal Education as a Multi-faceted Holistic Educational Pedagogy

Informal education is defined as an educational-pedagogical approach that developed in educational and community frameworks that operated outside the school framework and in people's free time. This diverse activity leads the participants to a free activity according to their initiative and choice. At the base of the non-formal education approach is the assumption that educational and social goals can be achieved by achieving principles and content that will be operated with the help of their organizations and tools with a flexible level of organization that are freed within their work from structural and formal conditions that exist in formal settings. The goal of this pedagogy is to lead those who take part in it to active social involvement for the common good, to self-expression, creativity, flexibility of thought, broadening horizons and exposure to diverse worlds of content (Shmida & Romi, 2007). Another definition of informal education refers to the fact that this educational pedagogy includes organized educational activity that takes place outside the formal education system and provides unique patterns of education for diverse groups in the population with the intention of achieving defined educational goals, for example, the acquisition of knowledge and skills, personality shaping such as the cultivation or training of diverse skills and the development of personal abilities within the framework of leisure education, diverse activities for leisure culture or the achievement of goals for ideological education (Klivenky, 2007).

The informal education system provides leisure activities and opportunities for the development of new skills and relationships, social relationships and the promotion of identities and self-determination (Cohen, 2008). In addition, this system operates in a wide variety of population sections and different countries in which the State of Israel offers programs for informal education in accordance with different ideologies and learning concepts and by virtue of diverse budget sources (Ran, 2017). Informal education is concentrated in four main areas: supplementary education, social education, youth promotion, and youth movements (Reichel, 2009). Among the values that define the framework of the informal educational system is the concept that the role of this system is to help children and youth measure up to the dynamic reality as part of the processes of forming

their identity. The importance of this process is in view of the many processes of change that occur at a rapid pace alongside the developmental changes that children and youth undergo according to their age. The contribution of this is in their ability to deal with developing tasks that help the development of the individualization of the activity partners, the formation of personal identity, social identity, autonomy in decision-making related to the present of those children and teenagers and their future. The nature of participating in an informal activity brings the participants and obligates them to develop diverse ways of coping related to a variety of fields that is absent from the formal initiation system (Shmida & Romi, 2007).

In recent years, an overall holistic educational concept has developed, the basis of which is the understanding that education and learning are not limited to the acquisition of formal education only. This approach enables the more natural integration of the informal education approach, and this is due to the difficulty of drawing clear boundaries between it and formal education (Lampert, 2009; Rojek, Veal, & Shaw, 2006). In addition, the informal education is there to answer the basic needs of children and teenagers living in a complex reality, in which the changes are many and frequent and the great diversity that exists between people. Another function of informal education is that it encourages the youth and children to search for authentic meaning in their lives and for the ability to express themselves. The same experiences they acquire in the informal frameworks allow the youth to break them down in a structured way that can be explained by them independently (Kahane, 1997).

Social Mediators and Institutional Representatives as Agents of Children's Leisure Culture

The environment in which the child lives, the characteristics of his education in formal and informal settings—as a leisure culture, have a very central role in the child's life (Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Larson et al., 2011). The definition of the level of the leisure culture is defined by environmental, economic, and cultural factors in which it is located and the dynamic effect of their characteristics on the children's families and the cultural diversity they represent (Kahn-Stavchinsky et al., 2010; Lemich, 2006). Setting definitions for the leisure culture and coherent goals that are sought to be achieved through it may promote the cognitive and emotional skills of the children; as well as life skills and their interpersonal relationships (Kahn-Strabczynski, Levy, & Konstantinov, 2010; Lemisch, 2006; M. J. Leitner & S. F. Leitner, 2012).

Through quality education for a meaningful leisure culture, a society of varying scope can expand the range of opportunities for the children growing up in it and hence its own. All of these possibilities for private and collective social leadership are made possible by the young people's experience in a wide range of diverse activities that will give them the understanding towards the ability to expand their fields of choice in the future. By doing so, a more intelligent and diverse decision-making process will take shape for them (Gilad-Granot, 2004; M. J. Leitner & S. F. Leitner, 2012). The bodies responsible for maintaining the leisure culture wherever the citizens of a country are located are the institutions of leadership, society, and education. These are supposed to provide an available, high-quality, and diverse leisure culture for the entire population of the country regardless of external parameters such as nationality, religion, sect, economic and social status (Weisblai, 2011; Larson et al., 2011; Newman et al., 2014). These bodies are supposed to provide a diverse learning and educational environment of leisure activities that will teach the child the development of additional learning and creative skills. The concept of a quality leisure culture is based on the understanding that it is important to give the future citizens of that society a broad training that emphasizes processes over achievements and to improve the quality of life of the entire society and the leadership ability of all its components (Gilad-Granot, 2004; M. J. Leitner & S. F. Leitner, 2012).

