



מפת דרכים לחברה משותפת  
خارطة طريق لمجتمع مشترك  
Roadmap for a Shared Society



גבעת חביבה  
جبعات حبيبه  
Givat Haviva



# Road Map for a Shared Society

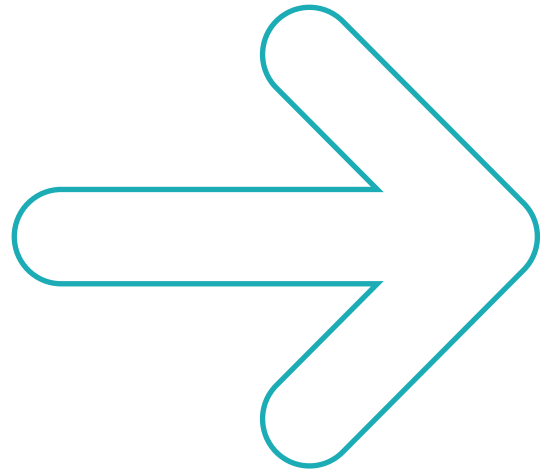
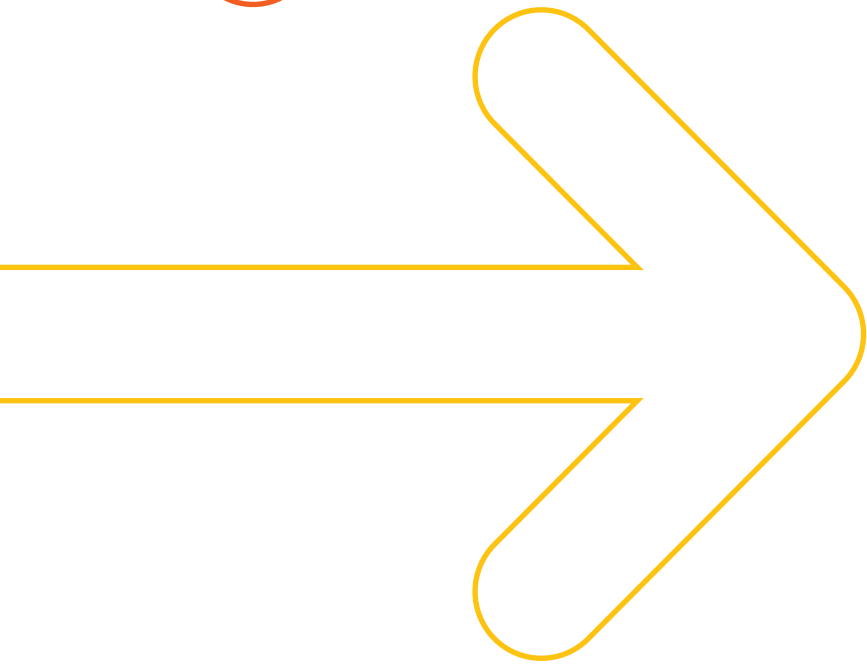
## Final Summary

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# Introduction

Givat Haviva is pleased to present this comprehensive document offering a road map for the establishment of a shared egalitarian society in Israel. The document reflects years of extensive activity across the diverse social mosaic that exists here, in a quest to create a common fabric of life that embraces partnership and equality between the Arab and Jewish citizens in Israel. As an organization that operates dozens of programs focusing on education, empowerment and equality, learning the other's national language, and building sustainable partnerships between neighboring communities, we have concluded that we must help to advance a comprehensive nationwide policy that will change, from the top down, the existing reality in Israel, even as we continue our work in the field. Collectively and individually, we know that today it is not yet possible to agree on a unified vision for the future of the country that encompasses both the "Jewish state" desired by the Jewish national majority of Israeli citizens, and "the state of all its citizens" desired by the large and important Arab national minority. Meantime, we also know that, underlying the level of a possible shared vision, many points of agreement do exist in terms of our ability to greatly improve our shared life in Israel and create a critical mass of successes and achievements – hence our undertaking to create a Road Map for a Shared Society.

Over the last two years, we have led a three-phase process to formulate this Road Map for a Shared Society. By means of teams of experts that included public and private sector and civil society representatives, the first year produced recommendations for action that the experts agreed should be implemented in order to create the conditions for actualizing a shared society for Jews and Arabs in Israel; these recommendations fall into five areas: economic development, education, land use, governance, and cultural representation and restorative processes. The second year was devoted to pursuing public engagement with these recommendations, including exposure to the complexity of the issues and the broadest possible feedback process. When the public engagement process was concluded, the public's responses were brought before the experts and the recommendations were updated accordingly.

This document presents the updated recommendations of the teams, including the main objectives for implementation and a series of milestones for use in planning their implementation in practice. The milestones offer long term and short term work objectives designating phases in the process of actualizing the main objectives. These milestones comprise a type of shared society index, an aid in monitoring the process of implementation and the extent of progress being made in actualizing the recommendations.

Hence the document offers a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary plan the implementation of which will enable the establishment of a foundation for a shared society in Israel. The plan is comprehensive, in that it addresses all areas simultaneously, with progress to be monitored consonant with milestones in each area, all of them mutually reinforcing – thus facilitating deep treatment and laying the foundation for essential change in the way Israeli society operates as a shared society. Progress in implementing the recommendations for economic development ought to have a beneficial effect on progress in the realms of land use and local as well as national governance; progress in governance will serve to hasten implementation of the recommendations for economic development, land use and restorative processes; progress involving restorative processes will support all the other areas and be supported by implementation of the recommendations for education, and vice versa.

The recommendations in each area can be read as standing alone and can be implemented that way; the entire document of recommendations can be read as a blueprint for comprehensive change and as the foundation for a broad plan of action with, nonetheless, specific focal points: far-seeing yet concrete, visionary yet pragmatic and practicable. We have tried to involve experts with opinions that span the entire political spectrum; we charged the teams with achieving consensus and reporting back with recommendations that Israeli society, in all its diversity of opinion, can agree with and support; we sought and received feedback from a broad range of groups from all sections

of the population – all designed to achieve a practical, implementable program, both in terms of the relevance of the recommendations and also from the standpoint of practicability and potential to evoke broad-based support, so as to insure its actualization in reality. What we are submitting here is not a position paper nor a blueprint describing a theoretical vision in principle for a shared society; this document is the basis for action that can commence forthwith.

In our judgment, some of the recommendations can be handed on to implementing entities in government; another group will require action under a shared agenda among all civil society organizations and the launching of pilot projects that will reinforce the success of what is being implemented by government; and a third group will become subjects for discussion in public forums, academia and the media.

Having long been active in Israeli society, we who

have worked on this road map are aware of the many difficulties and challenges facing the implementation of this plan, but at the same time we are also familiar with the amazing, constructive powers that exist among us. There are energies at work here that seek to displace the discourse of separation and fear and cultivate new hope, to create a true partnership that will serve as the basis for a democratic life based on equality. Most citizens of this country are seeking to live that kind of life. The Road Map presented here will help us find our way toward that objective for the sake of our shared future and that of our children.



Yaniv Sagee  
CEO, Givat Haviva



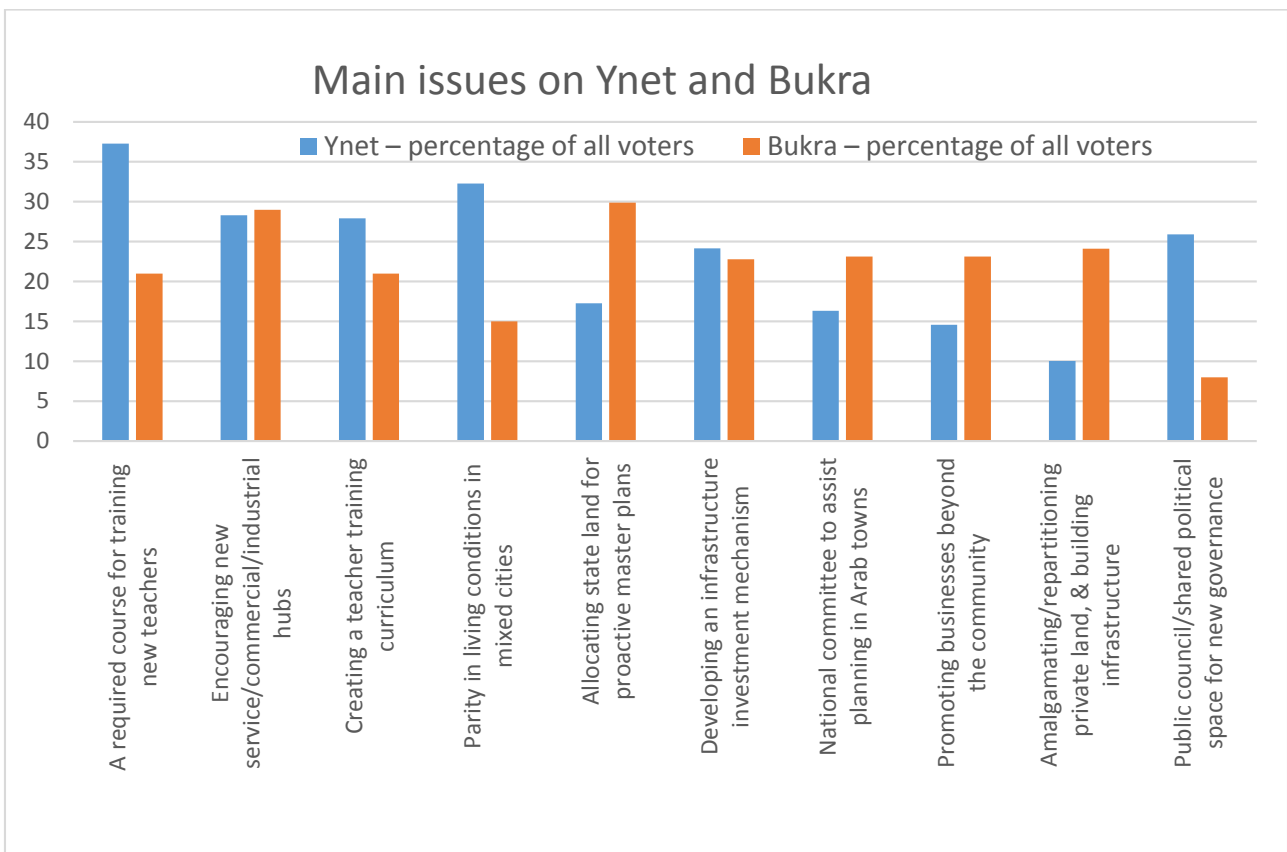
Mohammad Darawshe  
Director, Center for Equality & Shared Society at Givat Haviva

# Public Engagement Process

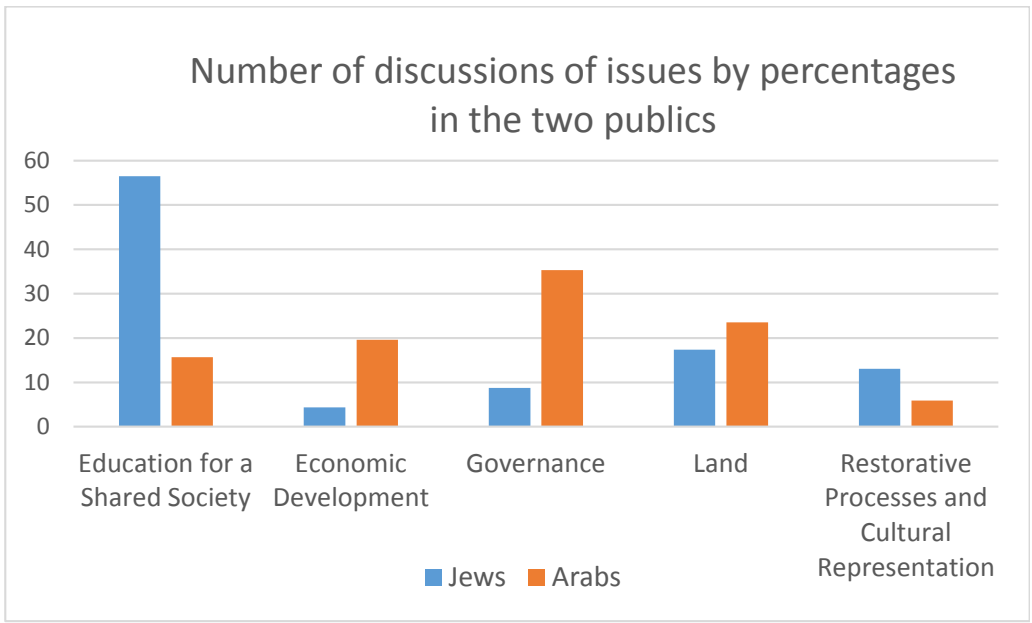
During the second year of the project, substantial resources were invested in engaging members of the public, informing them about the recommendations as formulated thus far and consulting with them on the fine-tuning.

Two types of process were involved: live meetings and online consultation. The online process included extensive exposure through two conspicuous web sites: Ynet in Hebrew and Bukra in Arabic. A survey was uploaded to and promoted on these two sites, presenting the teams' recommendations. Viewers were asked to rate the recommendations they saw as most correct for advancing a shared society. As a way to provide context and portray the complexity of building a shared society, five articles were also uploaded that explained in some detail and from various perspectives the work of Givat Haviva in general and the Road Map project in particular. Over a one-year period, the survey was accessed more than 115,000 times on Ynet for an average of 3 minutes at a time, a significant duration for internet reading, and more than 4,000 Ynet visitors completed the survey. Education and the education-related recommendations enjoyed the most active traffic, and the development of regional hubs for services and commercial and industrial purposes evoked the most interest. On Bukra, the survey had 16,500 respondents. The recommendations pertaining to regional hubs for services and commercial and industrial purposes also attracted the most interest on Bukra.

The chart below shows the main survey issues ranked by popularity on Ynet and Bukra:

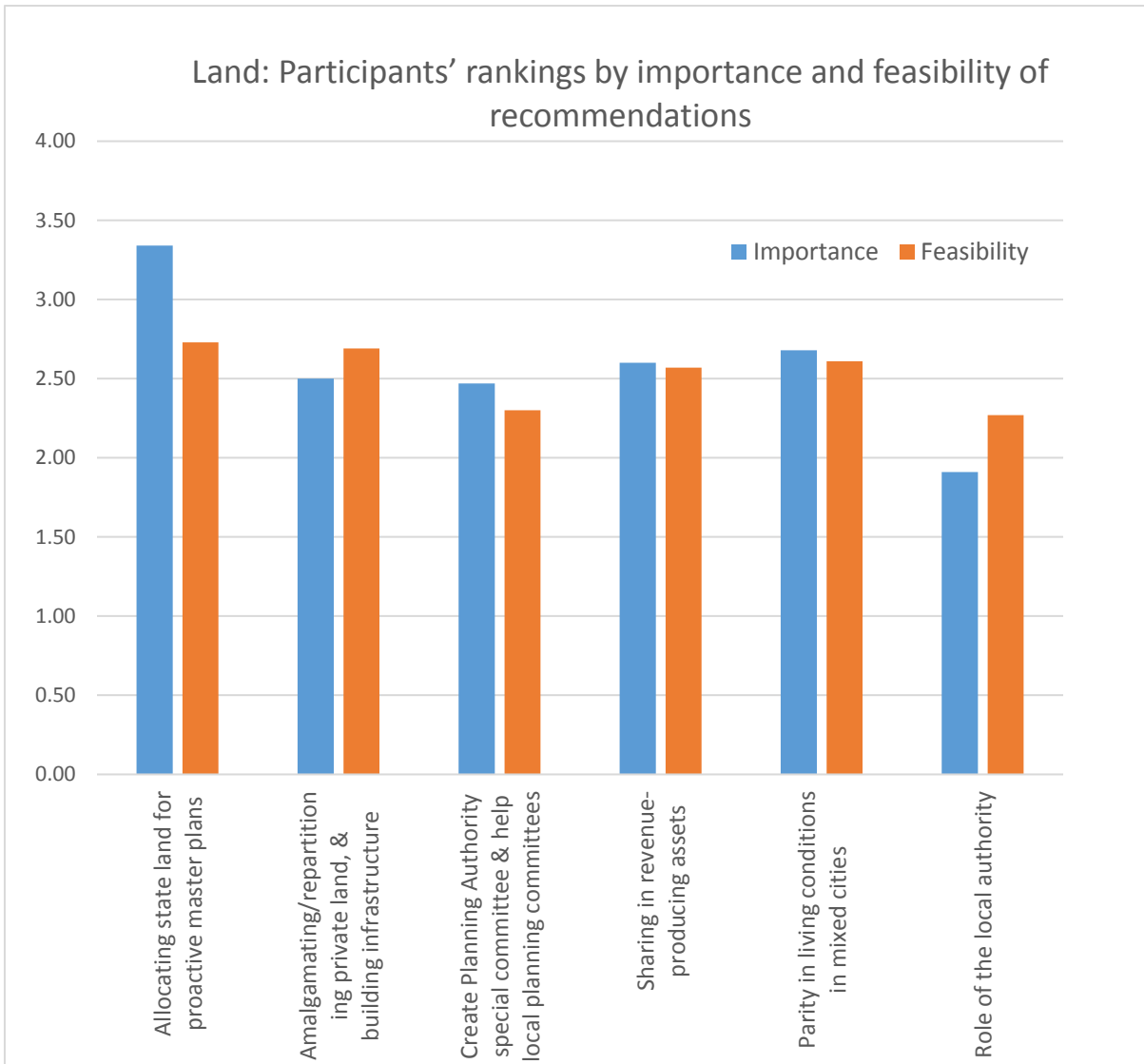


In addition, we convened some 40 public engagement gatherings for various publics. At each gathering, c. 2 subjects were chosen for discussion by those attending, and substantial time was devoted to providing background on those subjects and explaining the recommendations in detail.



These meetings featured open discussion among participants, who were asked at the close of each meeting to rate the recommendations in order of importance and degree of feasibility of implementation, and to add open comments as they wished. The two charts below show the quantitative findings on two issues – land use and education, respectively:

Land Use:

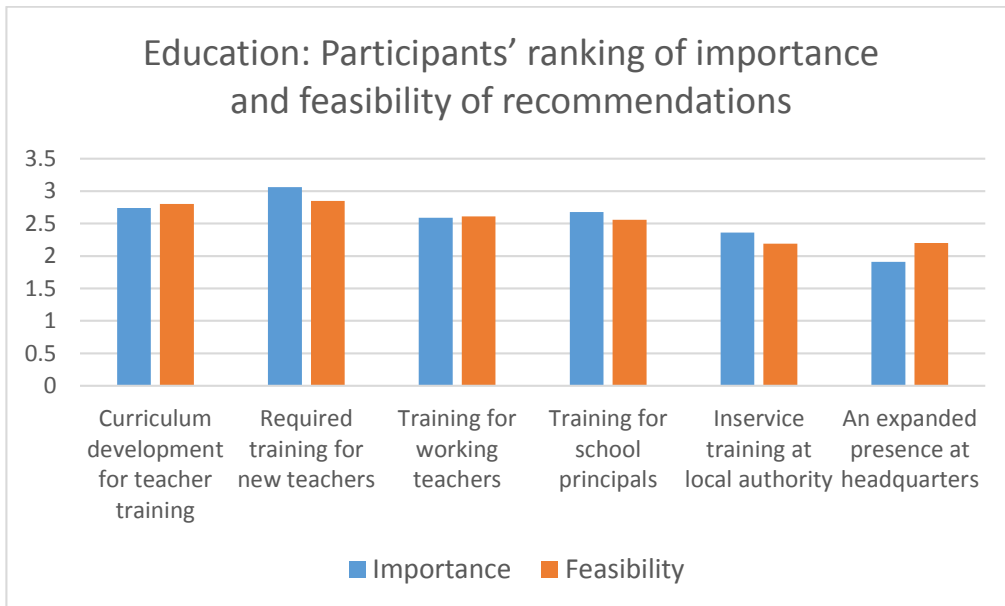




## Education:

Given that Jewish participants dealt extensively with education, whereas few Arab participants addressed that subject, the feedback received in public gatherings about education, as seen in the chart, reflects mainly the attitudes of the Jewish public, while the feedback received in the meetings on the subject of land use reflects preponderantly the views of the Arab public.