The Bedouin Society in Israel

The Bedouin in the Negev are part of the Arab-Palestinian minority that remained in Israel after the war of Independence in 1948. The Arab Bedouin community is a traditional and conservative community basically. According to estimates, before the 1948 war the Arab population numbered Bedouin in the Negev between 65,000 and 90,000 people (Falah, 1989). During the 1948 war and after that, most of the Bedouin Arabs fled and were expelled from the Negev and became refugees in the neighbors' Arab states like: Egypt-Gaza Strip and Sinai, Jordan-West Bank and east Bank. Out of 95 tribes that lived in the area until then, only 19 tribes remained in the Negev and estimates indicate that in 1952 only 11,000 Bedouin Arabs remained in the Negev (Marx, 1967; Falah, 1989). State Israel took over most of the Negev lands, and the Bedouin Arabs who remained in the area lost the source of their traditional livelihood—sheep breeding, trade, and traditional agriculture (Abu Saad, 2010; 2011; Lustick, 1980). In fact, the Arab Bedouin population is concentrated in a defined area known as the “Saige area”, in the north-eastern part of the Negev, which was grown only about 10% of the Arab Bedouin territory before 1948, without any solutions (such as proper housing or livelihood), and without any possibility of permanent agricultural settlement (Abu Saad, 2010; 2011; Falah, 1989; Lustick, 1980; Marx, 1967).

From 1948 to 1966, the Bedouin Arabs lived in the Negev, like the rest of the Arab population in Israel, under a military government. The military government meant they couldn't return and cultivate their lands, they were geographically isolated from the rest of the Arabic population in the State of Israel, and were required to present special permits from the military governor to leave the “reserved area” for work, studies, medical treatments, trade, etc. During the period of the military government, many acts of deterrence, violence, and punishment were recorded group against the Arab minority in general, and against the Bedouins in the Negev in particular (Boymel, 2011; Falah, 1989; Lustick, 1980; Marx, 1967). Jiryis (1967) in his book on the Arabs in Israel stated that “the Bedouin Arabs in the Negev suffered more than any other group from the harshness of the military government.

The military government was removed in 1966 and only then did the Bedouin Arabs of the Negev have contact closer with Israeli-Jewish society (Abu-Saad, 2011). In the late 1960s and early 1970s of the past centuries, the government developed plans for the resettlement of the Arab Bedouin population in the Negev in permanent settlements urban without any consideration of their traditional lifestyle, and without their participation in choosing the type of settlement (Elsana, 2021). For years the Arab Bedouin population in the Negev has felt that there is no willingness on the part of the State of Israel to meet them, and to provide basic services for them such as settling settlements, water supply, electricity, internet infrastructure, and educational accessibility. This feeling leads that feelings of frustration and distress are increasing, lately, strong feelings of alienation and hostility towards the state, alongside the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict and processes of national radicalization in Bedouin society. These tensions could lead to a crisis of trust between the parties and long years of unrest (Abu-Saad, 2023). One hundred thousand Bedouins out of two hundred and fifty thousand live in unrecognized settlements, these settlements do not receive organized government services: municipal budgets and basic services and therefore life in them is characterized, among other things, by dilapidated physical infrastructure, poor accessibility to services, underdevelopment, and extreme poverty indices (Swirski & Hasson, 2006).

The Bedouin Arab education system suffers from long-term neglect of physical and human resources. One of the main characteristics of the Bedouin education system is a severe shortage of quality and professional teachers. This lack hurts the school's ability to provide quality teaching and hinders the development of the education system. Editorial board of Arab Bedouin education in the Negev is characterized by insufficient teacher

training and low-quality teaching, the teaching methods in it are outdated and traditional, which mainly use the method of memorization and learning by heart and do not emphasize research and analysis methods (Abu-Saad, 2023). The Bedouin schools in the Negev also suffer from physical difficulties that prevent them from improving the service they provide. First, there is a lack of facilities and equipment, this is especially true for my house a temporary book in the unfamiliar settlements. The equipment in the temporary schools is poor, the budgets are low, the facilities are few, the buildings and furniture are inadequate, and there are almost no teaching aids (Weissblat, 2006).

The Bedouin community is divided into social classes and is basically defined as a patriarchal society that preserves this value with great zeal. The leader of the community is the Sheikh, who, beyond his religious observance, also has a central social role and has a great influence on all members of the Bedouin community in determining their decision-making process. Also, the society tries to adapt to the changing dynamic reality while trying to preserve unique and distinct cultural values and patterns (Lieberman et al., 2000). This ethnocentric-natural cultural approach emerges in conditions where indigenous communities are affected by Western development and economy. In such a reality, cultural diversity disappears, and as a result, traditional environmental values disappear (Levy, 2018).

It is possible to identify within Bedouin society, in a centrifugal way, a variety of sub-cultures that produce different ways of shaping the space and using natural resources and the open areas of the unfamiliar settlement areas (Kroupp, 1995). The increasing beneficial involvement of the Bedouin citizens with the other world, through work, the acquisition of education, shopping centers, and service centers located outside the Bedouin village had a great impact on the Bedouin culture and imitated many traditions—foreign to the traditional Bedouin culture (Ben-Rabi, Amiel, Nijam, & Dolev, 2009; Meir & Barnea, 1987). The introduction of Western cultural markers into the traditional Bedouin cultural space affects old-age Bedouin ideas and traditions and is a conflictual infrastructure that dominates expanding social circles starting from the family unit to the creation of conflicts between clans (Abu-Saad, 2013).

The Bedouin Countryside

Due to the living conditions of Bedouin society and especially among those living in unrecognized villages, they are significantly exposed to environmental hazards, such as noise hazards, smells, dust, and smoke; In addition to these, the lack of connection to a regulated water source, proximity to asbestos buildings, lack of regular removal of garbage, exposure to property theft and violence, a very low level of internet and communication infrastructure, and a lack of infrastructure in the field of welfare in general and in education and medical infrastructure in general and children and youth in particular, casts a shadow on the health of the residents and on their ability to self-actualize. These conditions preserve among a part of the Bedouin population, especially that whose level of education is low, the perception towards learning and acquiring an education and rate them very low and hold the opinion that basic learning which includes the ability to read and write is a sufficient skill, which results in a relatively high dropout from the education systems among children born to these families (Lieberman et al., 2000).

Spatial Aspects of the Bedouin Education System

There are three main obstacles to the provision of Bedouin education services: the most common nature of spontaneous permanent settlement in the reserve area; the lack of a suitable local-urban framework for the transfer

of budgets, the low awareness of Western education and the low demand for public education services on the part of the population, which stems from the status of children in general as a workforce, and the special status and assumptions of girls—in particular (Meir & Levy, 2012). Agriculture, which manifests itself in the plowing and sowing of large areas year after year (Ben-David, 2004), defines the communities as those that rely directly on local natural resources for their existence and without technological mediation and very little use thereof. Hence the social and cultural structure is seen as a hidden system of managing and preserving natural resources. This relationship, with the beliefs, customs, and prohibitions inherent in it, reflects the human interest in the environment and carries the accumulated cultural knowledge, which is the product of evolutionary relations and symbiosis with it, and is embodied in a unique cultural language (Meir & Levy, 2012).

The area defined in Israel as a “rural” area is found in the vast majority under the jurisdiction of the regional councils, which contain about 85 of the country’s total area. The characteristics of this area are mostly concentrated in its spatial features that arise from its proximity to nature and are influenced by its conditions and geographical features in its surroundings, mountains, lakes, rivers, forests, etc.; Agricultural areas usually surround most villages; The construction is spacious and characterized by one- or two-story houses (Gal & Friel, 2011). In the familiar and unfamiliar Bedouin village—the families are established in most cases, in addition to a livelihood that relies on free trades, also on a traditional economy as a household farm that in most cases contains farm animals such as a herd of sheep and goats; According to the perception of most Bedouin families, the domestic livestock: working on it and nurturing it is more important than learning and acquiring education (Karniel, 2000). The Bedouin inhabitants prefer to live in open and pastoral areas that are somewhat close to their previous lifestyles as nomads. In addition to domestic livestock, some Bedouins still engage in seasonal agriculture, which relies mostly on rainwater (Ben David, 2004).

Method

Examining the leisure culture of children in the Bedouin diaspora in the south of the country as responsible for the behaviors and development of children of different ages was examined through the qualitative research tradition. This tradition allows the children’s free movement activity to come through expression, through the examination of the children’s behavior which is done in their social, cultural, and natural space and without any intervention on the part of the researcher allowing them to rest and act and speak and think and behave in an authentic and original manner. Pure observation (Zabar-Ben Yehoshua, 1990) was chosen as a material practice for gathering knowledge. Pure observation arises from within the natural environment; It is a way that reflects the material naturally and without prior knowledge on the part of the viewer regarding what is obtained in the natural occurrence in which it takes place. The observing researcher collects information, records, and describes it. The research was done based on pure observations since the observed children are minors and the researcher is not able to hold a conversation with them in order to maintain the rules of research morals and ethics.

Making the Observations and the Research Procedure

In the study, 21 pure observations were conducted. All the observations were conducted in the natural space in the rural and urban Bedouin diaspora, which constitute the set of representations of the forms of residence of the Bedouin society in the State of Israel. The observations took place near and around the children’s place of residence. Each observation was conducted between 8-15 minutes. The study investigates children between the ages of two and 10 years. The observations, especially those conducted outside the children’s homes, were made

on male children and this works as part of a traditional cultural characteristic in which girls behave more inside the home space and not outside of it. The observed children are normal and healthy children. The observations were conducted in the natural desert spaces where the Bedouin settlements are located, which are characterized by rural terrain—open deserts where the children roam without fear. This space consists of mountains, desert sand, household animals: sheep, goats, horses, and chickens and companion animals such as dogs and cats.

Analysis of Observations

The analysis of the observations is done through qualitative content analysis in the strategy of grounded theory in the field (Glazer & Strauss, 1967).