More than 700 people in all participated in these gatherings. The meetings were also documented and a record was made of people's comments during the sessions. The quantitative and qualitative data was passed on to the teams, who used them to update their written recommendations. Hence the text in the pages that follow includes the recommendations gathered from public input, incorporated as the teams deemed most helpful.



# Background and Recommendations

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## Education for a shared society

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### Background

A shared society worldview cannot focus solely on life as shared by Jews and Arabs. We suggest broadening the canvas to focus on the question of the life shared by all the various groups in Israeli society.

What has come to be known as The Four Tribes speech by President Reuven Rivlin presented the Israeli public with a very clear picture of the future. Israeli society, despite the country's definition as a Jewish and democratic state, is divided into four distinct tribes – religious, secular, Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) and Arabs – who disagree fiercely about political and social values. Their children study in separate educational systems and do not know one another, and they rarely intermarry. Each of the groups is exposed to a different array of opportunities and risks and the interests of each compete with, and often clash with, those of the others. Each of these tribes has its own complex world of values grounded in a long history and an elaborate culture of its own, with its own language and distinct moral universe. Along the Israeli highway of life, four richly endowed but separate “full carts” roll along (the image references a common slur against a secular lifestyle as an “empty cart”), continually threatening to crash into one another.

A shared life rests on the acknowledgement that all four carts are full and that we are striving to establish an open society acquainted with the goods carried by all four carts, a state in which none of the four tribes claims superiority over the others. Israeli society must move beyond the phase of struggle to a new social stage where partnership is constructed without condescension toward others and without attempts to conquer the entire public space for one's own tribe. Partnership in the public space is much harder than simply living alongside one another, because it demands that members of different groups display tolerance toward lifestyles not customary in their own group and sometimes even antithetical to, or prohibited by, the norms they themselves cherish.

The struggles over the character of the public space are an inseparable part of life in a democracy – although the Israeli case is extreme, because of the often contradictory worldviews of some of its members. The religious and the secular worldviews fundamentally clash over anything to do with belief in the deity, the source of authority and the role of religion in public life. The Zionist worldview and the Palestinian Arab worldview essentially contradict one another concerning the character of the state, the justification for its existence and its main tasks. Leftists and rightists are at odds on any question about Israel's future.

We believe that mutually contradictory worldviews can exist together in the same public space only if the following conditions are met:

1. Equality in individual rights is a first and necessary step, but it is not enough. Limiting the discourse to this sphere is perceived by members of marginal groups as a tool to nullify their collective rights and hence as a type of oppression. Members of the different tribes are seeking to reshape the shared space to allow for the presence of their group's identity and enable them to integrate into public life while remaining proud of their identity without the need to hide or alter their uniqueness.
2. A collective discourse on rights does not just require the removal of barriers to the integration of individuals in society, the economy and cultural life, so that they are able to fulfill their individual potential and serve their society and their community; it also requires allowing the integration of their “tribal” beliefs, values and symbols in the public space.
3. Each of the basic groups has a foundational narrative of its own, and because these narratives are in competition with one another and do not fit with one another, the public space must make room for more than one truth, more than one history, and more than one set of values.

4. Acknowledging this leads to relinquishing the quest for a total consensus on foundational moral principles and accepts that we can make do with some degree of doctrinal congruence. (A central idea in the thought of American philosopher John Rawls holds that, in a heterogeneous society, all that can be attained is agreement based on an *overlapping consensus* among doctrines.) For example, one can agree that all human beings are equal. Some citizens will support that because they embrace a liberal worldview, some because their religion teaches that everyone is created in God's image, and some for utilitarian reasons; so long as the principle is located within the area of overlap, it can serve as the basis for policy making, and there is no need to determine the source of that principle.
5. From the principles located within the area of overlapping consensus, operative rules for action must be derived that will apply to all citizens, even if they accept them for different reasons: faith, or a desire to prevent chaos, or a wish to preserve the state, etc.
6. In this kind of sensitive and complex system, it is crucial to defend everyone – their person, their dignity, their property, their status. Everyone must feel secure enough to express their opinions and work to safeguard them.
7. Citizens must internalize the fact that on many issues, they may find themselves in the minority. On the other hand, when issues are being debated, the tribe whose opinions prevail cannot always be the same one. In other words, social arrangements must be concluded in such a way that the wins and losses are distributed fairly, because it is important that no one feel that the outcome is already fixed. All the tribes must feel sure, as they struggle for their values, that the eventual outcome will be the product of fair deliberation and not predetermined.
8. The point of departure for public discussion is complete equality between all parties to the deliberation. Everyone must be able to make their voice heard, promote their position, and continue to strive to change decisions already taken, in a democratic manner.
9. The social partnership must offer equal access for every citizen to the opportunities society provides, with affirmative reparative mechanisms that ensure full equality of opportunity.

### **Education in Israel – a shared education in a tribal society**

The structural segregation in education means that during their early, formative years as children and youth, youngsters rarely meet others their age who are different from themselves in terms of religion, ethnicity or social status. They generally learn about those others from the media, particularly when there is a crisis of some kind. Thus young people from the other tribes are perceived as a threat and not as potential partners.

The segregated educational systems perpetuate the mutual ignorance and the alienation between the different tribes. In the present circumstances, the establishment of a shared educational system is not a sustainable objective. Even a more modest aim, to begin to crack open the walls of alienation between the tribes, requires a clear policy that sees a shared life as a central value. A first step is often something declarative, along the lines of "the other is me" or "love thy neighbor as thyself." Such slogans, however, can serve to hide the reality that encounters between teachers and principals from the separate systems remain rare, that curricula favoring a shared life stay on the shelf and do not get as far as the classroom, and that most schools close their doors to "the other."

If Israel wants to be a multicultural society with a place for people from all the tribes, if it wants to move on from enmity and strife to partnership, then the entire educational system, from early childhood through the colleges and universities, must facilitate serious encounters, ongoing dialogue, and the cultivation of a multicultural outlook grounded on tolerance and inclusion among members of the different tribes. Personal acquaintance is the key to creating a personal, human dialogue with members of the other tribes.

This process of encounter cannot occur through self-negation. It requires a sharper focus on one's own group's collective values, on the one hand, and on the other hand an acknowledgement of the existence of other value systems and belief systems, in a quest to find areas of overlapping consensus that allow for agreement on a set of shared rules for conduct.

To strive to determine such shared rules of conduct, two principles must be reinforced:

- Greater trust between the tribes. So long as the level of trust remains low, any action or initiative taken will be doomed to fail because of mistrust and suspicion. Creating trust requires profound mutual acquaintance among the various cultures of the different tribes, and it demands that people internalize a belief that the existing hostilities between them can be handled through constructive, inclusive engagement without posing an existential threat to any of the tribes. The basic consensus is that human dignity is a supreme value, and there can be no question about the right of each of the four tribes to exist in dignity.
- Equality. To increase trust requires creating egalitarian societal systems, nationwide, especially in terms of an equitable allocation of resources among all the students in all the educational institutions in the country, so that the needs of all children are met.

The educational system must be the vanguard in the movement toward change. We see educators (teachers, advisers, nonformal education providers, principals, government supervisors) as the most significant change agents, and these are the people on whom we wish to focus our efforts. Our goal is to engender comprehensive change in teacher training regarding education for a shared society. Meeting points must be identified among the different tribes. Mediated encounter processes are an important component in training educators about dealing with politically and emotionally sensitive encounters in educational settings. Barriers hampering future encounters must be removed.

### **The current state of teacher training for a shared society**

The state comptroller's report (2016) has warned that in the Israeli education system, there is no practical expression of the principle of a shared society. The system devotes no resources, class hours or curricula to advancing these values, and does not deal with the increasing ideological extremism or with hate speech and other manifestations of alienation between the tribes. Nor does the system prepare teachers to cope with extremism and violence, and it provides them with no support.

"Education for values and education for a shared society and prevention of racism are not included in the work plan of the Educators Training Division and its objectives. The Pedagogical Secretariat and the Educators Administration did not direct the division director to integrate the subject of education for a shared society and prevention of racism into the educators' training program, and preparatory actions for integrating it had not even been initiated, by the end of the audit.

"Despite the need to improve the activities of the education [i.e., teacher training] colleges on the subject of 'the other is me' and to improve oversight, about two years into this process with the colleges, the Educators Training Division decided not to deal with the subject in academic year 2015/2016 and not to check if the subject had indeed been assimilated in the framework of the initiatives in which the Ministry of Education participates financially.

"For working teachers, continuing education on subjects related to civics education and prevention of racism is given randomly and there is no structured continuing education mechanism. The head office of the Civics Education Unit in the Pedagogical Secretariat, responsible for drafting the policies for civics education, including education for democracy and a shared society, also does not collect data about the scope of continuing education on this subject, and does not have an updated picture regarding the number of educators participating in them. In practice, the scope of continuing education courses on the subject of a shared society is extremely minor and is less than one percent of all the continuing education courses.

"Aside from isolated courses for leaders of Safe Dialogue, no civics teachers have yet been trained to use the unique program for having such a discussion—a program for multicultural discussion—and training of teachers teaching other subjects has yet to begin. Moreover, the Ministry of Education has not yet conducted a study to evaluate the effectiveness of the tools being used by teachers when leading a Safe Dialogue.

(From the State Comptroller's report, Education for a Shared Society and the Prevention of Racism, 2016, p.11 of English version in MS Word format, State Comptroller's web site)

## The recommended path forward

Teacher training in Israel must train teachers to understand the complexity of the multi-tribal society as described above, to believe in a shared society for Israel, and to have the capacity for leadership in bringing change to the education system. Teachers, principals and state supervisors are the only ones who can change the rules of the game from below, because they have direct access to students and to teachers. Despite the erosion in the status of teachers, they are still leadership figures in their communities and they have the ability to convey messages that will make an impact on an entire community. To reinforce the ability of teachers to drive this process as described, teacher training should strengthen their position as community leaders.

The new syllabus for teacher training currently being drafted will include training teachers for a shared society. The training will address the theoretical side of a shared society along with practical preparation for encounters between members of the different tribes, plus training for the classroom in how to handle sensitive, conflict-laden subjects and become acquainted with content that is rooted in the society and the faith of the different tribes. The courses that deal with a shared society will be part of the core content of teacher training and a requirement for every graduate of the teacher training system. In other words, training for a shared society will be a precondition for receiving a teaching license.

The training will focus not only on the theoretical, but also on the practical. People with relevant experience will formulate the content of these encounters: In each of the courses, there will also be a practical, experiential component with members of different tribes. Every participant will encounter members of each of the tribes and not just of one particular tribe. The encounters will insure that the participating teacher trainees go through a process like the one they will be bringing to their students in the future, and will equip the teachers to cope competently with criticism, opposition, hostility, fear, and so on.

Each session will have two complementary goals: reinforcing the identity of the group, and increasing its readiness to encounter and accept the other groups and to live alongside them. Without the first element, members of the groups are liable to fear that the encounter is meant to weaken their identity. Only an encounter that honors each participant's own personal identity can evoke trust and reduce the fear of meeting the other.

## Recommendations for the outline

- No trainee will receive a teaching license without having completed a shared society training course at a teacher training college or at one of the university faculties of education.
- The outline that is formulated at the Professional Development Division will establish inservice training (continuing professional education) on a shared society, for teachers, advisers, nonformal education coordinators, principals, state supervisors and the heads of education departments at local councils and municipalities.
- The Ministry of Education will budget scheduled class hours for training for a shared society, with an emphasis on the encounter between all the tribes, and with no option to refuse to meet with this or that other group.
- Every five years, the Ministry of Education will evaluate the scope of the encounters between the different groups and their impact on the opinions of teachers and students.
- As per a recommendation made by the President of Israel, teachers from each sector will teach at schools in other sectors.

### Target population

- Teaching interns and aides
- Teachers
- Principals
- Advisers
- Coordinators of nonformal education
- State supervisors
- Heads of education departments in local and city government

## Partners

- Office of the President – *Tikvah Yisraelit* ("Israeli Hope") Program
- Ministry of Education
- The Council for Higher Education
- Teacher training colleges and university faculties of education
- The *Avnei Rosh*a Training Institute for School Principals
- Teachers' associations
- Civil society organizations working in the area of a shared society
- Local governments
- Foundations and donors prominent in cultivating a shared society

## Recommendations for implementation

- A state commission will be established to formulate the plan for a curriculum on a shared society. Members of the commission will be named by Israel's President in consultation with the Minister of Education.
- The new outline for teacher training being drafted at the Council for Higher Education, for implementation in 2019, will include the outline for training for a shared society.
- The training will include a required course of 4 annual class hours (alongside the other required courses in the outline for teacher training). The curriculum for this will express the vision of a shared society, define the foundational principles of a multicultural shared society, and train teachers and principals to prepare students for the encounters themselves, to conduct the encounters and afterwards to deal with the outcomes of the encounters.
- In 2019, the first cohort will begin using the new outline for teacher training. The outline will define in detail the training process the teachers will undergo during each year of their studies. It must be guaranteed from the moment the process commences that teachers already in the system will be trained for a shared society before they complete their studies, even if they have already finished their core program. Over the next five years, prior to receiving a teaching license all teachers at any phase of their professional preparation will go through the training to learn to address the challenges of a shared society.
- All 59 of the Pisgah centers (professional enrichment centers for teachers) will offer shared society courses. At least 20% of the teachers doing professional enrichment courses at Pisgah centers in any given year will take a course on the subject of a shared society.
- Every Pisgah center offering a course dealing with a shared society will receive a special additional grant.
- The Avnei Rosha Institute will include the subject of a shared society in the outline for training principals.
- Local councils and municipalities will see that the council member in charge of education attends a course offering training for a shared society.
- The existing national Office for a Shared Society at the Ministry of Education will be enlarged, and it will oversee implementation of the assimilation of the curriculum for a shared society in the system.
- The bilingual education stream will be enlarged, for children from kindergarten through high school, and bilingual schools will be established in all the mixed cities and towns.
- Arabic language and culture studies for Jewish students will be augmented.

**Preparation phase**

The 2017-2018 school year will be a preparatory year during which the activity to train teachers in the teacher training colleges and at Pisgah centers will begin. This activity will be accompanied and guided by the Ministry of Education's Office for a Shared Society and the *Tikvah Yisraelit* ("Israeli Hope") initiative in academia. These activities will be funded starting with the 2017-2018 school year at 5 million NIS per academic year.

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## Restorative processes and cultural representation

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### The current situation and its characteristics and challenges

Palestinian Arab society in Israel is a national minority, deeply divided from the hegemonic majority Jewish society, which has determined Israel's identity as a Jewish state, as well as a democracy.

The essentially problematical status of Palestinian Arab society in Israel was clarified very well some time ago in the introduction to the Or Commission report following the events of October 2000:

"Majority-minority relations are problematical everywhere, and especially in a state that defines itself by the nationality of the majority. There are in fact no perfect solutions to the dilemmas that arise in such societies. Some people argue that there is an essential contradiction between the principles of a national state and the principles of a liberal democracy. In any event, achieving reasonable harmony in the relations between the majority and the minority is a difficult task that must be shared by all sectors of the society. This task demands a special effort from state institutions that express the hegemony of the majority, in order to balance the injury to the minority due to its structural inferiority, in terms of both its numbers and its influence. Abstention from that effort, or inadequately carrying it out, creates among the minority a sense of discrimination and also a reality of discrimination, which are liable to intensify over time. These characteristics are also true with respect to the situation of the Arab minority in Israel, which from many standpoints is discriminated against." At the foundation of the schism between the two societies is a historic struggle between two national movements – the Zionist movement and the Palestinian national movement, a struggle which continues and, unfortunately, continues to shed blood. The question of what sort of partnership Palestinian Arab society can have in the fabric of life in Israel – reflecting terms like "integration," "partnership" or "a shared society" – raise fears on both sides, including the fear of damage to one's identity or that of one's group.

Arriving at a shared society, then, is not a simple challenge. The approach presented here offers the possibility of moving from a situation of "identities in conflict" to a situation of "inclusive identities" by means of three circles of coping. One is the circle of the empowerment of Jewish identity, through learning about and acknowledging the multiplicity of identities within that broader one; another is the circle of empowerment of Palestinian Arab identity by means of learning about and acknowledging the multiplicity of identities within that broader one. Each of those two circles also engages in reciprocally learning about the complex "identity of the other" until it can be internalized as a secondary identity within the main identity of each side. And the third circle, essentially civic, is devoted to formulating practical possibilities for a shared society in relevant spheres: seeking a more profound democracy, legislation to enhance equality between the societies and communities within the society at large in Israel, enhancing multiculturalism (in public space, education, culture etc.), equitable allocation of resources, projects to reduce disparities and utilize affirmative action, participation in national government and the sharing of governing authority at the district and local level to promote governance consonant with the character and residents of a given locale, and so forth.

A special place must be devoted to the "cultural representations" of both societies, reflecting the foundations of literature and poetry, history and heritage, ethos and collective memories and the fruits of contemporary creative endeavor of each of the two societies – Jewish and Palestinian Arab – in Israel. These can serve to facilitate getting to know the other society, and become building blocks for creating a shared cultural space while providing a foundation for the symbolic discourse and restorative discourse that brings the two societies closer together.

Author Salman Natour, in an appendix to "Palestinian Arab Culture in Israel," expresses an aspiration to integrate Palestinian Arab culture with the broader culture in Israel, while preserving its uniqueness and identity-related characteristics:

"We are a part of this place, it has formed our consciousness and shaped our literary language and our identity. It is clear to everyone that Israel, the Jewish Zionist Hebrew state, has tried over the last several decades to cut us off from this place. Not just by means of a physical displacement of population, but also through an ideological and emotional



displacement. In other words, by creating a new identity whose main characteristic is 'loyalty to the state' – as is stated in the goals for education in general and Arab education in particular.

"This policy has not succeeded. This is evidenced by the fact that here, within Israel, a Palestinian Arab cultural movement has arisen, a movement that is the natural continuation – under conditions that are not natural – of the Palestinian culture that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century.

"On the other hand, we are living in the shadow of the Jewish state, we speak Hebrew, we are consumers of Hebrew culture, we engage with Jewish intellectuals, we hear from them and talk with them, translate them into Arabic and write in their language. In other words, we have become part of the culture of the other. Like the Palestinian author who lives in France and contributes to French culture. Like the Palestinian who lives in America or Britain, this is belonging to an adopted foreign culture that is added on to the original culture, the original belonging.

"The difference between us and others who fit the description of belonging to a double culture is that we belong to the cultures on both sides of the conflict, ours and theirs. In other words, we have also become part of the culture of the other.

"The relations with the Israeli 'other' do not only raise the issue of relations with his culture but also our cultural relationship with the state and its institutions. The state has yet to take a position acceptable to us regarding our Arab culture. It still relates to us as it does to various other minority ethnicities and not as a national minority, hence all potential support will aspire to perpetuate this policy – are we able to receive support that stands opposed to our aspirations, our identity and the essence of our culture?"

"Placing this issue on the agenda of our Palestinian culture means not just formulating a position on it but also making an active contribution to the global dialogue taking place between the cultures of the East and the West, the national and the human heritage, and a transition from being in a marginal position to making a human cultural contribution through interaction based on multiculturalism and grounded in excellence and harmony in a unified fabric."