This method uses a process of sorting phenomena, distinguishing and separating the sequence of data, until the meaning of the data is found by revealing the characteristics found in the observations and classifying them into groups with a common denominator. This process is accompanied by a categorization that includes two elements: one, the division of the data into segments breaking up. The second is the belonging of the segments to the categories that join them together (Charmaz, 1995). The sorting of the phenomena is done by coding based on the assumption that in human behavior there are patterns that repeat themselves and that they can be revealed by close and repeated reading of the analyzed text. Coding forces the researcher to examine the meanings and connect text segments through three stages of coding: open, axial, selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Results

Three central themes emerged from the analysis of the observations: (a) Living in a shared traditional family space as a tool for managing casual leisure culture; (b) Traditional experiences: tribal and family as developing learning skills and forming close family ties among children; (c) Processes of civilization and tradition: the father as the focus of the discourse of the children who preserve social-patriarchal-traditional structures and as a mediator of the world outside the village.

Relationships Between Environment, Man, and Household Animals as Developers of Leisure Culture Experiences and a Sense of Family Belonging—Broad Tribal

Living in a shared traditional family space as a tool for managing casual leisure culture. It emerged that the traditional domestic and environmental space accessible to Bedouin children living in unfamiliar settlements is the natural and direct way to manage leisure culture—casual leisure (21 observations). This casual leisure management describes the leisure culture prominently and reflects the children's lives in the traditional space. During the day, the traditional space shows different stages of acculturation processes and the formation of behavior patterns, the main characteristics of which are the randomness and the opportunities that occur spontaneously to those children. Children living in a traditional space move between the natural places—the three-dimensional ones that nature calls to them and a transition (jumping) between places—houses, where people are present—when it is always relatives as part of the characteristics of the place and its residents and places that house the farm animals and especially the sheep pen. The movement of the children in the area of the village is usually done between three fixed places and according to the hours of the day from the moment they return from school to their private home: the grandparents' house, the mountain, and the sheepfold and in most cases according to this spatial order. The emerging discourse in each of these places is almost always a functional discourse where the dominant discourse is the discourse of adults through the point of view of children.

Grandfather's house and grandmother's kitchen while preserving social-gender-traditional structures.

The children see the grandparents' house as a significant meeting point since it is a central and defined gathering place for all members of the extended family of all ages. During the family meeting at the grandparents' house, which is a significant part of the leisure culture of those children and who devote a significant part of their time to it, the children meet with their relatives: adults and other children of all ages and both genders and create a bond that is built on a functional conversation and impromptu games. The functional discourse deals with the world of adults and revolves around religious practices such as measuring the fasting of Ramadan, a semi-discourse of children that deals with encouraging the motivation to perform the practice of fasting by a parent—usually the father, in exchange for external encouragement as a promise to give money and from it a discourse of children's aspirations describing what they will buy with that money: for example doll; This also includes establishing habits of doing housework as part of the help—the girls are required to assist their mother. The traditional space (as well as the other spaces where the children were observed), lacks dedicated games: mobile and stationary. The children and especially the girls constitute the higher presence representation in the closed home space and this from a clear functional gender definition places them in the closed home space more than in the space outside the home. Even among the girls, a very basic multi-age game is evident, which is an important foundation for the development and acquisition of cognitive learning skills.

For example: "The two daughters (cousins) are sitting in the grandmother's house, one at the age of eight and one at the age of two" (testimony to family ties of many ages); "The older girl (eight years old) said to the little one, let's count numbers. She counted one, two, three, five, six, seven, eight, nineteen, and the little girl (two years old) followed her." (multi-age game as a basis for learning); "The older girl asked the little one: Where is your father? The little girl answered, father is at work; The little one said to the big one, Yalla (in Arabic) (go ahead) we will be worn out would have been (In Arabic: kana kana). The older one told her to do with your hands as I do—open all your fingers and stand with your hands open, the little girl is unable to go back after the older girl's guidance and after five times she succeeds and the older girl gives a spoon to the little one and says the words of the song: hi hi hi hi hi In the past in the past a group of girls wearing hats one on the right and one on the left ܡܝܫܝܢ said [ya] daughter of the kings the kings they come to ask your father for your hand do you agree or not." (adult discourse and multi-age play as a basis for learning); "The 8-year-old girl said, oh, I'm tired, when can we eat? Her cousin, also 8 years old, said: I will tell my mother that I don't want to fast tomorrow—the fast is difficult. The older daughter at the age of 9 said, Father told me that if I fast the entire Ramadan fast, then he will give you 200 shekels; I want to fast because I want to buy a nice Barbie game. The second daughter at the age of 9 said father will give it to me and he also said, and mother said she will take me to the games." (Children's conversation is accompanied by adults' conversation about the operation of religious practices); "At this time, the mother of the 9-year-old girls shouted, come here, help me. The girls went to their mother to do the housework." (gender education).

The Mountain Space as an Independent Leisure Space That Invites Diverse Children's Discourse

The mountain is the children's favorite place and serves as the main meeting place with friends of different age ranges. It is again important to note that due to the family composition that characterizes these settlements, which include only blood-related families, the children interact only with their relatives and lack exposure to cultural diversity. As mentioned, the mountain, located close to the children's home, is a central focus, which they visit on a regular basis and where they are alone and without parental supervision.

The mountain is a space where the children usually come with food and drink and where they usually eat together and have different conversations and share experiences. The experiences are related to aspirations related to spaces outside the village, such as an imagined discourse about large cities located in the southern region of the State of Israel, which they have not visited (these cities are mediated through the children's fathers' visit to them); Conversations are dealing with ambitions to purchase items of clothing and footwear. Through the conversations, data related to the children's perception of the nature of the relationships with their fathers, through the expectation of the father's return home, the father's promises to the child, sometimes emerge. In addition, in these meetings, the hierarchical social ties between the children stand out, which is always defined by age and the unquestioning obedience to the order of an older brother to return home or come down from the mountain.

For example: "Two children were found on the mountain, one in the third grade and one in the fourth grade. These are brothers, and on the road below the mountain there is a child in the first grade, and he is their paternal cousin." (multi-age friendship based on family ties); "The boy in the third grade said to his brother, look... look, who's coming! This is our cousin (they both said) they shouted his name and called him to come, and the boy came." (multi-age society; structured age hierarchy); "what are you doing here? Where is your father? The boy said I want to go home, father still hasn't come back from work (he said enthusiastically); Dad told me he wants to buy me new shoes, Nike shoes. Today I want to get home before my dad arrives, his cousins said say Awala (Arabic greeting) and he said. The child in the third grade said I don't like my Nike shoes, I like Adidas shoes, they are prettier and more comfortable." (children's multi-age discourse revolving around details of clothing and footwear mixed with the discourse of adults who preserve traditions); "The boy in the first grade said: Eilat is a very big city—it's like Dimona. The boy in the fourth grade replied: not very big. The boy (in the first grade) their cousin said, Dad told me it's a big and beautiful city." (An imagined discourse about a place that they have not visited located in the south of the State of Israel and indicates the children's limited exposure to the spaces outside their village of residence); "At a certain point, the brother (studying in the 9th grade) of the children in the 3rd and 4th grade came and told them in a loud and authoritative voice what are you doing here? Come on (go ahead in the Arabic language) go to the house now they were afraid and left." (Hierarchical age-based social-familial ties that preserve mysterious tribal structures).

The Sheepfold as an Educational Recreational Space and as a Space That Preserves Traditional Social Structures

The sheepfold serves two major roles: taking responsibility and imitating the father and a childish (sometimes even emotional) one-sided monologue with an animal. The space of the barn as a space to imitate the work of the fathers entrusted with its operation was done as part of the definition of the children's obligation to help with the work of the livestock. Through this definition, the children formulate a complex motivation of showing responsibility, independence, leadership in interaction with other children: boys and girls and even separating from the responsible parent—the supervisor by taking part of his role, even temporarily. In addition to these, the space of the home through the mediation of the father repeatedly defines the gender position of the children: This process is done by inviting the sons: the father's own children and his nephews to help him with the yard work and sending the daughters in a repeated action, back to the residence while saying—a permanent instruction to help the mother with the housework. This interaction is meant to represent conservation processes of traditional social structures. The second function of the barn space that occurs while working: feeding and cleaning usually occurs when the child is alone in the barn, is the formation of a childish, sometimes emotional

discourse—a participant of the child (mostly boys) in front of the animal (which is a completely non-judgmental living focus).

For example: “Two girls were found in the barn, one in compulsory kindergarten and one in the second grade, and both are sisters, and there is a boy in the second grade—he is their cousin.”; In another case: “In the sheepfold there are two boys—one in the first grade and another in the third grade and one girl in the first grade; The children are cousins, along with their uncle.” (multi-age membership family); “The daughter in the second grade said to the boy what are you doing here, why aren’t you at your house? The boy said I came because your father told me to come and also what does this have to do with you: I didn’t come to you, I came to your father. The daughter in compulsory kindergarten said this is my father not yours we do not touch your father why are you coming to my father; The boy gave a small blow to the daughter’s hand in mandatory kindergarten.” (Scalar-gender discourse between children as a preserver of traditional social structures; defining gender spaces); “...the girl came out of the barn crying loudly and went to tell her father that the boy hit me; Her father told her to stop and shouted to the boy: Bo I need you. The father asked the boy why he hit the girl’s hand, the boy replied: She wanted me to go to our house and I want to stay. The father (Hadad) said to the boy: Take this box and put seeds in it and then come and tell the daughter go home and ask your mother for a container because I want to milk the goats and then go help your mother at home, the girl left crying.” (gender discourse preserves traditional social structures through interaction between children and between children and adults).

“The daughter studying in the second grade is standing in front of the entrance door to the sheepfold and she is holding a straw in her hand and is feeding a little goat and says to him: You are very beautiful, I want to take you to our house.” (emotional dialogue between a child and an animal); “The children are sitting outside the barn, Muhammad, the older boy says to Mahmoud, the boy in first grade and his name is Mahmoud: Look at the beautiful little lamb (Capricorn), look, he approaches his mother and says to her: How are you? I want to drink milk (the boy Mahmoud laughs out loud). Muhammad continues and says: Look, look, the little lamb’s father is standing there and Muhammad (Creates the personification of the little Capricorn) comes and asks why his father doesn’t bring him games and delicious food.” (Narrative emotional discourse through the mediation of an animal); “The daughter’s father comes to close the sheepfold and asks the children why they are shouting? The father authoritatively says to Mahmoud: go to your house and said to Mahmoud: stay with me and ask him where his father is? The father’s daughter asked her father why Mahmoud would go with you? I want to go with you too... The father replied to her: Go home and help your mother come on (go ahead in the Arabah)—the daughter went home crying.” (hierarchical discourse between an adult and a child; a discourse that preserves traditional social structures, gender structures).