## The ideological basis

**These are the foundational common values providing the basis for a shared society, the ones we must build up: trust, awareness, equality,** openness, and good will, alongside the creation of common interfaces of ideological and cultural language. At the same time, a strong foundation for a shared society depends on greater reciprocal efforts to resolve the ongoing conflict between the two national entities. The violent friction between Israel and the Palestinian people nourishes alienation, hatred, exclusion and discrimination between Jewish society and Palestinian Arab society in Israel, and demands in-depth consideration, an unpacking process, and treatment.

The longstanding national conflict in the Middle East has left its mark on broad segments of the public in Israel, both Jewish and Arab; on both sides, people have a need to express the pain, fear and frustration they have experienced and receive acknowledgement for the sense of injury they feel, without casting blame on the public on the other side.

The extent of alienation, suspicion, exclusion and discrimination toward the Arab public in Israel, as it has emerged from various surveys, acknowledged even by the political establishment in recent years, has left scars among Arab citizens of Israel. This scarring, beyond the direct harm done, has created a series of material, physical, emotional, social, political and other needs, and notably has nourished a sense of continuing injustice. There is also alienation, suspicion and injury on the Jewish side, which does not necessarily make a distinction between the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel and the Arab majority in the region.

The sense of injustice can be remediated when the injuring party performs a reparative act. Acknowledgement, taking responsibility, and a concrete or symbolic act can offer an answer, even if partial, to the needs created by the injury, even when the harm was irreversible. It would seem that to create the kind of shared foundation needed for a shared society to come into being, there will be no escape from coping directly with the barrier that separates the two societies (and the two peoples, Jewish and Palestinian) and its ramifications: the mutual fear, frustration, and anger and the individual

and national pain that both sides have experienced vis-à-vis the other. There is no escape from acknowledging them and expressing them. Both sides' mutual acknowledgement of the circumstances is the basis on which it will be possible to begin laying the foundation for a new and better reality for both – a shared society.

When dealing with a situation of injury, in which the injuring party also feels victimized, both sides have needs: a need for the acknowledgement of the injury and the harm caused in the past and still being caused to people, families, communities and to individual and collective identity by the other side; a need to stop doing damage and to create a safe, fair and optimal space to live in. A joint acknowledgement of the damage done, alongside joint acknowledgement of the immediate need to stop the ongoing injury, can be the basis for taking responsibility and committing to act to stop the mutual harm, together and separately. Action taken to stop the mutual harm is an act of mutual recognition – recognition both as awareness of the harm done, and as accepting the legitimacy of the other's injury and needs – while creating a sense of security in the shared spaces: shared spaces for living, for learning, and for culture, and the mutual adoption of cultural models and representations with the power to create a shared cultural language, while preserving the distinct national contents. These shared spaces become the basis for mutual recognition, building trust, strengthening the shared cultural language and taking individual and collective responsibility for the character and the future of a shared society.

**Goal:** Bringing Jewish society and Palestinian Arab society in Israel closer together through *reparative processes* leading to a shared society.

**Main idea:** A process transitioning from a situation of *identities in conflict* to a situation of *inclusive identities*, as the basis for establishing a shared society.

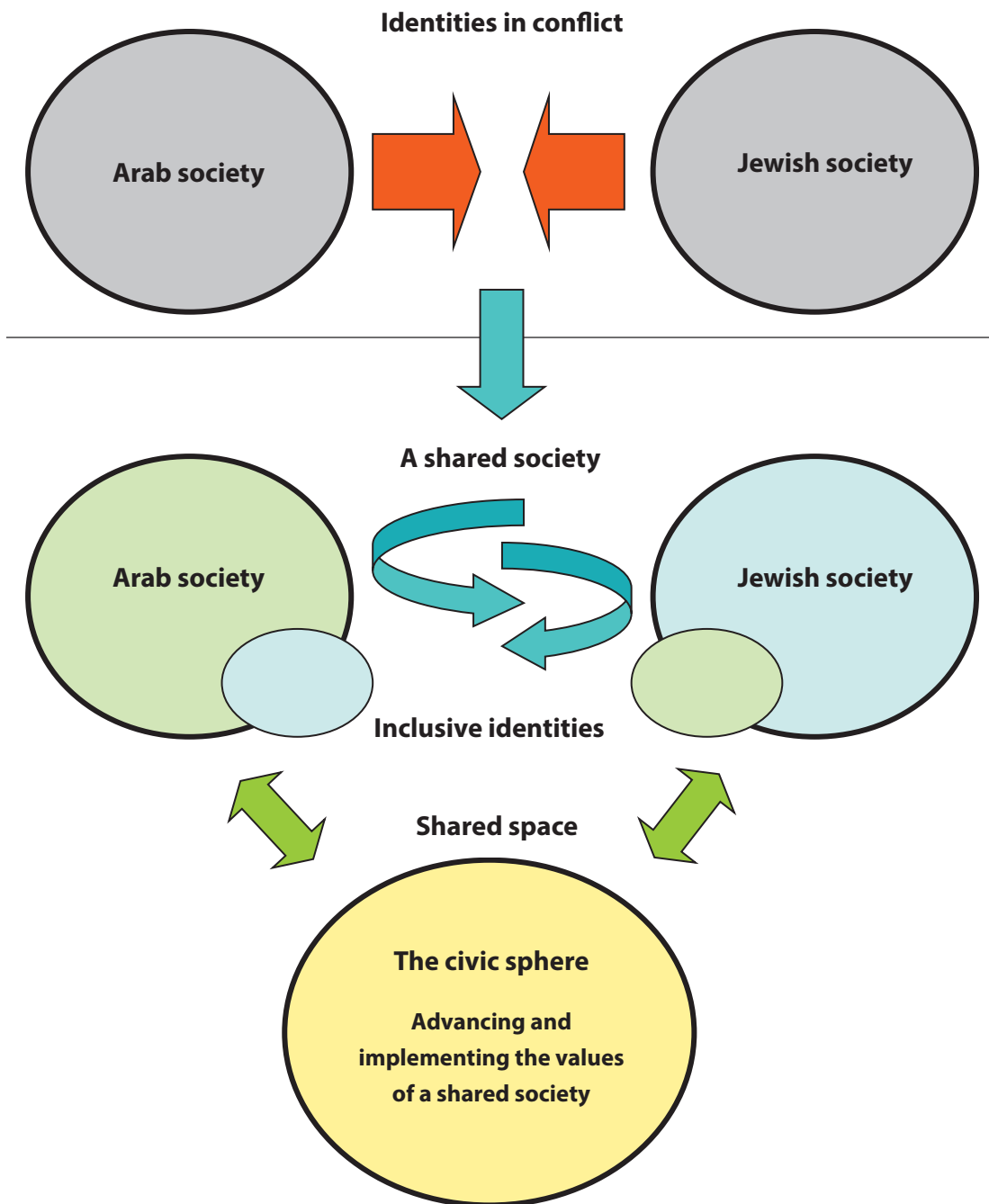
## Main objectives

These are the objectives that will serve as the ideological and/or concrete basis for formulating activities over the various time frames:

- Deepening the acknowledgement among both societies of the legitimate existence of the different collective identities in Israeli society.
- Advancing a shared society as a vision and as an ideological concept among as broad a public as possible, in a manner suited to the different publics in Jewish society and in Palestinian Arab society in Israel.
- Jewish-Arab identification and agreement with the idea and the vision of a shared society will be translated into the reciprocal inclusion of a spectrum of identities of both societies via the principle of moving from encounter to understanding to acceptance.
- The advancing of a shared society as a vision, as a moral concept and as an ideological concept will be accomplished by promoting values and projects such as shared encounters (dialogues, shared projects, education, etc.), cultivating multiculturalism, combatting racism and promoting tolerance, enhancing democracy and respect for human rights, activities to resolve the national conflict between the peoples, cultivating participatory democracy, etc.
- Translation into practice of the vision of a shared society will be about defining the “shared space” (as the pragmatic and operative translation of a “shared society”) as a central, shared objective to be attained. This will include partnership in public and symbolic realms (like shared secular holidays, marking the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, a Day of Reconciliation, International Day of Democracy, etc.), and shared activities to promote shared interests in a range of spheres – civic, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc.
- A public dialogue revolving around the question of: “What do you want Jewish/Arab society to learn about and acknowledge in your collective identity?” And (for every encounter, dialogue, radio/television program, interview, event planning): “What is the message you want to convey?” “What do you see as important for others to know about you and the society you belong to?”

- Amplifying, broadening, thickening and cultivating the ability to allow inclusion for the cultural representations of the two collective identities as well as existing shared representations.
- Developing and creating a strong foundation for a diverse range of activities in various fields to actualize and promote the objectives (dialogues on various levels, educational activities, public engagement, recruiting political support, etc.).
- Creating a reparative and inclusive (“horizontal”) discourse between the two societies, Jewish and Arab, as a majority community and a minority community, respectively, and as injured party and injuring party, around collective events and traumas, in moving toward a more beneficent shared future.
- Creating synergistic cooperation with entities and organizations operating in the spirit of the principles of restorative discourse and the goals of advancing a shared life for Jews and Arabs in Israel.
- Aspiring to create an *I-Thou* restorative discourse between community and (state) political establishment, and its various arms, to mend the wounds of the past and promote the values of a shared society and the values of a life with dignity and full equality, and to recognize the collective other while acknowledging and validating the unique rights that flow from that.
- Creating symbols that can embody and evoke a shared identification for members of the two groups.

**From identities in conflict to inclusive identities – a diagram**



## Principles of the action plan

- Making the collective identities more present through shared projects (cultural performances, arts and entertainment, sports projects, media, dialogue sessions that address current events) that will enable mutual exposure to, acknowledgement of, and legitimation of various perspectives, opinions, experiences, knowledge, and awareness, and allow for varied interpretations.
- Advancing the shared society as a vision and an ideological and ethical approach through unmediated restorative dialogue that addresses identity, acknowledges the other and the other's legitimacy, and advances and cultivates democratic values, human rights, multiculturalism and the encouragement of participatory democracy.
- Joint activities to advance shared interests in various realms – civic, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc.
- Partnership in symbolic public spheres – shared secular holidays, marking the International Day Against Racism, etc.).
- Equitable allocation of budgets and appropriate adjustments.
- Partnership across the spectrum of people's lives: economy, culture, education, etc.
- Partnership in governance – local, regional and national.

Key phases:

- Phase 1 – Defining a shared society as a meta-goal and as a moral vision.
- Phase 2 – Clarification, empowerment, and inclusion of the collective identities of both societies.
- Phase 3 – Laying the foundations for a shared space.

### **Phase One: Defining a shared society as a meta-goal and a moral vision.**

1. Main principle: seeking Jewish-Arab consensus on the idea of a *shared society* as a central goal.
2. A *shared society* is an ideological and moral definition and a kind of uppermost level of the project, requiring profound identification on the part of the public on all sides. The *shared space* is a practical translation, a pragmatic definition of a shared society of Jews and Arabs in Israel.
3. Assuming that among citizens of Israel, Jewish and Arab, there are different levels of agreement concerning a shared society, the project aspires to awaken as profound as possible an identification with this idea, both in Jewish society and in Palestinian Arab society in Israel.
4. The main principles and key steps for shared activities: giving space to and studying the narratives and cultures of both societies, and moving ahead to acknowledging, honoring and including their collective identities.
5. Focusing on activities aimed at creating a better shared future.

### **Phase Two: Clarifying, empowering, and including the “collective identities” of both societies.**

1. Devoting attention to and learning about collective identities through cultural representations from both societies (sports, song, theater, and other cultural realms).
2. One practical possibility, for example: setting up an agreed-on, shared forum of Jewish and Arab experts and intellectuals to propose canonical values and components of collective identities, as part of learning about and acknowledging one another.
3. A central, pivotal question: “What would you want Jewish/Arab society to learn and acknowledge about your collective identity? (via Internet surveys, interviews in the media, group encounters, etc.)
4. A guiding principal in the encounter between collective identities: accepting and acknowledging the other identity

as a whole identity, unconditionally and not piecemeal. (Note: Subjective consideration, which is liable to be judgmental on both sides, is a personal matter for each participant, in private.)

5. Acknowledging, honoring and providing inclusion for these collective identities (moving from encounter, to understanding, to acceptance).
6. Highlighting and learning about, both internally and reciprocally, the narratives of both societies.
7. Mutual acknowledgement and acceptance of the complex narratives (including traumas and victims), understanding them, and insofar as possible responding in a way that honors and respects the needs and interests of all the partners.

### **Phase Three: Laying the foundations for a shared space.**

1. Partnership in symbolic public realms (shared secular holidays, marking the International Day Against Racism, International Day of Democracy, etc.).
2. Joint activities to advance shared interests in civic, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc. realms.
3. Partnership in governance – local, regional and national.
4. Partnership across the spectrum of people's lives: economy, culture, education, etc.
5. Allocation of equal resources with required adjustments via affirmative action mechanisms.

### **Stakeholders and required partnerships**

1. Coordination and cooperation through synergy with activities in additional areas of the Road Map for a Shared Society: education, governance, economic issues, and land.
2. Leaders at the local community level.
3. Intellectuals and academicians.
4. Opinion leaders.
5. Civil society organizations, both local and national.
6. Organizations in government and in the establishment, government ministries in the various spheres.
7. Public, economic, social, educational, etc. organizations.
8. Leading public figures and politicians.

## **Recommendations for activities over various time frames**

### **Launching a Forum for a Shared Society (a joint Jewish-Arab forum)**

- A joint Jewish-Arab Forum will be set up to generate forward movement on implementing the vision of a shared society through an approach featuring restorative processes, based on the principles of restorative justice.
- The Forum's activity will focus on the practical translation of the shared society vision and the dissemination of the idea throughout Israeli society, Jewish and Arab.
- The Forum will operate on a regular schedule as a committee dedicated to the subject of a shared society and in conjunction with the Forum for Shared Cultural Representations.
- In addition, the Forum will focus on defining the shared space (the pragmatic translation in practice of the shared society idea) as a shared, major objective to be attained.
- Short term objectives of the activity: recruiting the members of the Forum, a process of studying the principles

of the model (*restorative processes and cultural representations*), training and active participation in the restorative discourse, formulation of working procedures and internal rules.

- Medium and long term objectives of the activity: Advancing the shared space; creating shared symbolic spaces in public and civil spheres (shared secular holidays, marking the International Day Against Racism, International Day of Democracy, etc.), and joint activities to further shared interests in civil, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc. spheres.
- Anticipated outcomes (in the various time frames): A *getting-started* effect in the short term; an *anchor* of immediate action with the potential to inspire additional circles – and, later on, broadening the definition of a shared society and its significance; leadership of processes and projects; advancing operative objectives in the realm of the shared space.
- Inputs: Resources for recruiting members, guidance and assistance processes, ongoing maintenance, symbolic/actual remuneration.
- Measures: Degree of suitability of the members recruited for the Forum; evaluation of motivation for ongoing activities; preparing a cadre for continuing activities.
- Feasibility: Medium-high.

### **Launching a Forum for Shared Cultural Representations (a shared Jewish-Arab forum)**

Establishing a shared, agreed-on forum of Jewish and Arab experts, intellectuals and academics, to propose canonical values and components of collective identities for study and mutual acceptance. Goals of the activity:

- Establishing a shared corpus – cultural, artistic, literary and scholarly – that will provide independent as well as shared expression of the two cultures, Jewish and Arab, in Israel.
- Creation of a shared cultural language for the conduct of a multidimensional symbolic discourse between the two societies, Jewish and Palestinian Arab, in Israel.
- Amplifying, broadening, thickening and cultivating the ability to allow inclusion of cultural representations from both collective identities as well as existing shared representations.
- Developing a moral and cultural infrastructure for a dialogue on various levels (from the local-community level to the ethical and political levels), educational activities, public activities, etc.
- Laying down the moral and cultural foundation for creating a reparative and inclusive discourse between the two societies, Jewish and Arab, from the perspective of both the injuring and the injured party, around collective events and traumas, toward a better shared future.
- Time frame for the activity: The activity of this Forum will take place for a defined period of about a year to two years, in conjunction with the Forum for a Shared Society.
- Outcomes for the various time periods: Broad consensual definitions for the collective identities of the two societies; creation of the cultural-identity canon for each society; creating and solidifying the foundation for the first cultural identity encounter between the two societies; laying the foundation for a broad symbolic discourse between the two societies; laying the operative foundation to move from encounter, to understanding, to acceptance of the other; broadening the foundation for creation of a shared culture; emplacing the infrastructure for wide-ranging educational activity in formal and nonformal education; laying the moral and cultural foundation for creating a restorative and inclusive discourse between the two societies.
- Inputs: Resources to recruit members, a guidance and assistance process, ongoing maintenance, symbolic/real remuneration.
- Measures: Degree of suitability and depth of expertise of the members recruited for the Forum; their willingness to devote themselves to the project and an evaluation of their motivation for the activity; willingness to work as a team; an early evaluation of the public acceptance of the work products.
- Feasibility: medium-high.

### **“Memories”**

- The project proposes to create mutual representation and preservation of memories among members of the two societies, with each memory on either side having its own independent place without being in competition with the memories of the other.
- The mutual acknowledgement and acceptance of memories, together with the legitimization of their preservation as collective memories of each of the societies and as a significant part of their identities – all of this comprises an important component of the process of moving from encounter to understanding to acceptance. This is also the basis for creating meaning and reinforcing identity for members of the next generation and thus broadening the restorative discourse between the two societies.
- Inputs: Identifying participants and host families among Jews and Arabs.
- Measures: Initial willingness to hold encounters and fidelity to attending subsequent sessions, number of participants, documenting and publicizing the activities, educational outcomes.
- Feasibility: high.

### **“Online worlds”**

Meetings of young people, schoolchildren and families, and teachers from Arab society and Jewish society in Internet forums, in cooperation with the formal education system, addressing subjects such as: life stories, family stories, cultural heritage, cuisine, local folklore, etc. (A model for this activity was developed and operated by a member of the group, Dr. Manal Yazbak Abu-Ahmad, and is presented in more detail below.)

### **“Another Way”**

**A shared encounter in the context of parallel events involving serious injury and an existential threat (murder, massacre, expulsion), in order to:**

- Acknowledge the mutual injury, understand the ramifications then and now, and acknowledge one’s own need and the need of the other party to preserve the memory and to learn from the experience.
- To work through difficult feelings evoked by these harsh events and think together about how to work together toward ending such events once and for all.

The journey will be based on suitable in-depth preparation for the encounter with each of the parallel events; each group will work separately on processing the experience it underwent and then again, together, in their shared session. The preparation and facilitation of the encounter will be done by professionals trained for this kind of activity. Special emphasis will be given to the spirit of restorative discourse, which is nonjudgmental and does not assign blame, but seeks acknowledgement, deep understanding of the ramifications for everyone involved, remediation, and a shared decision to choose a different path.

- Inputs: Preparation of arrangements and assistance for events, identification of relevant participants, professionals, trained facilitators.
- Measures: Initial readiness to convene encounters and persevere in attending subsequent sessions, number of participants, documentation and publicizing of the activities, educational outcomes.
- Feasibility: medium-high.



### **“Volunteers for Cultural Adaptation”**

**A group of volunteers (perhaps university students) will be assembled, to identify entities providing public outreach services, guidance and aid (e.g.: how to prevent road accidents, preventing drug and alcohol abuse, mental health hotlines, first aid, etc.);** the volunteers will encourage these agencies to pursue the *cultural adaptation* required to best serve different cultural groups and will assist them in the process of doing so.

- Inputs: Identifying volunteers, a training process, ongoing professional guidance.
- Measures: Willingness to cooperate on the part of community institutions and organizations (MDA ambulance services, Eran Crisis Hotline, etc.).
- Feasibility: medium-high.

### **“Paired Doves”**

Assembling an anthology of stories of intermarried couples and the shared space they have created together and the solutions **they have found to challenges posed by the encounter** between different cultural identities, religions and national origins.