Traditional, Tribal, and Family Leisure Experiences as a Development of Learning Skills and Formation of Close Family Ties Among Children

Locating in a traditional, multi-age gendered space in free time, as a developer of literacy buds and defining gender roles. The traditional gender space is defined in all the observations in the grandparents’ house and the grandmother’s kitchen. The kitchen is very functional and minimal. The girls usually sit on a mattress placed on the floor, on which the grandmother arranges tablecloths and pillows used for eating and sitting on the floor. The conversation (or interaction) between the children that emerges from all the observations focuses on two main issues (it should be remembered that the observations were conducted in the month of Ramadan in which children (aged eight and older as it appears from the observations conducted) are also required to fast and

hence the conversation that emerges between children deals with it). The one theme: multi-age interaction that encourages the development of literacy skills. The second is a conversation between adults and children that mostly deals with religious practices. The development of literacy buds is done naturally through a multi-age encounter, which is a central representative of the lifestyle of Bedouin families in villages of this type, where only families with a direct blood relationship live. This characteristic of Chaim “forces” the mix of children according to natural birth and not according to the diversity and turnover of the population. The children from all families (the grandchildren and great-grandchildren) usually meet at the grandparents’ house, especially the girls. The older girls take care of the younger girls (sisters and cousins) while playing with them. In most cases, the games (in the absence of dedicated games) are improvised and represented by hand games and movement and incorporated into songs. The songs are mostly traditional songs that emphasize the definition of women in traditional Bedouin society and their basic gender roles. The younger girls listen to the instructions given to them by the older girls who even correct them as needed. This format is used in two respects: unconscious intergenerational transfer made by older girls to younger girls and preservation of moral-gender social structures.

As mentioned, the second issue that emerged from the analysis of the observations in the context of leisure culture among these children deals with the discourse between adults and children that focuses on religious practices. The essence of this discourse is made by the girls within the domestic space. As mentioned before, the observations were conducted in the month in which the Ramadan fast takes place and in which children fast as well, so this topic naturally very much concerns them. This discourse expresses the difficulties accompanying the girls both at home and at school in light of the tasks they received as housewives despite their expectation of relief during this period and the way in which their parents encourage them to continue fasting by providing external encouragement as a promise of giving money at the end of the period and walking together to playgrounds (which are not part of the natural living space of these children).

This is the case, for example, in relation to a multi-age family meeting as a key to literacy development: “The older one said to her, let’s count the numbers. She counted one, two, three, five, six, seven, eight, nineteen. The older one counted in front of her, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nineteen.”; “The big Helda asked the little one: Where is your father? The little girl answered: Dad is at work. The little girl said to the big girl: Let’s go (go ahead in Arabic) let’s play. The older one urged her: do with your hands as I do, open all the fingers and stand with open hands; The little one is doing something else (not so successful in following the instructions). After five times she opened her hands and the older girl clapped with her and sang the song: Once upon a time there was a group of girls wearing hats one on the right and one on the left..., the daughter of the kings, the kings They come to ask your father for your hand, do you agree or not? After that, the older one hit the younger one in the stomach as part of the conditions of the game and the little girl ran inside the kitchen as the older girl ran after her; The little girl ran while laughing out loud and the older one ran after her telling her to wait.”

In another observation: “... the two-year-old daughter entered the kitchen where the 8-year-old cousins were, and she was holding a notebook and paints and said to her aunt’s daughters: I want to draw a little boy like my brother... Nice, the girls said to her, let’s draw you a beautiful flower with a house and trees and we will draw you... the daughter the little daughter laughed and said: yes yes I want to. They sat down and started to draw the little daughter took paint and wanted to draw... the two older girls shouted at her: look what you did is not nice why did you do that and they gave her the notebook drawing back; The little daughter took the notebook and

started coloring in an unintentional way the picture drawn by the two older ones while she complimented herself and her way of coloring: The older girls said: we will play together; They danced to anointing hands accompanied by a song: once there was a group of girls, one on the right and one on the left, wearing hats hats. Mahan gave her a blow on the hand... The little girl started to cry..."

Adult discourse between children revolving around religious practices: Kitchen Three girls: two sisters and their cousin, two eight-year-olds and one nine-year-old: "One of the 8-year-old girls said, oh, I'm tired, when can we eat? The cousin (also 8 years old) answered her: I will tell my mother that I don't want to fast tomorrow because fasting is difficult for me; The 9-year-old eldest daughter said: Father told me that if I fasted the entire Ramadan fast he would give me 200 shekels and I want to fast because I want to buy a beautiful Barbie doll game; The second daughter at the age of 9 said: My father told me that he would give me money and my mother said that she would take me to the games." In another case: David's three daughters sitting in their grandmother's house: two eight-year-olds and one two-year-old: "The girls are sitting on the mattress on the floor near the kitchen door: one of the eight-year-old girls said: May God take the house of the priest, every day they give us housework, what is it, we got tired even while fasting."