- Inputs: Identifying families with intermarried couples; documentation.
- Measures: Willingness to cooperate.
- Feasibility: medium-high.

Work has also begun on building a schematic working model that presents a plan in principle for group encounter with “restorative processes and cultural representations,” over 8-12 sessions between Jews and Arabs in the spirit of restorative discourse and based on the guiding principles of restorative justice. The goal of the model is to be suitable for ordinary citizens, educators and people working in shared professional and geographic spaces. With the necessary adaptations, the model can be suitable for activity with Jewish and Arab young people from various localities, schoolchildren in bilingual schools, residents of mixed cities, etc.

In the model being formulated, each session would be devoted to a main topic (e.g., principles of restorative discourse; a brief overview of the approach that encourages the transition from identities in conflict to inclusive identities; cultural representations portraying the main characteristics of the two societies; events and stories coming from the populations and places to which the participants belong) and would be conducted in a spirit of dialogue and learning, analysis and reflection.

### **Closing note**

Undoubtedly the proposed ideas and activities demand of us, Jews and Arabs alike, that we change our longstanding perspectives. The idea is that we are two peoples with a deep connection to this land, with a right to live in dignity, equality and security; and that there is similar pain on both sides. The expectation of mutual recognition by both sides of the other, and that both sides will take responsibility for their part in the mutual wounding and the perpetuation of the conflict – all of that demands daring, a process of adaptation, and recourse to the power of our hope and our will to discuss, share feelings, and finally – to change the way things are, repair what is broken and make amends.

## Background

1. **The question of land has become a key issue both in the development of Arab localities and in addressing the relations between Jews and Arabs. In the backdrop is a history of massive land expropriations, a shortage of land for development purposes in Arab towns, and issues involving the structure and institutions of land ownership and management in Israel.** Added to this is the under-capacity of Arab local authorities afflicted with inadequate resources and hampered in planning and its oversight and implementation, a low standard of living in Arab towns and longstanding discrimination in the allocation of public resources to Arab communities. In this reality, what is required is a concerted effort on the part of all government actors, local and national, to push past what has been the accepted normative situation, by means of a revolutionary initiative to forge new norms for planning in Arab towns. Only an effort of that magnitude can change the quality of life and of residential infrastructure and development for Arab communities, while meantime contributing to furthering the full integration of Arab citizens into Israeli society.
2. It would seem that state authorities, first and foremost the government of Israel, are aware of this problem. On November 21, 2014, the Israeli government passed its Resolution No. 2362, in the framework of which it was decided to establish a team to formulate, within 120 days, a plan to deal with the issues of housing in minority towns (hereafter, the "120 Days Report"). On July 9, 2015, the government approved Resolution No. 208 (DR18), the recommendations of the 120 Days Report team. Subsequently, the government of Israel on December 30, 2015 passed Resolution No. 922, based on, among other sources, the recommendations of the 120 Days Report. Decision 922 addresses at length, inter alia, the issue of housing in Arab society in Israel. At the same time, there remains a long way to go to resolve the problems of housing and land in Arab communities in Israel, and substantial effort will be required on the part of the various governing authorities in order to remove barriers and enable the development of Arab society.
3. The 120 Days Report noted that, among all housing units put on the market in Arab society during the time frame examined, some 43% of the housing units did not sell because they did not address the needs of the population. The document also reported, based on Ministry of Housing data, that plans in 2005-2009 called for some 200,000 housing units to be marketed, 30,000 of them located in minority localities; in practice, however, only 20% of the units in minority localities were sold, compared with 70% of planned units intended for Jewish localities or mixed cities. This data explains, among other things, the rise in the cost of housing in minority communities and their growing shortage of housing, and shows that despite the awareness of the situation and the government decisions taken accordingly, more effective action will be required to resolve the problem.

The approach to solutions offered in the 120 Days Report is multifaceted and includes (1) structural changes aiming to increase the potential availability of land for development and an improvement in procedures for registration, regularization, planning and construction; (2) an array of solutions, emphasizing planning, development and marketing for all minority communities; (3) a plan to aid minority communities to make use of the array of solutions formulated; (4) coordination, management and oversight with attention from the relevant government forums. Such a plan would make possible a more accurate focus on the problems and the needs, with the goal of formulating and carrying out implementable solutions.

### **Barriers to land development in Arab society and to relevant cooperation between Arab and Jewish local authorities:**

One may classify the barriers to cooperation for land development in Arab society under one of three types: structural mechanisms and planning-related barriers, resource-related barriers, and barriers related to trust (or lack of trust) and cultural differences.

## **A. Planning and systemic barriers**

1. **Lack of local planning committees:** Today, in nearly all minority towns, there is no local committee with authority over planning and building, and those localities receive planning services from the district committees in whose jurisdiction they are located (from the 120 Days Report). This situation damages the authority of the heads of local governments and takes away their responsibility. It also creates a structural weakness in the local engineering departments, from which no professional output is demanded. This creates a vicious circle of a lack of authority and independence regarding planning, alongside a deterioration in the ability of the local engineering departments to initiate planning.
2. **Master plan:** Some of the Arab localities in Israel still have no approved local master plan, which could allow for authorizing detailed building plans. Thus for example, in the country's northern district only 29 of 43 Arab communities have an approved master plan or are in a planning process (as of June 2015). Even when there is a master plan, some of the professionals believe that they do not allow for an adequate level of commerce, industry and tourism, nor take into account the question of privately owned land (from the 120 Days Report); this creates difficulties in subdividing or amalgamating land areas.
3. **Detailed plans:** A substantial proportion of the Arab local authorities do not have the financial resources to move forward on detailed plans. In addition, many of the existing detailed plans are relatively limited in terms of the scope of housing units they include, due to the complexity of dealing with parcels with multiple owners. This situation prevents the possibility of benefiting from the establishment of a preferred-residential-areas planning committee, which could fast-track large tracts so long as they are intended to include more than 500 housing units (from the 120 Days Report). Nonetheless, recently considerable funding has been budgeted to move ahead with detailed plans, including amalgamation and repartition, in some cases as a by-product of updated master plans.
4. **Underrepresentation of Arabs in planning institutions:** As of today, there are almost no Arab professionals (planners, advisers or senior administrative staff) in the national or district planning institutions (the National Planning Council and its subsidiary committees, the district planning committees and their subsidiary committees). The negligible inclusion of Arabs in the planning and development work of Arab towns seriously reduces the possibility of insuring that the planning process at every stage reflects the needs of Arab society. Indeed, there is no national professional agency or office responsible for supervising the progress and actualization of these master plans, and likewise when budgets are allocated and there is a master plan – there is under-implementation.

## **B. Resource-related barriers**

1. **Socioeconomic factors:** According to data from Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), most local authorities in minority towns are at the lower levels of socioeconomic rankings. The rate of accumulated debt and the loan deficit burden in minority communities are much higher than in Jewish localities. These circumstances hinder Arab local authorities in their efforts to assemble the required professional expertise and capacity to move forward on housing issues, particularly in terms of planning. Without government funding, without assistance, and without solutions to these barriers, most Arab local authorities are unable to carry the financial and managerial burden of detailed planning, in many cases also with regard to planning for their built area as well as their remaining open land (from the 120 Days Report). The financial distress among Arab local councils is also exacerbated by their lack of revenue from regional industrial and employment zones.
2. **Shortage of land for development:** The shortage of state land in the jurisdictions of Arab localities comprises a barrier to development of the housing market with state involvement. Even when there is state land near Arab localities, it is burdened with planning restrictions because it is not included within the development area of Tama 35 [Integrated National Master Plan for Construction, Development and Preservation], alongside municipal restrictions because it is outside the jurisdictional area of the community. Furthermore, a very large proportion of land reserves for development is private land whose owners have difficulty initiating orderly planning due to reluctance to set aside land for public purposes, financing problems, and/or sociocultural views and/or mistrust as to the feasibility of planning as noted earlier.

3. Inability to finance development: Even when there are detailed plans, they are not always implemented because the local authority, and/or the developers, and/or the private landowners are unable to marshal the financing to cover the development costs. A great many of the Arab local authorities have difficulty promising residents that infrastructure will be built, even if they have paid for it, because at the early stages of implementing the plans, construction proceeds very sparsely. Landowners are unwilling to cover the costs of development for residential land they own, viewing that as something to be implemented only in the long range.
4. Lack of macro-infrastructure: There is inadequate macro-infrastructure in Arab towns, including transportation, water tanks and sewage systems. This makes it very costly or impossible to implement the required development process for new residential neighborhoods or new employment zones. The local Arab authority cannot cope on its own with this systemic barrier.
5. Lack of professionals with relevant expertise: Part of the weak performance by these local authorities has to do with a shortage of local professionals at the level required for planning, implementation, supervision and enforcement.

### **C. Structural cultural barriers and attitudinal issues**

1. A low level of spatial mobility: One issue that is basically cultural in nature is the low level of spatial mobility both within minority communities and, certainly, between these communities and Jewish towns. This gives rise to pressures for housing solutions in a given town to be created for the benefit of local residents only.

2. Underregistration of land, and taxes owing:

Registration of ownership rights in official state records enables people to protect their ownership rights and is crucial for progress and implementation of planning and building and for the commercial tradability of real estate assets. An absence of registration creates uncertainty and damages negotiability, raises the cost of transactions and funding, and leads to stagnation. The problem of non-registration among Arab landowners is widespread; it impedes progress in improving the ability to build legally, to move ahead with planning consonant with the reality on the ground, and to enhance the economic value of these assets.

Under-registration of the transfer of ownership rights leads to incompatibilities between landholders and the legally registered owners. Back taxes must be paid as a condition of registration, and registration of legal rights to the land is contingent on completion of tax payments owed both locally and to the state. Payment of these taxes also requires reporting the entire chain of transactions involving a given piece of land. This issues hinders cooperation on the part of residents throughout the process (from the 120 Days Report).

3. Lack of trust vis-à-vis the local authorities and state agencies: Arab residents lack trust in local governments as well as in state agencies, among other reasons due to uncertainty as to the real ability, and real will, of these authorities to deal with the housing crisis in minority communities. Apart from national tensions, this distrust arises against the backdrop of longstanding experience of discrimination and inequality in the investment made in Arab towns in multiple spheres and the attitude that the minorities are “different” and do not belong. The distrust also has roots in the history of planning in Israel: Plans that are not consonant with the character of Arab towns and villages are nonetheless advanced, and land is expropriated for public needs in a manner that does not insure equitable sharing of the burden by all landowners.
4. Local Arab authorities are relatively weak: Some of the local councils are poorly managed and have trouble carrying out planning policy, collecting taxes and implementing existing building plans, which exacerbates people’s unwillingness to participate in planning projects. Today, a local authority may have trouble investing in the development of infrastructure before residents build their houses and also has trouble guaranteeing them that, if they pay the taxes and fees, infrastructure will in fact be built, because in the early stages of the implementation of the plans, there is little construction taking place in these areas. In addition, there are issues with family relationships within the community that complicate private land ownership issues, and community leaders find it hard to move forward with modern planning aimed at distributive justice.

5. Low levels of tradability and impediments in the culture of housing: Some parts of Arab society have low levels of tradability in private land. This situation can be traced to both a lack of trust in the planning authorities and in public building, and to a traditional attitude that views land as a resource to be preserved as a family asset to insure economic security and be passed along to heirs. Moreover, there is a preference for building low-rise, low-density housing. Multi-unit dwellings in Arab society are nearly always built for extended families. Among people seeking housing, there is very little demand for any other kind of multi-unit construction, and there are very few initiatives by landowners to promote such projects for sale or for rental. This cultural context works against the adoption of urban planning models like multi-unit and high-rise residential styles, which make more efficient use of land and reduce costs for building and maintaining infrastructure while increasing the utilization of land allocations for public needs.
6. Building without plan or permit: The lack of a planning horizon, scarcity of land and widespread distrust lead to building without orderly planning and without building permits. This lowers the quality of the construction and the ability of the local authority to promote orderly land use planning, collect building-related taxes and use the tax revenue for the provision of public infrastructure.
7. Problems in implementing amalgamation and repartition: For land use planning for residential purposes at the standard customary in Jewish towns in Israel, suitable parcels must be designated for building while suitable expropriations are assured for public needs. A necessary condition for such a process is the assurance that the expropriation for public use will be distributed fairly among affected landowners. Given the structure of private land ownership in these localities, this planning requires a preliminary phase of first amalgamating and then redividing the land. Several factors impede this process: lack of trust on the part of landowners in the establishment is one, alongside an unwillingness to change which section of land, within the planned area, is under their ownership. Amalgamation and repartition without the agreement of landowners is not implementable in most cases due to the gap between ownership in practice, which is divided among various heirs and a considerable number of owners, and the formal registration status of those lands. To regularize the registration involves taxes that many landowners are not prepared to pay.
8. Relations between Arab and Jewish local authorities: Neighboring Arab and Jewish local authorities in many cases are not well acquainted with one another and have no preexisting working relationship. This retards the integration of, and diminishes the participation of, Arab citizens and authorities in the wider society and in public spaces in Israel. One result is the inefficient allocation and/or underutilization of existing regional resources, which in turn impedes cooperation between Arabs and Jews and the potential benefit to both societies, in general, and with regard to land use issues in particular.

## Goals

The goals of the proposed program are to improve the quality of life of Arab citizens through physical development of residential areas, infrastructure, public facilities and open spaces at the planning standards customary in Israel, and through the development of cooperation around land use issues between neighboring Arab and Jewish local, and district-level, authorities; and the adoption of better planning and more effective implementation of planning in Arab communities, alongside improvements that will bring existing building and infrastructure up to standard, as quickly and efficiently as possible, with professional assistance and oversight at the national level.

## Proposed policy channels and tools

The suggestions below are presented in two sections: The first deals with ways of improving the situation of land and building in Arab society, and the second discusses the creation of land-based cooperation and partnerships between Arab and Jewish local authorities.

## Improving aspects of land issues in Arab society

Progress on these goals requires insuring that the master planning conducted now and in the future in Arab towns and mixed cities will lead to the formulation of proactive plans rather than regularizing plans. We view plans that are meant to regularize existing situations as plans that do not lead to fundamental change in the quality of life and standard of living of the residents; we define proactive plans as plans that change the residential building norms and assure a spectrum of public areas distributed rationally throughout the community's space, as well as plans that assure a physical planning infrastructure conducive to economic growth for these Arab communities.

The proactive plans are meant to facilitate, with their implementation, a revolution in the living conditions of the residents of Arab communities and to be responsive to their needs overall, on a level comparable to the quality of life in Jewish localities. Beyond that, the plans and the public investment in allocating resources to implement them should insure that the Arab population is going to benefit from development via the appropriate allocation of public resources, and especially of land and planning – which ought to accord Arab citizens a sense of belonging to the country and its institutions.

### Working assumptions

- The state intends and is committed to allocating national resources, including planning and land, in a fair and just manner among the entire population, both Jewish and Arab.
- The state intends and is committed to act so as to close gaps in living conditions between Arabs and Jews, inter alia with regard to housing, as declared in its Economic Development Plan for the Arab Sector, grounded inter alia in Government Resolution No. 922 and the Report of the 120 Days Committee, which as noted has received the status of an official government decision.
- The Arab population aspires to live in a modern physical environment consonant with the accepted standards in Israel, and is prepared to undertake the customary obligations set by law to attain that kind of physical environment, while maintaining the expression of its cultural uniqueness.
- This project seeks to address the needs of the Arab population for land in the coming years, and does not profess to address political questions relating to the Arab-Jewish conflict. The latter must be deliberated in other forums.

### Issues requiring resolution

The team defined, from among the issues enumerated above, several main land-related problems which impede development of Arab towns, and on which we will be focusing:

1. Shortage of land: The land shortage derives from factors external to Arab society as well as from internal factors. External factors are connected with the land confiscated from Arab owners and then registered as state land, alongside the inadequate allocation of state/public land for development of Arab towns. The internal factors have to do with the inequitable division and subdivision of land ownership, which has reduced the inventory of private land both absolutely and relative to the high rate of population growth. Today, a major proportion of Arab young people (nearly two-thirds of them) will not inherit land from their parents, and their ability to purchase land in their own locality is minimal. This process is one of the factors behind the increase in land prices and the difficulty many Arab young people have in finding housing, especially in Arab communities.
2. Subdivision of land into small unregulated plots: High birth rates, inheritance customs that divide family land equally among all the offspring, and the practice that heirs abstain from registering ownership, alongside a lack of order arising from practices dating back to the Ottoman period, have led to excessive unregulated subdivision of land ownership and enduring quarrels among heirs over the rights to a given tract of land. Under these conditions it is impossible to approve master plans that assure a good quality of life in these communities. Some of the people with rights to small plots of subdivided land refuse to have it set aside for public needs, and the local authorities are unable to develop infrastructure that can adequately serve a modern community.



3. Difficulty setting aside areas for public needs: Because of the fractured ownership of land, the shortage of land overall, and the fact that nearly all the land still available is privately owned, it is very difficult under the existing ownership structure to expropriate land for public needs in a manner that equalizes the burden fairly among all the owners. Owner opposition to inequitable confiscation of their land and the extended family structure in the community create problems for the local authorities in expropriating land on which to develop infrastructure. The local authority's inability to implement master plans is also due to structural weakness in the town's economic base, as described above.
4. The absence of industrial zones: Arab towns do not share in the revenues from industrial areas developed with state encouragement, mainly in geographically peripheral areas. The undersupply of land and the divided ownership of such land as there is, seriously hamper the ability to allocate large tracts for industry in Arab jurisdictions. In Arab towns in general, there is inadequate investment in infrastructure in industrial areas developed without public capital; owners of small businesses located in or next to their own homes find it hard to invest the capital required to fund the kind of construction and infrastructure that would enable them to move to properly organized industrial areas. Competition between small community-based employment areas, in the context of limited demand, makes it hard to market approved employment zones.
5. Ineffective planning processes: Some of the master plans prepared in the past were not suited to the needs of Arab towns. The approval process for some of these master plans has been unreasonably long and drawn out, to the point where, by the time they were approved, they were already irrelevant. Moreover, the existing local planning committees sometimes lack adequate professional expertise and authority to assume responsibility for implementation and enforcement of the planning processes. Further, as already noted, in many localities a local planning and building committee is either named by external authorities or simply does not exist.

#### **Objectives to pursue via a pilot project for development plans for Arab towns**

1. Reduce the disparities in the building sector between Arab society and Jewish society within 5 years.
2. Bridge the gaps between the requirements of modern planning and local traditions.
3. Mount a pilot project for development plans and their implementation, as described below, that will create an effective model for initiating and developing the planned building.
4. Reinforce the building-related planning and implementation capacities of the Arab local councils.
5. Create greater trust between Arab citizens and the local planning committee and local governing authority, with regard to building.
6. Encourage allocation of revenue-generating tracts in Arab jurisdictions.
7. Create relationships of trust and cooperation between neighboring local authorities.

#### **Key elements of the pilot project for planning and implementing new initiatives**

**Our recommendation is that the pilot project focus on advancing plans for initiatives for six Arab localities, to be carefully chosen based on the criteria set forth below. The project should include completion of the master plan, moving forward with detailed plans and plans for regularizing the registration,** provision of a means of supervision and implementation by the local authorities – all within a 5-year time frame.

During the five years of the pilot project, a national oversight and assistance committee will operate as described below, to draw conclusions from the progress of the pilot and oversee implementation of the working model in another 30 Arab localities during the next decade.

To telescope the process, we recommend that the six communities chosen for the pilot project already have a master plan in effect or at least nearing completion, with all six to prepare or complete their master plans within two years,

transmitting them for official submission and moving ahead with detailed plans based on the master plan without waiting for approval by their area committees for planning and building. If localities are chosen that already have master plans in effect, the time frame for moving forward on detailed plans should be two years at most.

### **Pilot project methods**

#### **1. Allocation of state land for the proactive master plans**

- In each master plan, the planning team must state their requirements for land for residential use, public use, and economic development purposes for the time frame encompassed by the plan. During the evaluation, the planning staff must consider the entirety of needs for the areas involved and the allocation of areas among families, with guaranteed access to land for the greatest possible number of residents and attention to the impact of the allocation of land reserves on housing market prices in the particular town. The local authorities participating in the pilot project will undertake to provide the required data.
- To assure an adequate inventory of land, the state must consider allocating state land for the benefit of the master plan in the planned community. Allocation of such areas should be conditioned on a planned repartition that meets accepted standards, provision of public spaces serving at least 40% of the area, and the integration of the detailed plan for these areas with their treatment in the overall master plan.

The state will act, insofar as possible in cooperation with the local authorities, to change municipal boundaries so as to add state land and/or local residents' privately owned land to the areas in the master plan to the extent required and possible in the planned community. The process will be implemented while taking into consideration both the planning criteria that will assure the community's optimal functioning spatially and qualitatively, and also the needs and interests of the neighboring localities and stakeholders with rights to this land. Adjustments to boundaries should be fast-tracked in these cases. Likewise, in these cases, the process should be conditioned on plans for repartition, allocation of public space and the integration of the area with the overall master plan, while the state meantime freezes, in the communities participating in the pilot project, any demolitions of buildings and fines for building without a permit outside the boundaries of the approved plan, until the new plans can be approved.

#### **2. Amalgamation and division of privately owned land**

- Master plan initiatives require the delineation of sites for amalgamation and division addressing all the land comprising each site under the plan. This must be done in the framework of the detailed plans derived from the master plans. In the process of amalgamation and division, a table of mutual payments on repartition should be produced so as to assure distributive justice and economic feasibility for the landowners. This can be achieved by designating at least 30% of the allocations for public needs and by approving relatively high levels of housing units per dunam. The process should rely on the residential density definitions set forth in Tama 35 (National Master Plan) and the various district plans, and in principle we recommend planning for a density of not less than 6 housing units per dunam.
- It is important to define implementable planning sites for which detailed plans will be made that include amalgamation and repartition. Planning must distinguish between densely built areas, areas completely or partially open, and the core area of the village.
- In the framework of the initiated master plan, a process will be implemented to update the registration of the land to enable statutory division of the "real" lots. In tandem, the connection between this repartition and the "real" landowners is articulated via a blueprint for repartition as set forth in the Planning and Building Law, followed by consensual dismantling of shared ownership, plus a complementary step for regularizing the registration in the land registry. The process also addresses alteration of the planning instructions pertaining to the site, including a change in zoning. Registration can then proceed based on the foregoing steps.



- In order to move forward on the proactive master plan, including regularizing the registration, an option will be given to landowners who join the plan to enjoy tax breaks, including forgiveness of tax indebtedness for a defined period of up to two years from the time the program goes into effect.
  - The process of amalgamation and repartition should be combined with a promotional effort vis-à-vis residents and a negotiation with those who have concerns. Formally, this process will be deemed involuntary so that it will also enable enforcement and implementation without the agreement of landowners. The process also requires notifying landowners and updating them at the preliminary planning phase and at each subsequent phase, and the formulation of an understanding with them as to the advantages of this process and its role in optimally enhancing the possibilities for building on the land they own.
  - At an early stage, and with subsidies and/or loans from the state, the local authority must put infrastructure in place – especially roads, sewage and electricity – in the approved areas as per the master plan, to prevent illegal building on the areas allotted for public needs, and to amplify the trust on the part of landowners concerning implementation and enforcement of the plan.
  - The oversight and assistance committee must help advance the arrangements for macro-infrastructure in the vicinity of the planned communities.
3. Establishing an oversight and assistance committee at the Planning Authority and moving forward on local planning committees
- A national oversight and assistance committee will be established to oversee implementation of the master plan initiatives in Arab towns, under the aegis of the Planning Authority. Members of the committee should include professionals with knowledge and experience of planning for Arab towns, implementation of planned amalgamation and repartition of land, law, appraisal and taxation. Other members will include representatives of relevant government ministries and agencies such as the Ministry of Finance, the Land Taxation office of the Israel Tax Authority, and people with knowledge of geographical data bases and mediation. The committee will provide assistance and backing for the initiative and for progress on the master plans and detailed plans in the participating towns.
  - The oversight and assistance committee will assure interim funding for the local councils and local planning committees, to develop infrastructure at the planned sites, from a dedicated budget defined for that purpose. Interim funding will enable the local authority to carry out its obligations to the public while increasing residents' willingness to pay for the infrastructure to be built for them. The local authority will collect funds from residents in the relevant areas and repay the loans taken out for infrastructure development.
  - The oversight and assistance committee will have authority to approve tax breaks, in whole or in part, for participants in the program in accordance with an outline approved in advance.
  - The oversight and assistance committee will facilitate the establishment and operation of local planning and building committees at Arab towns, particularly those towns participating in the pilot project; the committee will provide consultation, arrange professional training for local committee members, and assist with building an up-to-date geographical information system for their community. On the recommendation of the oversight and assistance committee, the local planning committees that progress successfully with their plan will be designated by the Planning Authority as autonomous committees. On the recommendation of the oversight and assistance committee, the local committees that successfully implement their plan will be designated by the Planning Authority as authorized committees.
  - The oversight and assistance committee will work in cooperation with the local planning and building committees to advance the updated registration of ownership of land within the jurisdiction of Arab towns. Effective ways should be examined to overcome building and planning delays that occur with some of the privately owned tracts which are the subject of a conflict between a large number of heirs, some of whom are not formally registered.

- The oversight and assistance committee will consider steps to enliven the market for land in Arab towns by proposing taxation arrangements and/or other means, and will work with all the government authorities to advance this.
- The planning committees in the pilot project localities will be fortified, will receive appropriate funding for staff positions, and will benefit from professional assistance and a budget that reinforces their ability to carry out the objectives of the local master plan and assure that the needs of residents are met; the local authority will take responsibility for the plan's implementation and for regularization of existing housing.

#### 4. A special planning forum of planners and local planning committee chairpersons

To move ahead on establishing the oversight and assistance committee, prepare mapping of needs and identify stakeholders, a Special Planning Forum will be convened comprising planners and heads of local authorities from Arab communities along with influential, authoritative figures representing government ministries and other relevant actors; the Special Planning Forum will provide nationwide agency, liaison, assistance and coordination for the oversight and assistance committee.

#### **Criteria for selection of the pilot project communities**

The six communities to be chosen will have strong, well-managed local authorities whose leadership is committed to this issue and willing to take on the challenge. The criteria will include:

- A community with a master plan at advanced stages of preparation or approved during the last five years.
- A community where it is possible to assemble publicly owned land for the purposes of the project, with state-owned land within the jurisdiction, or where it is possible to attach adjacent tracts or to swap tracts with, for example, the Jewish National Fund or the Israel Lands Authority.
- A community with large tracts of land on the order of at least 20 contiguous dunams with a single owner who is interested in developing the land immediately; a community in which the local authority will agree to enlist itself fully in the project. The authority will commit to modern planning and to building infrastructure without delay, on approval of the plan, with the aid of interim funding for infrastructure and a subsidy for development of the planned infrastructure, and will commit to pursuing arrangements to regularize existing illegal construction.
- The oversight and assistance committee will consider enabling an Arab locality that wishes to join the pilot project to do so, even without allocation of state land.
- The town's local planning and building committee will be ready and able to produce the plans in accordance with the Reform (2014) in the Israel Planning and Building Law.

#### **Creating additional housing alternatives**

- We recommend taking steps to obtain the allocation of tracts near Arab cities, with the aim of building large projects on the scale of tens of thousands of residents in Arab towns to be defined as focal points for growth and urbanization, which will draw housing demand from existing Arab towns<sup>1</sup>.
- We further recommend examining the need for establishing new Arab towns. The recommendation is to enable establishment of a small number of Arab "community settlements" with the potential for future growth, in order to provide a response to housing shortages not resolved by planning efforts undertaken within existing Arab towns.

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<sup>1</sup> Gonen, A., Khamaisi, R. (1993): *Toward a Policy on Centers of Urbanization for the Arab Population in Israel*, Floersheimer Policy Research Institute, Jerusalem. [Hebrew] [http://fips.huji.ac.il/sites/default/files/floersheimer/files/gonen\\_khamaisi\\_urbanization\\_poles\\_for\\_the\\_arab\\_population\\_in\\_israel.pdf](http://fips.huji.ac.il/sites/default/files/floersheimer/files/gonen_khamaisi_urbanization_poles_for_the_arab_population_in_israel.pdf)

### **Allocation of revenue-generating tracts**

- Planners agree that local authority revenues from property taxes provide significant income mainly from commercially zoned land. In Arab towns, most of the property taxes are residential, and even those sums are less substantial after discounts and exemptions granted due to the economic situation of the population, many of whom are dependent on social stipends and pensions. In Arab localities, moreover, many small businesses are located in people's homes and so pay property tax at the residential rate. The barriers to moving small enterprises to commercial or industrial zones include a dearth of such sites at the local level, the absence of developed infrastructure in those commercial and employment areas that do exist, and the inability of small business owners to finance the costs of moving to a proper industrial area and to afford the additional property taxes they would be paying there. Employment areas should be allocated in the framework of the local master plans, and the state should subsidize infrastructure construction for employment zones and assist with their management and marketing.
- Arab towns should be receiving a share of the revenue from regional industrial zones. The distribution of these revenues should be based on clear, equitable criteria. Encouragement should be given to joint development of industrial zones together with neighboring communities and authorities. The allocation of this kind of revenue should extend to existing industrial zones as well as planned new ones. With the start of a process of establishing committees on the determination of district boundaries, which will adjudicate all petitions relating to boundaries and allocation of revenue, we recommend that preference in the committees' deliberations be given to Arab towns in which industrial areas are particularly limited in scope.

### **Mixed cities and shared neighborhoods – the “Living Together” Project**

- Planning and development should be boosted in the Arab neighborhoods of mixed cities in Israel (Acre, Haifa, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Lod and Ramla, Upper Nazareth, Jerusalem, Maalot-Tarshiha and Beersheba) and in all the other towns and cities where both Arabs and Jews live.
- In the mixed cities, Arabs should have guaranteed access to housing of the quality and variety appropriate to their needs and in the neighborhoods where they prefer to live.
- In addition, tracts must be allocated for multicultural public spaces that will enable Jews and Arabs to operate in shared cultural frameworks.
- In cities with at least 3,000 Arab residents, the state should compel the local authority to provide areas to enable the creation of ethnically distinct spaces as well as shared spaces. This will enable the building of institutions that are culturally dependent – like schools, houses of worship, cemeteries and community centers – for the Arab population, while also allowing space for multicultural shared institutions for Jews and Arabs, and others that are particular to Arabs to an extent matching their proportion of the population in a given mixed locality.
- We recommend moving with due speed to establish shared neighborhoods, under the rubric of “Living Together,” in some of the mixed cities like Haifa, Acre, Beersheba and Nazareth, for Arab and Jewish residents who are interested in living in a shared environment with shared education and a shared community and cultural life. These mixed neighborhoods will be established by a core group that will participate in the planning phases of the new neighborhood. The Living Together projects will provide a model for creating a shared life in every way, in every realm of living. Their residents will be people who have chosen to live their lives this way and can influence the nascent institutions of their shared environment—schools, community centers, public gardens, and so forth. Consideration should also be given to establishing a joint shared exurban or semi-rural village (known in Israel as a “community settlement”).

## Cooperation on land-related issues between neighboring Arab and Jewish localities

### Barriers to Arab-Jewish cooperation concerning land

There is very little cooperation today between neighboring Arab and Jewish communities, despite several initiatives that have addressed the matter. The absence of such cooperation damages the fabric of life; the resulting rift can lead to considerable mutual estrangement between the two populations, while damaging the possibility of effectively exploiting natural resources and jointly promoting shared projects for tourism, sanitation, sports, nonformal education, and so on. This deficiency has arisen due to, among other factors:

1. Trust is lacking between people who know little or nothing about “the other,” together with the fallout at the local level from the ongoing national conflict.
2. Various kinds of asymmetry, including a power imbalance, lead Arab communities to close themselves off from the outside, fearing the control that the Jewish side, with its greater means, can exert. There is also indifference, a failure to identify the potential inherent in cooperation, and a fear of the consequences of mixing with the other group, including fear on the part of Jews about Arab migration into Jewish communities.
3. Land is perceived as a fixed resource, a scarce resource, something that expresses ownership and hegemony; there is also a fear of change and of being stigmatized.
4. Generally, Arab towns, whether suburban, semi-urban or urban, border on Jewish regional councils that were expressly set up alongside established Arab towns as a way of exerting control over the land.

### The goal of creating cooperation around the issue of land

The goal of land-related cooperation is to create an optimal-quality living environment for neighboring towns. For people who are of different national groups but who share the same space, the movement toward a shared life can take people from denial and invisibility to mutual recognition, making the other visible, making both groups present to one another and accepting of the existence of members of a different national group as legitimate neighbors with equal rights. This makes it possible to share the enjoyment of a variety of cultures and to cope optimally with issues that cross borders – such as employment, tourism, holidays and leisure, sewage, ecological systems and environmental quality. The boundary between two localities is transformed from a line that divides them into an area of encounter and synergy, allowing for coordinated action vis-à-vis state agencies while combining resources and taking advantage of each group’s relative advantages.

### Potential shared interests in land-based cooperation

1. The advantage of size.
2. The advantage of access to resources – state resources, those of NGOs and international organizations, whether Arab or Jewish, and access to various programs and funding sources.
3. A less threatening situation: fewer disparities, less inequality, less suspicion, more peace and quiet, and more stability.
4. More international development and less concern on the part of foreign investors about investing in areas where the two populations live.
5. Savings from a reduction in redundant administrative functions.
6. Optimal management of resources including water and expensive public infrastructure like large sports stadiums, garbage dumps and recycling facilities, and the advantages of pooled resources – human resources, capital, knowledge, and so on.
7. Optimal organization for emergencies like war, forest fires, etc.

8. Prevention of unproductive competition.
9. Better response to the needs of special groups: the intellectually gifted; athletes; people with special needs; farmers; small business owners.
10. Better coping with cross-boundary phenomena: lawful/unlawful hunting; seamless shared tourist traffic; scenic natural environments like forests, nature reserves, and rivers; sewage systems; environmental nuisances; etc.
11. Optimal exploitation of the relative advantages of a given side – capital, available land, networks, available unskilled labor. The advantage of cultural differences as an economic and touristic resource – including restaurants, rural guest houses, etc.

### **Aspects of land that make cooperation worthwhile**

Archaeological sites, nature sites, waterfalls and rivers, vegetation, animals, transportation, water infrastructure, electricity, sewage, communications, public facilities like fire stations and first aid stations, policing, health and sanitation facilities, educational facilities, entertainment and sports facilities, trails for hiking, walking or riding, shared employment zones, etc.

### **Possible modes of cooperation:**

1. Functional cooperation: between local committees, water and sewage and drainage agencies, regional transportation authority, environmental agency.
2. Participation in city coalitions: on issues dealing with the environment, funding government entities, firefighting, ambulance services, multi-city associations.
3. Regional cluster: bottom-up organizing to serve political or regional interests – for example, the Western Galilee cluster – to develop shared tourism, cycling trails, a zoo, planning for forests and rivers.
4. Project agreements: local authorities joining forces to build facilities like sewage treatment, shared public buildings for sports, cultural and performance spaces, specialist health facilities, emergency services, provision of joint services based on economies of scale, shared expertise, shared resources.
5. Joint industrial/commercial areas<sup>2</sup>: Exploiting the special demands the states makes in places like the Sea of Galilee vicinity for pollution prevention, taking advantage of size and avoiding wasteful competition, utilizing the relative advantages of each side for the other's benefit, including accessible land, labor force, funding resources, and supply and demand.
6. Landowners/individuals: commercial cooperation, contracting, agriculture; incentives for small developers, using what the local authority can do to encourage real estate initiatives; e.g., a Jewish local authority can contribute standards and funding, and Arab entrepreneurs and factory owners can pay property taxes and bring businesses.

### **A model for land-based cooperation**

Cooperation on land-based projects must be part of a web of cooperation between adjoining local authorities as part of life in general – in education, culture, economic issues, etc. The model proposed here can be implemented in other areas in which cooperation between neighboring local authorities is planned. The model is based on establishing an executive committee under the leadership of the local authorities to oversee the operations of several teams dealing with particular subjects; the subjects to be addressed by the teams should emerge from the specific characteristics of the partnership. In each of the entities there will be representatives of the participating authorities, government

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<sup>2</sup> This item and the next one are also covered in the previous section of this document and overlap with the economic group.

ministries, establishment agencies, stakeholders and so forth, and they will work in mutual coordination with the aim of creating synergy for development on the regional level.

### **A shared executive committee**

The role of this shared executive team is to facilitate contact between the leaderships of the various local authorities, encourage them to get to know one another, plan and coordinate activities, and provide guidance and oversight to the working teams. Its members will be the heads of the local authorities, people in key positions like CFOs, spokespersons, municipal engineers, educational and religious leaders, developers and other key figures in the local economy, representatives of government ministries from, e.g., the Planning Authority, the Ministry of Finance, etc. We recommend that this team be led by an expert on the subject matter and an expert on the processes involved.

A policy for involving stakeholders: Various avenues of cooperation will be pursued, based on the approach that involvement of stakeholders is critical to move forward in each of the different activity areas. On the executive team level, a policy will be determined to address the involvement of a variety of stakeholders, the principles for their involvement in practice, and oversight for the processes then taking place in the framework of each of the subject area teams. Each of those teams will operate with maximum involvement of the various stakeholders in its work. Stakeholders will include, inter alia, resident activists, local organizations, businesspeople, and entrepreneurs, with the assurance of equitable representation by gender, age, etc. The involvement of stakeholders will be visible in the formulation of policy for the activities in the various cooperative efforts, in creating a foundation for shared projects, and in enlisting additional stakeholders to take part in the detailed planning and implementation of the projects.

Below are examples of areas of activity for the local authorities' joint working teams:

1. Professional teams for issues that cross jurisdictional boundaries: Each professional team will address one specific cross-boundary issue, such as fighting forest fires, dealing with effluent, or enhancing environmental quality. The team will formulate a plan based on the goal and objectives set by the joint executive committee and will be responsible for implementing it as per an agreed budget and time frame.
2. Planning/economic initiatives teams: The team for each initiative will deal with one subject, e.g., establishing a joint industrial zone, creating a park, a project for shared archaeology-oriented tourism. This team will also formulate a plan consonant with the goal and objectives set by the joint executive committee and will be responsible for its implementation as per the agreed budget and time frame.
3. A public relations and fund development team: This team will interface with government entities or agencies who are not represented on the executive committee and with international players interested in pursuing partnerships, will seek donations, grants, and investment funds, and will interface with similar authorities and entrepreneurs in Israel and abroad.

### **Potential pilot projects for land-related cooperation**

We recommend mounting pilot programs for land-related cooperation revolving around projects that are highly feasible, visible and influential for a broad circle of stakeholders with a high level of shared interests and which do not require overly complicated arrangements. Possible projects: Establishing a tourism site in Jisr A-Zarqa in partnership with Caesarea, Or Akiva and Binyamina; establishing a joint industrial area at Kfar Manda; etc.

We also recommend that the implementation of these pilot projects be managed by the Center for Local Authorities or some other central entity, and be backed by a formal, designated government resolution, with allocation of the budgets required for the purpose, in multi-year frameworks.