Processes of Civilization and Tradition as Part of Leisure Culture: The Father as the Focus of Children's Discourse and Preserves Social-Patriarchal-Traditional Structures and as a Mediator of the World Outside the Village

In most observations (19) that recorded discourse between children during leisure time, a discourse dealing with the father of one of the children was included as part of the discourse, while in the vast majority of observations (with one exception), the lack of reference to the children's mothers is noticeable. The figure of the father (or the uncle—the brother of the father) is very present in the child's discourse during leisure time: the presence of the figure of the father in the discourse between children is done by a pattern of repeating incidental questions, which characterizes many of the children who want to ask the interlocutor—the boy or girl—the cousins, where their father is (it must be remembered that the family relationship that characterizes traditional societies is based on the father and his extended family branches).

Also, the father who, in addition to his work in the domestic livestock, works to support the family outside the village, is an intermediary to the world outside the desert living space and through him the children learn about the existence of places and how they look or are perceived (through the father's point of view) as big or small. In addition, the father is an authoritative figure who must be obeyed and even feared because he will resort to physical sanctions (use of physical punishment as a means of education—a figure that came up in several observations) if the children do not obey him. The male presence in the children's lives is not reserved only for their own father, but also for his brothers—the children's uncles, to whom the children listen in every request, to whom they assist according to their request, and to whom they accompany for help and without asking the children's mother's permission. This discourse represents a traditional patriarchal cultural discourse that is preserved through the definition of the status of the father—the man in this social framework and his mode of action within the private and extended family framework. The children assimilate this through acculturation and socialization processes during their lives and preserve it through their language and behavior patterns.

For example: "...the big girl asked the little girl: Where is the father of? The little girl answered her: Father is at work." "...what are you doing here? Where is your father?"; "...Father told me that if I fasted the entire Ramadan fast he would give me 200 shekels. I want to fast and want to buy a beautiful Barbie game; The other

9-year-old daughter said: my father will give me too.” (Incidental questions about the father (the uncle) in the discourse of my children and the presence of the father in the discourse of my children in general).

“The boy said: I want to go home, dad still hasn’t come back from work (he said with great enthusiasm). Dad told me he wants to buy me Nike shoes... the boy in the 4th grade said: oh yes, it’s cheaper I will ask my dad today to give me 200 shekels. And I will give your father to buy it for me. The child in the third grade said: I want too.” “...he said this summer, father will take us to Eilat. Me and my mother and my two brothers said yes, we will ask father to take us too.” In another case, in a conversation about one of the children’s birthdays: Dad bought my brother a cake with a nice car on it and also my brother’s picture; The cake was very beautiful.” (The father as mediator of the world outside the village).

...“the daughter in the second grade said to the boy (her cousin) what are you doing here? Why aren’t you at home? The boy replied: I came because your father told me to come, and what does that have to do with you? I’m not coming to you; I’m coming to your father! The daughter, who attends kindergarten, replied to the boy: This is my father, not yours, we don’t come to your father, why are you coming to my father.” “And the father took Mahmoud (his nephew, his brother’s son) and went to his father’s house (Mahmoud’s uncle and father) and the children’s grandfather (your house to help his mother).”; “At that time their uncle (of the two girls, aged 8 and 9) entered and said to them: Come! I want to take you to the store to buy things (the mother of one of the girls was present in the room and we did not contact her).” (Multifamily male dynamics). “... At that time, the sister of the two boys who were on the mountain came running and said to her brother: Come, father wants you to help him to feed the sheep, come on! Come quickly! The older brother of the two said: Get up before father comes and beats us.” (patriarchal-authoritative children’s discourse).

Discussion and Conclusions

The present study discusses, as mentioned, the experiences of leisure culture among Bedouin children living in the rural diaspora—the villages are not recognized in the southern region (Negev) in the State of Israel. In the description of the study, there are three main themes that all reflect a disturbing reality that is fully represented by a “casual leisure culture” in which there is no process of educational construction that defines goals and dedicated educational programs aimed at developing the child’s skills. It also emerged that in most of the free time among these children, they are “cut off” from other urban or rural spaces and experience a cultural uniformity that creates processes of socialization constant and impairs basic development processes such as self-definition, creativity, and the opportunity to engage in non-functional activities that contribute to personal development, promote autonomy and self-determination, encourage a sense of independence, and contribute to a person’s physical and mental health and normal social relations (Iwasaki & Mannell, 2000; Passmore & French, 2003). In addition, the children’s living space consists mostly of functional “facilities” (the nuclear family home and the homes of the extended family members and the sheep pen and farm animal facilities). The only space that is not defined as a functional space is the open desert space (the mountain) near their home where they get to have an independent discourse-self that reflects their personal world and allows them to talk about issues that define the areas of interest that occupy them. The totality of the data points to the notable lack of non-formal educational institutions that exist in Bedouin society in general and in an extreme manner to the point of complete absence in unrecognized villages. The disturbing manifestations of this lack are the absence of libraries, clubs, public gardens, playgrounds, and community centers (Goldberg, 2008).