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## Economic development

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### Introduction – the current situation

During the last fifteen years, a broad consensus has developed in Israel around the need to bring a halt to the continuing expansion of socioeconomic inequality; there is also a consensus as to the value and importance of investing in economic development focusing on the country's minorities. The need for economic development has been articulated under various government programs. With the spotlight trained on the accumulated problems in Arab society and the scope of the distress they have wrought, numerous and varied political solutions have been proposed, with substantial budgetary costs. Today it is clear that, to create a meaningful catch-up effect in Arab society, a not inconsiderable number of policy changes must be adopted using various systemic approaches. The effort must include thorough synchronization between all the initiatives undertaken – because creating sustainable economic change demands a combination of eliminating disparities in many spheres including employment, education, infrastructure, local authority budgets, social welfare, culture, access to higher education, and so forth.

Studies assessing the potential yield from investment in economic development in Arab society have found that, because the baseline is low, any such investment will yield considerable economic profit. Kasir (Kaliner) & Yashiv (2004) found that a conservative figure for the yield from investment in encouraging Arab women's employment is 7% of GDP. A paper prepared for the Caesarea Conference (Caesarea Forum, 2010) demonstrated that the integration of Arab men into the workforce with conditions equal to those for Jewish men will add ten billion NIS to annual GDP. Not taking advantage of the potential growth from the full integration of Arab Israelis into the economy has not only affected the economic situation of Arab society, but has also reduced the standard of living in the country, reduced tax revenues which account for 30% of GDP, increased the scope of transfer payments and the proportion of GDP debt, and thus damaged the general economic stability of the country.

In addition, the low level of development that damages Arab society economically also has ramifications on people's social circumstances and on interethnic relations. A population in poverty, only partially integrated into the workforce and the world of business and commerce, has difficulty investing in elementary and higher education and in job creation. Economic and work force achievements continue to be hampered. The physical and cultural distance from work and from Jewish residential areas further exacerbates the sense of alienation, creating a vicious circle that works against the establishment of a shared society and reinforces the dual economy in the Israeli workforce.

A memorandum from the Institute for National Security Studies at Tel Aviv University (Rodinsky, 2014) details the main impediments to government implementation of its decisions regarding the Arab, Druze, and Circassian sectors in Israel. The first is ascribed to the Jewish character of the state, which prevents fully equal treatment de facto of Arab citizens by state institutions. In practice, preference is given to the interests of the Jewish majority over the Arab, Druze and Circassian minorities. The second impediment cited is a prevalent and long-entrenched attitude that views the Arabs of Israel as a security issue, dating back to the post-1948 period when Arab towns in Israel were under a military administration that lasted officially until 1966. The bureaucracy is another factor cited: even when there is a willingness on the part of political figures to act, says this analysis, the bureaucratic echelons may hamper implementation due to insufficient interest in the matter, inadequate information, or a lack of appropriate implementation capacity. And finally there is what is termed the increasing "fragmentation of the political system." As the various political parties have become increasingly sectorial over time, they have promoted relatively more and more narrow interests serving disparate parts of the population. As a result of this dynamic, plans to move toward equality for the Arab population have been marginalized.

In addition to the foregoing impediments, the memorandum emphasizes that a significant obstacle to implementing development plans involves the situation of the local governance authorities in the Arab sector. In many Arab local authorities, there are functional problems of one kind or another with a negative economic impact. The poverty of

Arab citizens, the increasing internal fragmentation of society within Arab towns, the absence of regional commercial and industrial zones that would pay substantial taxes, alongside the lack of access to national resources, all negatively impact the ability of the local authorities to implement programs they have decided to pursue, and the economic independence of the Arab local authorities is also damaged. For example, government budgeting for programs at the local authority level operates in many cases through matching funds, which means that the local authority must budget a certain percentage of the overall sum for the project as a condition for the government paying its share, without reference to the economic circumstances of the locality involved. This actually constitutes regressive taxation that denies public services to residents of Arab towns and augments the socioeconomic disparities in the country. The inferior economic situation of local authorities in the Arab sector makes it hard for them to participate in programs of this type due to difficulty in allocating their share of the matching funds.

Employment of minority populations in government service is very important because of the moral significance of fair representation in the various arms of the government. Furthermore, increasing the employment of Arabs in public service has the potential to encourage the development of various programs of benefit to the Arab population, programs that the presence of more Arabs in the centers of governance can help bring about if they are positioned to represent the needs of the population of which they are a part. Another aspect of the importance of greater representation in public service employment is that it facilitates the kind of networking that could open doors to the recruitment of additional talented candidates for government service from the Arab population, and a significant transition from there to key positions with influence on decision making in the economy overall. Such connections are very common among the Jewish population, but lacking in the Arab population, among other reasons because Arabs are not conscripted for military service. Their employment in government will also contribute to greater trust and, more important, will enable minorities to gain a greater understanding of the civil service bureaucracy.

In general, the employment rate for Arab Israelis is lower than that for the Jewish population in Israel. Particularly notable is the disparity in rates of employment for women – about 26% among Arab women aged 15 and over, compared with about 63% for Jewish women. Note that Arab women's employment shows one major differential factor regarding the rate of integration into the workforce: Arab women with little education, lacking competence in basic skills required for the job market, are excluded from it. In contrast, Arab women with higher education tend to join the workforce. Most Arab men are employed in blue collar jobs doing manual labor, jobs typically taken by people with little formal education, as tradesmen, construction workers, equipment operators, drivers and unskilled laborers. In consequence, the early drop-out rate of Arab men from the labor market is higher than that of Jewish men. Relative to Jewish men, Arab men are employed at lower rates in professions requiring higher education – as managers, in academic positions, engineers, technicians, etc. Moreover, some Arab men with higher education are employed in jobs which do not match their qualifications (Khattab and Miaari, 2013). Others refrain at the outset from undertaking post-secondary studies in fields in which their prospects of being hired are low. Most Arabs with higher education are employed in the public sector in jobs dealing with the community and in education, and only a minority of Arab academicians are employed in high tech or other advanced fields, or as managers. A study by Lazarus and Miaari (2015) found that the mismatch between educational preparation and actual employment is much higher among Arab Israelis: the prospects for Arab Israelis to be employed in jobs that do not match their educational qualifications is about 25% greater than for Jews. This mismatch factor serves to broaden economic inequality between ethnic groups in Israel.

The picture among Arab women is slightly different. Approximately 38 percent of Arab women in the labor force are employed in academic positions, a higher rate than for Jewish women, at 32 percent. Nonetheless, the rate of Arab women working in non-professional jobs (about 12 percent) is significantly higher than for Jewish women, which is 5 percent. Also notable is a higher concentration of Arab women in sales and services (about 29 percent). Among Arab women there is a conspicuously high concentration in education and health services (Yashiv and (Kaliner) Kasir, 2014). Arab women's clustering in these professions is influenced by a lack of other jobs available nearby and by a lack of public transportation serving Arab towns, both internally and externally. These factors also influence Arab women's choices of which professions to study.

The proportion of Arab Israelis employed in professional fields overall is also lower than that of Jewish Israelis.



## To have an influence – on what?

A different conceptual approach is needed. The dual-economy approach – one economic picture for the Jews and a different one for the Arabs – must be retired in favor of one liberal Israeli economy for all, an economy with a lot of variation in it.

Note that the milestones presented in this section address only Jewish-Arab issues (and do not address other populations in Israel). The new and innovative technological tools of today's high tech Israel, and the opportunities they introduce, alongside the dramatic improvement in physical infrastructure in most of the country over the last decade, can facilitate the accelerated development of the socially and economically marginal sections of the country and enable comprehensive economic growth for both populations along with rapid development of the liberal Israeli economy. In the new economics, advantages of size are eroding, while the advantages of decentralization are providing empowerment that should enable a meaningful and rapid process of catch-up for peripheral populations, if we are able to provide the appropriate catalyzing conditions.

We wish to note that the Road Map for a Shared Society was developed along parallel tracks, and the different teams did not confer with one another. Our view is that the probability of far-reaching accomplishments is low unless there is a coordinated effort in all spheres. It is difficult, for example, to envision local economic progress without proper master plans, necessary infrastructure development and reasonable housing solutions. This sort of development is a precondition, but it also engenders significant economic momentum in and of itself. A master plan and development require government connections, just as promotion and development of channels of employment on the one hand, and technological innovation on the other hand, require development and investment in education.

## General objectives:

- Significant investment in urban and interurban infrastructure and in infrastructure for business development, to enable economic development.
- A focus on increasing the employment of Arab women and diversifying the professions open to employment of Arab men.
- Use of established and innovative technological and business infrastructures to lessen the scope and duration of the investment required.

## Recommendations

Recommendation	Inputs	Outcomes	Anticipated short term results	Anticipated long term results
<b>INFRASTRUCTURE:</b>				
1. Develop a mechanism to examine investment in infrastructure deriving from the needs and opportunities of the next 5-10 years.	Establish a unit to develop infrastructure in Arab society, at the Ministry of National Infrastructure, Planning and Economics division.	Energy-related solutions, e.g., solar roofs on public buildings, a waste-to-energy plant in agricultural areas; water allocation solutions and urban water system management; transportation-related solutions	Improved services to the Arab population, higher revenues for Arab local authorities and more employment options for Arab women in Arab towns and beyond. Development of new employment opportunities in infrastructure, agritourism and trade.	Equalization in services and opportunities between Arab and Jewish local authorities and populations. Completion of master plans for leading Arab towns by 2022 is critical for development of a sustainable economy.
2. Encourage development of hubs for trade, services and technology, along with discussion on industrial zones.	<p>Create a unit at the Ministry of the Interior for development of trade, services, and technology centers in Arab localities, to remove bureaucratic barriers preventing approval within practical time frames.</p> <p>Create a mechanism requiring purchase of local services.</p> <p>Preference to suppliers who integrate local skilled labor in their bids for building infrastructure in local authority jurisdictions – architects, engineers, lawyers, accountants.</p>	More commercial centers, buildings like Stef Wertheimer's Nazareth Industrial Park, in Sakhnin, in Shfaram, in Tayibe, in Tira, and in Rahat.	Removal of barriers to private entrepreneurs and investors for investment in and development of infrastructure. Development of initiatives in real estate and high-density building in Arab towns.	<p>Expanded commercial activity in Arab towns; more sources of revenue for the local authorities from residents' employment.</p> <p>Achieving budgetary equalization between neighboring Jewish and Arab local authorities and towns within ten years.</p>

<p>3. Improve existing mechanisms to enhance the ability of businesses to develop beyond the boundaries of the community, and promote development of corporate governance alongside developing and encouraging new sources of credit.</p>	<p>Use incentives to encourage the leading Israeli (global) brokerage firms to open branches and make their specialized services available to Arab society in the areas of accounting, law, finance, etc.</p>	<p>Development of a business lexicon and culture that will make it easier for businesses to grow beyond the boundaries of the town, region, and country.</p>	<p>Opening of offices and provision of representation by global entities in Sakhnin, Nazareth and Umm al Fahm, not just in Tel Aviv and Haifa.</p>	<p>An upgraded level of professionalism with more breadth, narrowing the gaps between center and periphery, increasing the employment options in service industries.</p>
<p>4. Use government incentives to encourage leading local and international companies to open branches in Arab towns – to influence employment possibilities and the business culture.</p>	<p>Set up an interministerial unit (Office of the Prime Minister and the Finance, Economics and Interior Ministries) in charge of formulating a government incentive program to encourage the country's leading companies to expand into Arab towns, including by opening branches there.</p>	<p>Formulation of a comprehensive, multi-year government incentive program to encourage leading companies to locate branches in Arab towns. The program will be directed at companies dealing in the provision of business services (law, financial and business consulting, accounting, IT consulting, etc.), at financial companies (credit funds), high tech (mature companies), venture capital firms and incubators. Incentives will include the following areas: capital investment, employment, leasing, direct and indirect taxation and municipal taxes.</p>	<p>Improvement in statistics on employment of Arab professionals in the business sector.</p> <p>Better access to sophisticated, modern business services for businesses in Arab society.</p> <p>Creation of a business climate that encourages integration into the economy.</p>	<p>Creation of an ecosystem that will open the way to prosperity for businesses in Arab society and will create success stories, both locally and in the global arena, along with growth in the number of jobs and empowerment of the human capital in Arab society.</p>

## INDUSTRIAL ZONES

<p>5. Bring advanced industry (especially IT) to central Arab towns. This kind of industry does not require broad infrastructure, so it can be developed more rapidly than traditional industries. The recommendation is for 4-5 towns that have large Arab populations.</p>	<p>Lobby the Ministry of the Economy to promote a government decision based on Kfar Qasim and Nazareth.</p>	<p>Implementation of government decision to incentivize 5 industry hubs in major Arab towns (3 new ones in addition to Kfar Qasim and bolstering the one in Nazareth).</p>	<p>Getting Arab towns on board for the vision of an advanced economy.</p>	<p>A dramatic increase in the relevance of high tech for Arab young adults and high school students.</p> <p>A significant increase in higher-level employment of Arab women.</p> <p>Creation of independent revenue for Arab towns – development of a broad and rich foundation for high tech industry (catering services, ride hailing, nonformal education, culture, sport and leisure...).</p> <p>A breakthrough in Arab local economies with a big impact on Israeli GDP overall.</p>
<p>6. Give incentives and encouragement to existing intra-community industrial zones frozen for years (e.g., Shfaram and Umm al Fahm) by encouraging industry and trade in these areas.</p> <p>Budget an alternative or at least partial alternative of state land nearby for industrial zones for Arab towns, as a solution to the problem of private land.</p>	<p>Create an entity with authority and implementation budgets to do urban planning for the leading Arab towns, combining knowledge from around the world and from academia, with representation of the various communities comprising the texture of the respective towns.</p> <p>Enlist organizations such as Shaharit (the think tank) to develop and build a constructive model.</p>	<p>A position paper including a planned budget and dedicated work plans, for the development of state-owned tracts, to put these areas to use. In cooperation with the National Forum of Arab Mayors and representatives of the various communities.</p>	<p>Development of a local public discourse.</p>	<p>Significant job growth near towns, and removal of garages and dirty industry from within the towns.</p>

7. Government reallocation of resources in existing industrial zones (of Jewish towns) and insuring revenue to neighboring Arab towns.	Establish a new mechanism to allocate assets and revenue at the Ministries of the Interior and the Economy.	Mapping of industrial zones and the relevant Arab towns that should join. Also, a plan to work with heads of Jewish local authorities.	Growth in independent revenue for Arab towns.	Connections forged between Arab and Jewish workplaces.
8. Moving forward to finalize and implement a pending government decision on the high tech zone at Kfar Qasim (Tsofen).	Tsofen is already working to advance this subject, with an impressive partnership with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry for Equality.	The outline for establishing a high tech hub was already approved in November 2016 by all the relevant planning committees. A government decision is near.	A breakthrough in government participation in the establishment of a high tech hub. This is a step with great declarative and symbolic significance.	Entry of hundreds of high tech people to work in Kfar Qasim, c. 50% of them Arabs.  More students studying the exact sciences and more people working in this field.
<b>HIGH TECH EMPLOYMENT</b>				
9. A broader job market in high tech for Arabs.	Create an intervention team to deal with members of government and legislators who are blocking change in the situation that emerged following privatization of computer services for the government and in public service. The team will include: a jurist, an expert in recruiting and selecting high tech workers, and an expert on discrimination in the job market, to work together with nonprofits – Sikkuy, Tsofen and Kav Mashve.	The Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance will formulate, together with the Authority for Economic Development of the Arab Sector, a series of steps to compel entities carrying out computer services and software systems development for government and public bodies, to recruit a fixed quota of Arab engineers, in line with “Fair Representation,” and similar to programs already implemented for Haredim.	Arab college graduates with degrees in high tech subjects will be hired by companies carrying out projects and providing computer services to the government.  Practical engineers will find work matching their professional qualifications.  Part of the shortage in high tech workers will be alleviated.	More Arab high school students will choose majors that prepare them for technological studies.  The percentage of Arab science and technology graduates employed in the fields they studied will rise sharply.

<p>10. Develop high tech employment centers in Arab towns.</p>	<p>Create an interministerial team to examine companies' consumer demand and to introduce incentives for the establishment of high tech activity in Arab towns.</p>	<p>Creation of high tech employment centers in Arab towns.</p>	<p>An increase in property tax revenue for Arab towns. A higher socioeconomic level for the Arab population. Provision of a solution for the need for high tech industry.</p>	<p>Equalization in the percentage of those employed in high tech between the Jewish population and the Arab population.</p>
<p>11. Provide government support (tax breaks, employment grants) to Arab companies that subcontract with high tech companies and software firms to operate in Arab towns.</p>	<p>Create a team to include senior Arabs in high tech, and representatives of: Arab mayors, the Manufacturers Association, relevant non-profit organizations, the Authority for Economic Development. The team will work with government figures and software companies that work with government, to promote geographic dispersion for implementation of government and public projects to include Arab population centers.</p>	<p>A relevant government figure will enable an interested software firm to run an experimental project in one of the government centers in a peripheral location.</p> <p>After the experimental period, the outcomes will be considered and regulations drafted for dispersion of government projects to outlying areas.</p> <p>The government will support creation of software development centers and/or testing in Arab localities, and will enable software companies to operate from those locations with subsidies.</p>	<p>Software companies will recruit developers and testers from nearby areas, which will lower their costs and provide good professionals.</p> <p>Software companies will be able to recruit many more women with suitable higher education from the surrounding area.</p> <p>Arab science and technology graduates will be able to choose between a job with higher pay in the center of the country, with a long daily commute, or a job close to home at a slightly lower salary. Companies will have access to a very large pool of practical engineers and graduates qualified in fields closely related to computer studies, who can integrate into their projects.</p>	<p>In not so very many years, a high tech ecosystem will be created in Arab population centers.</p> <p>Professional work for Arab women will become standard.</p>

## EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

<p>12. Investment in public transportation as an example of internal impediments (Arab women's mobility) that combine with the external impediment of a lack of public transport. Plus investment in additional solutions in places where the internal and external impediments exacerbate each other.</p>	<p>Open new bus routes running frequently enough to allow travel all day long to places of work. Further, add bus lines from nearby train stations to Arab towns (e.g., connecting with Yokneam, Caesarea, Binyamina, Migdal Haemek, Haifa, etc.), running frequently enough to enable commuting to places of employment (in the center of the country, and elsewhere).</p>	<p>Solutions that facilitate excellent access to effective transportation that will enable the Arab population, and particularly Arab women, to work at a distance from home (e.g., in Tel Aviv).</p>	<p>Removal of barriers to potential male and female workers from the Arab population to move into jobs at a distance from home.</p>	<p>An increase in the number of Arab men and women who are employed, and an improvement in the quality of the jobs they get, including in terms of salary.</p>
<p>13. Include employment as a subject of study in high schools, emphasizing women's employment.</p>	<p>Include the subject of employment in school curricula.</p>	<p>Exposure of young Arabs to the subject of employment and career development at an earlier stage of their education.</p>	<p>Development of a professional community of Arabs with expertise in employment issues: knowledge of content, group facilitation, etc.</p>	<p>More meticulous and precise life planning for Arabs, which will have an impact in other spheres too:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A high quality of integration into the Israeli job market;</li> <li>a higher level of contribution to the Israeli economy; and</li> <li>an impact on individual life planning and family planning timetables, especially among young Arab women.</li> </ul>

<p>14. Increase the regulation of colleges, regarding: quality of teaching; subsidy of courses of study consonant with job market demand (less teacher training); rank colleges by proportion of graduates employed in their field of study; subsidies consonant with that ranking.</p>	<p>Develop structural oversight and control mechanisms in the Council for Higher Education.</p>	<p>Creating measures of evaluation and control for colleges with regard to the quality of teaching, with preference to fields of study in demand in the job market.</p>	<p>Opening of up-to-date study tracks that match the job market.</p>	<p>An improvement in human resource quality and better synchronization between supply and demand in the job market.</p>
<p>15. Set objectives for integration of Arab women into government ministries and public positions.</p>	<p>Appoint a committee that will determine measures of success for the professional bureaucracy in government ministries regarding employment of Arab women in ministries and public positions.</p>	<p>Formulation of work plans in the relevant government ministries to provide greater access for Arab women to positions in the government/public sector.</p>	<p>An increase in the proportion of Arab women in the public sector.</p>	<p>More Arab women in management and decision making positions in the nation's public administration.</p>
<p>16. Integrate Arab women in programs of study offering internships in government offices, emphasizing those offices located near Arab population centers in the country's north.</p>	<p>Allocate dedicated budgets for integrating Arab women into programs of study for outstanding students, in public administration and the public sector (similar to existing programs like Tzo'arim and Atidim).</p>	<p>Allocation of stipends for Arab women in study programs for outstanding students in public administration.</p>	<p>Assembling of a cadre of graduates of public administration programs who have done internships in government ministries.</p>	<p>A greater presence for Arab women in management positions in public administration.</p>
<p>17. Subsidize apprenticeships for university graduates in professions in which Arab women are absent, like management-level positions in the business and public sectors.</p>	<p>Allocate budgets for stipends and guidance for Arab women university students majoring in management, business administration, etc.</p>	<p>A cadre of Arab women students in management, business administration, etc.</p>	<p>Guidance for graduate women in management professions to ease their integration into high-quality positions (subsidized apprenticeships, subsidized salary increments once they begin work, etc.).</p>	<p>A cadre of Arab women in key positions in the Israeli economy.</p>



## Conclusion

To implement the recommendations proposed here, we suggest that the government and its various authorities work to establish dedicated organizational entities and likewise increase the percentage of Arabs in existing organizational entities. The underrepresentation of the Arab population in positions connected with decision making in the various governance systems is significant. The degree to which various population groups are represented in the governance system influences the furtherance of the interests of those groups, and underrepresentation in decision making is linked with under-allocation of resources. The recommendations offered here are not unconnected with existing needs in other areas like allocation of land, distribution of income, and steps that need to be taken in the realm of education in order to equalize opportunities for the two populations. The focus of these recommendations is on the economic development area, which offers a win-win opportunity, because the steps proposed here to further economic development in Arab society will also lead to economic development of the Israeli economy as a whole, and will promote connectedness and a shared life in Israel for all its citizens as fellow stakeholders and equals.

Narrowing the social and economic disparities in Israel by improving the situation of socially and economically marginalized groups will leverage greater development of social and economic cohesion for Israel as a whole. The detailed table of recommendations presents a considerable number of examples of initiatives and processes that should promote change, but in our judgment the complexity of the tasks and dynamics demanded in order to adapt the tasks to the changing reality over time, requires the development of dedicated units.

We are persuaded that there is room for the development of a national government authority focusing on minorities, as a multidisciplinary entity working to plan and implement the initiatives and processes that are needed to make sure that local authorities, global and local businesses and representatives of the community are also integrated into these efforts. All of this is important, alongside a commitment to increase the percentage of minorities, and especially Arab men and Arab women, who are integrated in the existing governance systems and units.

Since in the 21st century it is difficult to see economic development without high tech industry, this field demands a special focus, and indeed has been given a lot of attention by leading figures in the field. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the high tech engine will not will not make its way to Arab towns without the groundwork being laid first. The value of the transition will be extremely limited if there is no suitable planning and if no foundations are laid for support industries to develop tourism, trade and services providing employment and contributing to the development of the existing local economy.

Laying the foundations requires budgetary solutions and the building of an infrastructure of fairer resource allocation, including a new allocation of property taxes from commercial and industrial zones located between Arab and Jewish towns, preparation of master plans and the building of relevant infrastructure locally as well as regionally.

In sum, multidisciplinary planning, systems to coordinate and aggregate resources, and new infrastructure are all needed in order to enable the economy to work.

### Characteristics and challenges – the current situation

Progress toward a shared society is inextricably connected with the conceptual approaches and arrangements promulgated by the government, which ought to be representing not just the national majority but rather everyone. Hence all of the people in Israel ought to be partners in its crucial national decisions, enjoy representation in decision making processes that affect them, and benefit from fundamental equality in the allocation and utilization of national resources. Failing to provide real rather than merely symbolic participation in decision making from the outset with regard to policies and their implementation, failing to insure real equality in the allocation of the state's resources, including ending the disparities created in the past, is a prescription for alienation between Arab society and the institutions of the state as well as in the relations between Jewish society and Arab society.

One of the main reasons for non-inclusion of Arab society in crucial national decisions and in decision making about the allocation of resources is the fact that the political parties that represent the Arab population are not offered entry to the political dynamic that could allow them a place in the governing coalition. This situation is one result of the ongoing conflict between the State of Israel and the Palestinians, but in any case the parties that represent the majority do not seek this kind of partnership; indeed, they work hard to prevent it for reasons political and otherwise. This situation of chronically being in the opposition, with no chance for a real political partnership in the foreseeable future, radiates outward and affects decision making and priorities at the national level. It plays a part in determining who is named to handle the implementation of government decisions and priorities, and it is the main reason why Arab society and its representatives are not found among the crucial senior ranks of policy making and implementation. Additional reasons would include longstanding government policies that have perpetuated discrimination in the allocation of state resources to the Arab population; a lack of trust on the part of Arab society in the potential for real integration into the systems of governance; and a broad lack of trust that exists in Jewish society regarding the basic loyalty of the Arab citizens of Israel to the state. And there are many other factors.

In consequence, the state of things vis-à-vis Arab society with regard to all aspects of its relations with the nation's government is in need of significant and profound change which must begin, first and foremost, with a conceptual shift. Our reading of the situation is that this shift must focus on several basic principles:

One must understand, first of all, that for government actions to be legitimate from the standpoint of Arab society would require that Arab society and its representatives be included in the entire sequence of the country's decision making – as a precondition for their participation and for a sense that their participation is real and meaningful. A decision dealing with allocation of the state's resources, for example, given that it also has an impact on Arab citizens, must include Arab participation in the decision making process, on the level of political representation and also on the professional level as a structural component. This principle must be firmly established.

Secondly, the attitudes of Jewish society and of Arab society must undergo a shift so that it will be clear that Arab citizens are full partners in national decisions. This means moving beyond the all too common perception that for certain key decisions there must be a "Jewish majority" deciding the issue; that notion must henceforth be perceived as illegal and illegitimate. This principle has to be firmly established not just from the Jewish society's perspective but also in Arab society, which must not close itself off in sectoral isolation but must actively participate in the life of the country and in its important decisions.

Third, it is imperative to act to achieve fundamental equality in resource allocation and, among other steps to be taken, to make sure that affirmative action is implemented as required to correct past mistakes. The resources in question include budgetary resources, staffing positions, and the adoption of a culturally appropriate government space (language, etc.) for Arab society as a real partner.

## Rationale and basic assumptions

The absence of order that hitherto has characterized the official state space is no small challenge, not just in terms of an ability to influence it, but also because being in that space is a necessary condition for building influential coalitions so as to amplify a minority's participation in that space. Our basic assumptions:

- As the state is today, and in the current political climate in Israel, the government has no desire or ability to formulate a policy that will determine the foundations and norms for a shared society.
- A bottom-up strategy will propose a governance based on other models of governing, that can change the role of the regime and present alternatives to existing decision-making hierarchies, a phenomenon that is already happening and evoking interest on the part of researchers in recent decades.
- A partnership between the third sector, local authorities and civil forces will generate buzz that will be helpful in striving for greater impact.
- Creating that buzz, and concomitant public interest and involvement, should happen through action.
- Creating influential coalitions will attract new circles of partners until the buzz becomes strong enough to lead eventually to the government's joining in.

## Challenges

- Unequal policy toward various populations, especially the Arab population.
- A tough bureaucracy.
- Tension between the approach taken using the old model, with members of government setting policy and the bureaucracy carrying it out, and new approaches whereby additional players enter the picture and even influence the shaping of policy.
- The limited capacity of local authorities to implement policy, mainly among the Arab local authorities.

## Target population and potential partners

- Senior government staff.
- The civil space (nonprofit organizations; influential figures in the various spheres, civil, business, political, etc.).
- The Federation of Local Authorities.
- Arab and Jewish local councils.
- The business sector.
- Professional organizations: Citizens' Empowerment Center in Israel, the General Federation of Workers in Israel (Histadrut), the Menachem Begin Center, JDC Israel, etc.
- The central government.

## Recommendations

### **The main recommendation: Create a shared political space that supports new governance**

The central concept is to relate to the subject of governance from the perspective of a shared society while offering new directions to increase cooperation in the political space. The basic assumption is that being present in the political space comprises a necessary condition for the ability to wield influence and to build influential coalitions in order to broaden the cooperation within that space. This means to formulate bottom-up action strategies to have an impact on the policy that determines the foundations and norms for a shared society, to propose alternatives to the existing hierarchy of decision making, and to initiative cooperative efforts between central government institutions, municipal government, the business sector and civil society organizations.

- Inputs: Establishment of a Public Council for the Political Space. This is to be an integrative entity having joint Arab and Jewish management, and its board of directors is to include respected figures with significant knowledge and experience in the various realms: the third sector, local and national government and the business sector.
- Outcomes: Active citizenship, partnerships between municipal government and business/economic entities.
- Anticipated short term results:
  - Harnessing a cadre of influential people (15-20 initially) interested in being partners in establishing the council and serving on its board.
  - Building an information center that produces periodic reports, providing information on relevant subjects, and so on.
  - Mapping the arenas and the fields where having an impact can create a domino effect extending to other fields – municipal government, high tech, etc.
  - Cooperative efforts between local government and the third sector as a source of power for broad civic enlistment.
  - Involvement of the business sector in activities of an economic nature.
- Anticipated long term results:
  - Establishment of new rules for democracy, whereby the locus of decision making is broad and includes additional players beyond politicians.
  - Coalition impact: Creation of models that cross the boundaries of population groups and provide a basis for building ad hoc coalitions on various subjects.
  - Creation of a new language among key players that moves them from a situation in which they invite the government to take part in policy, to a situation in which they take the initiative to lead and influence the determination of a policy.
  - A civil society that takes an active part in planning the space in which it lives and in implementing in practice the developments it has initiated.
  - Influence on and propulsion of governing processes: legislation, resource allocation, models for the conduct of work, etc.
  - A research infrastructure that has an impact on reality, issuing an ongoing series of reports that monitor the progress of various issues.
  - Creation of solutions (formulas for solutions) that prove themselves in practice, in reality, and leave the government with no alternative except to adopt them, with extensive publicity that influences the wider public.
  - Regional economic leveraging between local Arab and Jewish authorities (shared industrial zones, etc.).
  - Leveraging of national infrastructure of various kinds by partnerships between Jewish and Arab regions.
  - A continuous, ongoing connection between initiatives by local authorities and others conducted by civil society.
  - Capacity building for key entities to enhance their long range activity (local authorities, civil society organizations, etc.).

Through the Council as an integrative entity or through ad hoc initiatives, we recommend promoting steps that will be the basis for building a shared political space to include the Arab population within it alongside the Jewish population. These steps will incorporate recommendations for modes of operation some of which will focus on activity within the Arab population and some on the shared space for Arab society and Jewish society together, from an understanding that real partnership is built between equals.

## **Strengthening and empowering Arab municipal government**

- Improving the social and economic standing of the Arab population in Israel will require the use of professional tools by leaders of Arab society, and thus we recommend making these tools more available to the municipal leadership.
- Input: Building an intervention program for municipal authorities that would provide assistance to mayors and to the senior professional echelon in local governments, the assistance to be delivered by experts (former mayors, experts in specific fields such as economic consultants, specialists in public engagement, etc.).
- Outcomes: Upgraded professional capacity of the municipal leadership, heads of local authorities and others in key positions (engineers, financial officers, etc.)
- Anticipated short term results: Annual work plans linked to the budget, and mechanisms contributing to a stable economic foundation for the authority (municipal economic development corporations, economic initiatives to increase its independent revenue, etc.).
- Anticipated long term results:
  - Local governments operating in accordance with sound, professional, and effective norms, based on an annual work plan linked to the budget.
  - Mechanisms that contribute to the economic base of the local authorities, like municipal economic development corporations.
  - Optimal utilization of multi-year plan budgets available via decisions of the national government (in the current period, this mainly refers to Government Resolution 922 for the Development of the Arab Society in Israel). The goal of all this is to turn these plans and programs into a stimulus to upgrade the local authorities and the standard of living of Arab residents.
  - The local authority will be cognizant of its assets, its strong points and the opportunities before it (geographical location, economic assets, community assets, etc.).
  - The local authority initiates and develops wide-scale economic models and projects in cooperation with the business sector, the third sector, and so on.
  - The local authority incorporates public engagement in planning and decision making processes.
  - The local authority takes the initiative to pursue advanced technologies (smart cities, etc.).
  - The local authority provides motivation for decisions and processes of the central government.

## **More access for Arab entrepreneurs to financial tools at banking and related institutions**

- Inputs:
  - Greater awareness among Arab businesspeople of options for financing at the national level, including funding for industrial, agricultural, environmental, etc., projects.
  - Public pressure on the banking system and financial entities to provide greater access for Arab entrepreneurs to these kinds of financial tools, at the same level as Jewish entrepreneurs enjoy.
- Advancing a proposal for a business initiative that will create a lot of buzz.
- Outcomes: Access to financial tools for Arab entrepreneurs like those enjoyed by Jewish entrepreneurs.
- Anticipated short term results: A lot of buzz, for more public awareness of the existing obstacles facing Arab entrepreneurs.
- Anticipated long term results:
  - A redefinition of the relationships between the banks and financial entities and existing Arab businesses (easing requirements for collateral, and so on).
  - Mechanisms for business assistance for projects.

- Business companies owned by Arab entrepreneurs achieve a breakthrough and succeed in entering the national market (like, e.g., El Nakhla Coffee, Al Arz Tahini, etc.).
- Business partnerships between Arab entrepreneurs and Jewish entrepreneurs who understand the enormous consumer potential of Arab families.

### **Creation of platforms for cooperation between local authorities and the third sector**

A strong local government cannot be run in isolation from the immediate vicinity or the region in which it operates, hence it is necessary to join forces and pursue partnership between the local authorities operating in the same area (Jewish and Arab). Creating platforms for regional cooperation between local Arab authorities and local Jewish authorities living in a shared geographical area, and together joining forces with business and social organizations and others, will function to strengthen both neighbors. Regional economic strength will be the basis for a process of shaping a shared regional society.

These kinds of cooperative efforts can move ahead separately between Arab local authorities and the third sector revolving around issues unique to Arab society, and in addition jointly between the Jewish and the Arab local authorities and the third sector around shared regional issues.

- Inputs:
  - Enlisting municipal authorities who adopt the idea.
  - Enlisting the third sector as a partner in planning and implementation of solutions.
  - Outcomes: Joint initiatives by the local authorities and the third sector to improve the lives of residents, especially on the economic plane (moving ahead in high tech, etc.).
- Anticipated short term results:
  - Mapping of local and regional needs, with attention and priorities based on importance and feasibility.
  - Formulating solutions for selected issues.
- Anticipated long term results:
  - Local authority leadership, together with civil society.
  - Local authority takes responsibility for solutions to issues of concern to its residents.
  - Local authority sets in motion national government processes and influences them for the benefit of its region.

Our principal areas of focus:

1. Employment in technological fields like high tech companies (in cooperation with Tsofen and others).
2. Employment for professionals (in cooperation with Elfanaar, Kav Mashve and others).
3. Education for equality and integration into Israeli society (in cooperation with Abraham Fund Initiatives, Sikkuy and others).
4. Regional education for peace and understanding (in cooperation with the Peres Center for Peace and others).
5. Regional cooperation (Givat Haviva and others).
6. A broader struggle against the increasing violence in Arab society (in cooperation with the City Without Violence program and others).

### **Encouraging (with funding and operational assistance) projects in the local authorities' areas, in cooperation with entrepreneurs: using joint venture, BOTs (build-operate-transfer), PFIs (private finance initiative)**

Linking Arab local authorities, or Arab and Jewish local authorities jointly, with the business sector has great potential in light of the substantial purchasing power of the Arab population, along with its labor force potential. To initiate such projects requires approaching the government for incentives and the release of land for the purpose.

- Inputs:
  - Learning from the success of a project of this kind, the Lev Haaretz industrial zone in Kfar Qasim, as an example of restorative processes.
  - Starting a specific project by approaching entrepreneurs and simultaneously the government for incentives and the release of land for the purpose.
- Outcomes: Building an infrastructure for project ventures within the Arab local authorities' areas.
- Anticipated short term results:
  - Success in several projects as the basis for leveraging and expanding the scope of this approach elsewhere.
  - Several Arab local authorities accustomed to launching this kind of process.
- Anticipated long term results:
  - Numerous local authorities leveraging public assets for economic growth in cooperation with business entrepreneurs, such as revenue-generating commercial centers, tourism projects, etc.
  - Stimulating the economy in areas with Arab local authorities and growth that is also driven by the purchasing power of the population.
  - Creation of jobs for residents of Arab areas, including women.
  - Exploiting the latent potential of the Arab population in terms of, eg., geographical location, as a stimulus to rural tourism and as a workforce.
  - Cooperative efforts between Arab and Jewish local authorities around business ventures.
  - An infrastructure for national government intervention to designate development zones, including awarding of incentives, tax breaks, etc. to entrepreneurs.

Completing the processes of fostering a shared society will require significant participation by Arab citizens as loci of decision making, i.e., in positions in the national government. We recommend the following actions:

### **Integration of Arabs into courses of study leading to government jobs**

- Inputs:
  - Setting a goal of 20% Arab representation among the students pursuing programs of study in government that include an apprenticeship or internship in government ministries (*Atidim*, *Tzo'arim*, etc.).
  - Encouraging Arabs to pursue such programs of study, drawing on the entire Arab population (by raising awareness, offering stipends, etc.).
- Outcomes: Paving the way for young Arabs to obtain meaningful positions in the government sector.
- Anticipated short term results:
  - Optimal integration of Arab participants in government studies degree programs that include an internship in government ministries.
  - At least 20% of the graduates of government studies degree programs with an internship in government ministries are Arab.
- Anticipated long term results:

- An academic infrastructure for integrating Arabs into unique programs designed to place graduates in the government space.
- An organizational infrastructure in government ministries designed to absorb Arab professional civil servants into its ranks.
- Arab interns alongside Jewish interns in the various government ministries.

### **Follow-up and monitoring of the rate of Arab employment in the public space**

Alongside the integration of Arabs into unique programs designed to pave the way for its graduates to join government service, there is a need for monitoring and follow-up on the rate of employment of Arabs in government companies as mandated by the Law for Fair Representation and via the Freedom of Information Law, including in senior positions. Article 15A of the Public Service Law (Appointments) states that among all positions in government service, fair representation must be given to both genders, people with disabilities, the Arab population and Ethiopian immigrants.

- Inputs:
  - Annual monitoring of the proportion of Arabs working in government service at all levels, in all professional areas, in all affiliated units, and in government companies.
  - Providing access to information concerning public service employment among the Arab population.
- Outcomes: Transparency to a degree that will increase awareness and encourage initiatives to change the situation.
- Anticipated short term results:
  - A flood of information about the lack of fair representation is directed to the government and to the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee of the Knesset.
  - Public discussion of the issue.
  - Action on the part of state institutions and agencies to employ Arabs.
- Anticipated long term results:
  - Mutual trust and joint work by Arabs and Jews in the public sector.
  - Professional Arab staffers in key positions in the public sector.
  - Synchronization of policy with the Arab target population.
  - Optimal implementation of policies aimed at the Arab population.