The totality of the findings that emerged from this study absolutely point to the absence of a planned and directed leisure culture either by authorized social factors or by the families inhabiting the unfamiliar settlements. It is evident that the nature of the settlements and the way of life of its inhabitants point to the unorganized nature of leisure activities among Bedouin children living in unfamiliar settlements (Kropp, 2017) and contrary to what is known so far, this study points to the variety of improvised leisure activities carried out by the children and mostly on their own initiative. The advantage of the present study is in the operation of pure observations that took part in an unfamiliar village and we directly and naturally observed the behavior of the children in their leisure hours after returning from school. As mentioned, and in accordance with what is known in the research, the leisure culture of the Bedouin children living in unknown villages is defined as an “unorganized” leisure culture (Stebbins, 2001a; 2007b).

The variety of leisure activities as emerged in the framework of this study as a common family space include the homes of the entire family: the nuclear and the grandparents’ and uncles’ homes, the agricultural space that focuses on the livestock facilities such as the sheepfold and the mountain space constitute relocatees that were not discussed in previous studies. For example, the findings of this study did not suggest an active sport activity at all, as in the research of Weissblai (2011) and Kropp (2017). The leisure framework that takes place in the domestic spaces and the farmers, some of whom recorded activity of performing household chores and helping with the livestock, are in line with what is known in the research (Kropp, 2017). Part of the formation of this culture of mutual aid deals with the creation of a deliberate interdependence between the children and their parents, the family, and the community (Dwairy, 1998). This acquired motivation for mutual help and cooperation can serve as a very fruitful educational basis that indicates the ability to direct the said children to organized volunteer activities in the immediate community and in general society (Stebbins, 2001b).

The variety of emerging games that were recorded as part of the observations recorded in this study indicate an improvised, limited, unvaried game that lacks familiar childhood games such as board games, toy figures, ball games, and more. Most of the recorded games took place within the home space and were accompanied by hand games, singing, and running. This figure is in line with what is known in previous studies (Weissblai, 2011; Kropp, 2017). The division of the rural space according to gender in which the girls spend most of their leisure time inside the houses while the boys spend their free time on the hills that surround the settlement (the mountain) is consistent with what is known in the study (Kropp, 2017). Indirectly, in the absence of documentation for this in the observations, the findings of this study also indicate the complete absence of leisure activities such as playing computer games or watching television (Abu-Badar & Gottlieb, 2008; Abu-Saad, 2013; Kropp, 2017); This is in contrast to the reports given by children living in recognized and regulated Bedouin settlements where there is a regular electricity infrastructure (Abu-Badr & Gotlib, 2008; Abu-Saad, 2013). The fact that the animals inhabit the livestock in the Bedouin society in general and in unfamiliar settlements in particular is consistent with what is known from previous studies in which it was similarly reported that the animals are full partners at changing times in the leisure activities of the children in the Bedouin society (Kropp, 2017).

It is possible that the leisure culture (casual and completely unorganized leisure culture) reflected in the findings of this study may be depicted as a unique and diverse leisure activity suitable for traditional cultures. However, the examination of this against the various definitions of the organized leisure culture, the processes of its formation, organization, and regulation that are responsible for it point to a huge gap between its complete absence as appears from the scientific literature. This reality indicates conditions of poverty or a low socio-

economic status that does not allow parents to provide appropriate leisure culture for their children while they are engaged in providing for the family (Ben-Rabi et al., 2009; Holloway & Wilson, 2014; Larson et al., 2011). In addition, this points to a well-known and disturbing fact of the lack of basic infrastructure that is required to maintain a minimal leisure culture. These factors lead to the creation of leisure at a low level and only occasionally (Ben-Rabi et al., 2009; Larson et al., 2011). According to the scientific literature, leisure activity that is not organized represents a leisure culture that is not of high quality (Stebbins, 2001b; 2007b). In addition, the observations testify to the absence of institutional guidance or of another adult factor that can promote the child and his activity by means of adapted guidance (Vygotsky, 1978).

The contribution of this research is in its innovative findings that emerged from the initial operation of pure observations in the direct and natural space of the children living in the rural Bedouin space in unregulated settlements in the State of Israel. Such a research setup has not been carried out so far. The findings of this study, which isolated the phenomenon of leisure culture among children in unfamiliar villages, are unique since they emerged from direct observation of them: they deal with the children's activities and conversation. The findings deal with the family's domestic activity ranging from helping the children with household chores alongside impromptu play within an unorganized leisure culture that mainly represents girls. This is alongside unorganized leisure activity in the spaces outside the home such as the sheep pen in the livestock farm and the mountain near the houses as a characteristic of the unorganized leisure culture of boys. These worrisome data that indicate the very limited, improvised, and unguided leisure activity of an educator, accompanied by the absence of social diversity may damage the child's creative ability and his perception of his personal ability, self-deprecation, and the perception of consumer diversity that diverse cultural spaces can offer him in relation to his self-realization and development.

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