# Milestones in Implementation of the Recommendations

This section of the report, detailing the milestones to be used in monitoring the implementation of the project's recommendations, was developed based on the work of the expert teams. The milestones will facilitate the planning of the implementation process and subsequently evaluating whether the recommendations are actually carried out. We have kept our sights on the long term goals; working backward from there led to the short term and medium term goals as objectives that must be actualized along the way. These milestones comprise a "shared society index," which will be useful in monitoring the progress of attaining the meta-objective of a shared society in Israel.

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## Education for life in a shared society

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### **Creating a joint Jewish-Arab professional education forum to assemble material about a shared life in a shared society**

- The joint professional forum will be appointed under the aegis of the President of Israel in coordination with the Ministry of Education.
- The idea of a "partnership" as defined by the Public Committee for Coexistence Education (the Salomon-Issawi Committee, 2009) can serve as a point of departure in formulating this content: "Equality between the partners, mutual respect and legitimacy, acknowledgement of the right to a national and cultural existence for both sides, positive and fair relations along with empathic and sensitive dialogue, a sense of shared responsibility and a shared quest for peace."
- Note: The objective defined above actually includes two separate objectives, combined here only to make writing about them simpler:
- The first objective: Creating a joint Jewish-Arab professional forum to formulate an array of materials for a curriculum and for teacher training.
- The second objective: Formulating an array of materials for a curriculum and for teacher training on the subject of a shared life in a shared society.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification and enlistment of members of the joint Jewish-Arab forum, via a broad, integrated effort (under the aegis of the President of Israel and in coordination with the Ministry of Education).</li> <li>• Learning about the various curricula for teacher training and for education for a shared life (Solomon-Issawi report from 2009, the Kremnitzer Report, the Center for Educational Technology's Report in 2009, State Comptroller's Report for 2016, etc.)</li> <li>• Basic formulation of the main contents, the teacher training program and the curricula in various frameworks of the formal and nonformal education systems (the contents will relate to three circles: Information, the school culture, and an experiential component for individual schoolchildren and groups). (The realms of content for consideration: homeland, society and citizenship in elementary school; and in middle school and high school: citizenship, history, sports, geography and sociology.)</li> <li>• Mapping needs in the realm of teacher training and curricula about education for a shared life in a shared society.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Extended formulation of a teacher training program on education for a shared society, for various training environments.</li> <li>• Complete formulation of curricula and complementary experiential activities on education for a shared society at the various levels of the formal education system (including high school, with allocation of class hours, allocation of appropriate resources, etc.) and in the nonformal education system.</li> <li>• Inclusion of the curricula on education for a shared society in the outline for teacher training formulated by the Council for Higher Education.</li> <li>• Special training for the reciprocal study of Hebrew and Arabic in the schools.</li> <li>• Monitoring, quality control, evaluation and periodic updating on conclusions drawn from the oversight.</li> </ul>

### Five-Year Plan to assimilate the structure and launch the training program

This objective is a continuation of the training for teachers, principals, local education department directors and students preparing for teaching careers, in education for a shared life in a shared society; it includes:

- Launching training programs for future teachers in college education courses.
- Launching training programs for the entire target community already in the system – teachers (at Pisgah Centers), principals (at Avnei Rosh), and education department directors (local governance authorities).

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the first year, 20% of teachers will be trained at Pisgah Centers, 20% of principals via Avnei Rosh, and 20% of education department directors.</li> <li>• In the second year (and each subsequent year), another 20% of each target group will be trained.</li> <li>• The college students will all be trained, starting with the first academic year following the formulation of the outline.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The existing Office for a Shared Society will be enlarged, and will assist in the introduction of the Shared Society training programs and their assimilation within the system.</li> <li>• Within 5 years, 100% of each of the target groups will be trained.</li> <li>• The Ministry of Education every five years will evaluate the scope of the encounters between the different groups and the impact on teacher and student attitudes.</li> </ul>

## “Inter-Integration” – Integrating Arab teachers in Jewish schools and Jewish teachers in Arab schools

This kind of reciprocal integration offers practical modeling for a shared society.

The integration will involve different classroom subjects, beyond language study: mathematics, history, sports, the sciences, etc.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying the participating Jewish and Arab teachers, and their basic training to prepare for teaching professionally in schools in Jewish and Arab towns.</li> <li>The integration of the teachers in the other group's schools will be accomplished with the assistance of local teachers who will serve as mentors during the first year.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Institutionalization of the projects and their expansion nationally, while attaining the objective of one teacher from the other society in every school.</li> <li>Periodic monitoring, quality control and evaluation of the project.</li> </ul>

## Expanding the bilingual education stream

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Strengthening the existing bilingual schools and preschools.</li> <li>Expanding existing bilingual schools to include junior and senior high schools.</li> <li>Introducing bilingual kindergartens into elementary schools.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of a bilingual education framework – preschools, elementary schools, junior and senior high schools – in each of the mixed cities in Israel.</li> </ul>

## Restorative processes and cultural representation

### Creating a “Forum for a Shared Society”

A shared Jewish-Arab forum will work toward the founding and execution of the vision of a shared society in the approach to reconciliation processes in the restorative spirit, on the basis of the principles of restorative justice.

The forum’s activity will focus on the practical translation of the vision for a shared society and the dissemination of the idea throughout Israeli society, Jewish and Arab.

The forum will operate permanently as a committee dedicated to the subject of a shared society and in affiliation with the Forum for Shared Cultural Representations (see below).

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identifying and recruitment of forum members.</li> <li>Learning about the principles of the model (“restorative processes and cultural representations”).</li> <li>Training and active practice in restorative discourse.</li> <li>Formulation of working procedures and internal regulations.</li> <li>Mapping existing locations that are promoting progress toward a shared society, recognizing them and learning from what is already out there.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enhancing the shared space.</li> <li>Creating connections and cooperative endeavors with other activists and activities that exist out there and are working toward similar goals.</li> <li>Shared activities to advance shared interests in civil, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc. areas.</li> <li>Creating symbolic shared spaces on the public and the civil levels (shared secular holidays, International Day Against Racism, International Day for Democracy, etc.).</li> </ul>

### Creation of a forum to formulate “Cultural Representations”

Creating a shared, agreed-on forum of Jewish and Arab experts, intellectuals, and academics who will propose a set of canonical values and components for the groups’ collective identities, for mutual learning and awareness.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identification and recruitment of forum members.</li> <li>Agreeing on expanded definitions of the collective identities of both societies.</li> <li>Creating and establishing a basis for an initial cultural-identity encounter between the two societies.</li> <li>Establishing an operative foundation for moving from encounter, to understanding, to acceptance of the other.</li> <li>Establishing a moral and cultural basis for creating a restorative and inclusive dialogue between the two cultures.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Solidifying and thickening the cultural-identity canon for each of the two societies separately – Jewish and Arab.</li> <li>Defining a shared corpus – cultural, artistic, literary and scholarly – that will express the creativity, both independent and shared, of the two societies, Jewish and Arab.</li> <li>Creating the basis for a shared cultural language for both societies.</li> <li>Identifying shared interests in civil, economic, social, educational, community, cultural, etc. realms and pursuing shared activities to further them.</li> <li>Laying the foundation for a symbolic discourse of broad dimensions between the two societies.</li> <li>Broadening the foundation for shared cultural creation; establishing an infrastructure for extended educational activity in the formal and nonformal systems.</li> </ul>

## “Memories”

The project is meant to create mutual representation and preservation of memory among the two societies, so that each group’s memory has its own place reserved for it and does not compete with that of the other group.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Identification of participants and host families among Jews and Arabs and creation of initial readiness to hold the encounter.</li><li>• Convening preparatory meetings for shared decisions on objectives and agreed-on modes of operating on the basis of mutual respect, empathy and interest.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Bring meaning to the act of listening and empathy around mutual memories.</li><li>• Encounters around memory as the basis for moving from encounter, to understanding, to acceptance of the other and broadening the restorative dialogue between the two societies.</li></ul>

## “Online worlds”

Meetings of young people, schoolchildren and families, and teachers from Arab society and Jewish society in Internet forums, in cooperation with the formal education system, addressing subjects such as: life stories, family stories, cultural heritage, cuisine, local folklore, etc.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Establishing a dedicated network (on the Facebook model) for the project.</li><li>• Identifying Jewish and Arab social activists from the respective communities of parents, teachers and schoolchildren, to coordinate the project.</li><li>• Gathering relevant content: life stories, family stories, cultural traditions, foods, local folklore, etc.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Institutionalizing the project, including in the formal education system, cultural enterprises, encounters and study involving selected content focal points, etc.</li><li>• Documenting and publishing accounts of the activities.</li></ul>

## “Another Way”

Joint encounters in the context of experience with parallel events involving serious injury and existential threats (murder, massacre, expulsion) in the spirit of restorative dialogue.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Identifying professional facilitators and training them to lead the encounters.</li><li>• Preparing professional materials based on the principles of restorative dialogue.</li><li>• Preparing the ground for the encounters.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• A pilot project to examine adaptation of the materials, gauge the readiness for inclusion out in the field, and then scrutinize results for evaluation and replanning</li><li>• Institutionalizing the project as a tool and as a way to process traumatic events on the public, social, and intervention level.</li></ul>

## Volunteers for “Cultural Adaptation”

**Assemble a group of volunteers (perhaps university students) to identify entities providing public outreach services, guidance and aid (e.g.: how to prevent road accidents, preventing drug and alcohol abuse, mental health hotlines, first aid, etc.);** the volunteers will encourage these agencies to do cultural adaptations to create culturally sensitive and egalitarian materials, making the required information and tools more accessible to different cultural groups, and will assist them in doing so.

<p><b>Short term</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifying and creating readiness for cooperation on the part of relevant community institutions and organizations.</li> <li>• Identifying volunteers, training them and formulating appropriate professional guidance.</li> <li>• Formulating professional concepts of cultural adaptation for the relevant organizations in the various realms.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Medium and long term</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing public outreach units parallel to existing ones, via linguistic and cultural adaptations.</li> <li>• Launching culturally adapted public outreach and intervention programs.</li> <li>• Oversight and evaluation of the level of cultural adaptation by the institutions and organizations where the activity is being conducted.</li> </ul>
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**“Pair of Doves”**

Assembling an anthology of stories of intermarried couples and the shared space they created together, the issues and challenges they faced internally and externally, and the solutions they found to challenges posed by the encounter between different cultural identities, religions and national origins.

<p><b>Short term</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identifying intermarried couples and creating a readiness to cooperate.</li> <li>• Documenting the encounter process and the personal stories of both members of a pair and of the people around them.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Medium and long term</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collecting the personal stories of the intermarried couples.</li> <li>• Publishing their thoughts, ideas and insights on their personal paths to bridging between identities and cultures, religions and national affiliations.</li> </ul>
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## Land

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### Goals of the proposed program:

- Improving the quality of life of Arab citizens via the physical development of land.
- Advancing building plans in Arab society and bringing them to implementation.
- Legalizing existing buildings insofar as possible.
- Changing the norms for residential building and assuring the budgeting of a variety of rationally distributed public spaces and economic growth for Arab towns.
- Encouraging land-based cooperation between Arab and Jewish local authorities, to create a better quality of life.
- Optimal management of water and other resources, public infrastructure, aggregation of resources, optimal organization for emergencies like fires, and full utilization of the relative advantages of each side, including capital, available land, etc.

### Main recommendation

A pilot project will be conducted to advance proactive plans for three Arab towns, to include the completion of the towns' master plans, moving forward on detailed plans and providing means for supervision and implementation by the local authorities, within a period of up to five years. A national oversight and assistance committee will be established to harvest what is learned from the pilot project and expand it to another 30 Arab towns during the next ten years. We recommend that the six pilot towns include a mixed city, three Arab cities or towns of different sizes and locations, a Druze town and a Bedouin town, to maximize what can be learned from the project prior to the next phase, and to bring about a real turning point for the broadest possible diversity of citizens.

### Create an oversight and assistance committee at the national Planning Authority and promote local planning committees

A national committee for oversight and assistance will be created to implement these proactive plans in Arab towns – within the framework of the Planning Authority (at the Ministry of Finance) (hereafter, the “oversight committee”), whose members will include representatives of the relevant government ministries like the Ministry of Building and Housing and the Ministry of Finance. The oversight and assistance committee will insure interim funding for the local authorities and local planning committees, from a dedicated budget to be defined for that purpose, with the authority to approve tax breaks for participants in the program in accordance with an outline to be approved in advance. The committee will assist with the process of establishing and operating the municipal planning and building committees at the local level and will help them – giving advice, encouraging land transactions, and facilitating contacts between the local players and state agencies.

<b>Short term</b> <b>(until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term</b> <b>(January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of a forum of Arab towns' municipal engineers (hereafter: the Forum), to include: the chairpersons of local planning committees, representatives of professional groups and of either Sikkuy or Bimkom.</li> <li>• The Forum will make recommendations on the composition of the oversight and assistance committee and its process of establishment, including: defining the committee's authority as an entity promoting arrangements on taxes and reaching agreements with the Israel Lands Authority and the Jewish National Fund, the budgeting of state land, and supervising and promoting the proactive plans already described, through the end of June 2018.</li> <li>• A budget for the oversight and assistance committee.</li> <li>• Defining the activity to be conducted via interface with the oversight and assistance committee: planning activity; oversight of relevant activity by non-planning-related government figures; communication with the Arab population; logistical management with all relevant players.</li> <li>• Establishment of the oversight and assistance committee (to advance the plans concerning land in Arab towns): by June 2018.</li> <li>• Completing the naming of the committee members by March 2019.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defining the criteria for towns to join the pilot program for proactive plans by the oversight and assistance committee in cooperation with the Forum: by mid-2019.</li> <li>• Defining procedures for lenient registration procedures and an outline of tax breaks by mid-2019.</li> <li>• A decision on the 6 pilot program towns by the oversight and assistance committee by January 2020.</li> <li>• Establishing a formal connection with the 6 pilot project towns and reinforcing the local planning and building committees by January 2021. Consider choosing a waiting list of towns and establishment of a planning entity as a local /extra-local committee.</li> <li>• Conclusion of proactive plans for 6 pilot towns by January 2022.</li> <li>• Start work on infrastructure and development by January 2023.</li> </ul>

### Budgeting state lands for master plan initiatives

- State-owned lands will be budgeted in support of a planned community's master plan, where possible and based on need, as required in the planning for repartition in the allocation of public areas, in combination with detailed plans, in order to regulate land prices and enable people without land to also participate in the plan.
- The state will work to change municipal boundaries and include in the master plan adjoining tracts of state land and/or land owned privately by residents of the town.
- State land adjacent to Arab cities will also be allocated to build large new neighborhoods with tens of thousands of residential units in Arab towns, which are identified as focal points for growth and urbanization and which will draw demand for housing from existing localities.
- The establishment of new Arab towns will be considered.



<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formulation of procedures for applying to the Israel Lands Authority and determining conditions of the allocation by the Forum: by the end of 2018.</li> <li>• Mapping public needs and private sector needs, and possible locations where land could be added (by the Forum, by the end of 2019).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A decision by the oversight and assistance committee on the matter of land allocation consonant with the need and changes in municipal boundaries in the six pilot towns (insofar as necessary until mid-2020).</li> <li>• Implementation of the allocation in the pilot towns (by the end of 2020).</li> </ul>

### **Amalgamating and repartitioning of privately owned land, and building infrastructure**

- The proactive plans will define tracts for amalgamation and repartition in the framework of the detailed plans to be derived from the master plan.
- Not less than 30% of plots will be allocated for public needs, with a recommendation to pursue high density planning for an average 6 units per dunam, enabling a supply of diverse kinds of housing.
- A process of updated registration will be undertaken to enable statutory division into “real” plots, and landowners will be granted the option of benefiting from tax breaks, including forgiveness of past debts for a period of up to two years from the time the program goes into effect.
- The process of amalgamating and repartitioning will include explaining the circumstances to residents, and negotiating with them, but the possibility of pursuing an involuntary process will also be considered. Formally, an involuntary compliance process will be defined, to guarantee implementation, but it will be pursued in tandem with maximum dialogue with stakeholders.

<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation by the Forum in conferences of the Planners Association and development of connections with helpful figures, to recruit stakeholders (from the inception of the Forum).</li> <li>• Gathering information on existing planning processes, master plans and detailed plans as well as identifying and mapping specific obstacles and needs (by the Forum, from its inception); work on amalgamation and repartition in the framework of the proactive plans with the local committees in the pilot project communities (from the inception of the oversight and assistance committee and under its guidance).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Registration arrangements by January 2021.</li> <li>• Building agreements between the landowners and the planners by 2022.</li> <li>• Recruitment of disinterested facilitators to help move the project forward – from among socially prominent people, public figures, etc. – by 2022.</li> <li>• Presentation of the master plans by 2023.</li> </ul>

## Sharing the benefits of revenue-generating land

- Arab towns will share in the profit from regional industrial zones, with allocation of the revenue based on clear egalitarian criteria.
- Allocation of revenue will apply both to existing industrial zones and planned new ones, with reference to Arab towns that have the least volume of land suited for industry.

<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification of a national figure to promote the process (mid 2018).</li> <li>• Gathering information on spaces where it is realistic to promote inclusion of the Arab population in the distribution of revenue.</li> <li>• Presentation of an implementation model based on legislation, regulations, rulings, egalitarian principles and precedents (by Sikkuy or another coordinating agency, by the end of 2018).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implementation of the plan in three planned industrial zones (by 2022).</li> </ul>

## Equalization of living conditions in mixed cities

In mixed cities with more than 3,000 Arab residents, the local authority will be required to provide tracts enabling the creation of identity-dependent spaces, as well as shared spaces.

It will be possible to build culturally dependent institutions like schools for the Arab population and shared multicultural institutions for Jews and Arabs in the proportion matching their share of the population in the mixed city.

<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identify a national figure to promote these efforts (by mid 2018).</li> <li>• Mapping relevant places such as Carmiel, Upper Nazareth, etc. (by the end of 2018).</li> <li>• Identifying and mapping needs and barriers (by the end of 2018).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposing specific programs with an emphasis on buildings for education (by January 2019).</li> <li>• A public engagement process in the mixed cities, with Jewish and Arab participation, to advance these plans by agreement (by 2020).</li> <li>• Implementation of the plans (by 2022).</li> </ul>

## Land-based partnership

Land-based partnership will be promoted in three areas:

1. Implementation of spatial plans between the local and the regional level, to include existing Jewish and Arab towns as a single system and with an emphasis on the shared quality of life from the standpoint of shared development, infrastructure and initiatives.
2. Establishment of three places (quarters, neighborhoods) for shared housing for Arabs and Jews that will attract people interested in sharing in terms of education, culture and community life. We propose promoting the establishment of a new quarter in an existing mixed city and/or considering a new shared community.

<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating a Living Together group (by mid 2018).</li> <li>• Formulating a programmatic plan for Living Together locations (by mid 2018).</li> <li>• Recruiting investors and bringing interested stakeholders into the Living Together project (through the end of 2018).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public engagement in planning the shared neighborhood / community (through mid-2019).</li> <li>• Organize groups of future residents for Living Together neighborhoods / communities.</li> <li>• Planning and approval of the plans for Living Together by the relevant entities (by the end of 2021).</li> <li>• Begin infrastructure work at the Living Together locations (mid 2023).</li> </ul>

3. Develop cooperative efforts between neighboring local authorities, Arab and Jewish

We propose that the Center for Local Authorities be the national entity that will consider the plans and encourage pilots for land-based cooperation on issues with high feasibility, visibility, and impact on a broad circle of stakeholders – issues regarding which Jews and Arabs have a strong shared interest. Examples of such potential areas for cooperation include: tourism and cross-boundaries issues such as sewage, forestation and environmental quality. The boundary area between adjacent local authorities will become a growth area for fruitful joint action.

<b>Short term (until January 2019)</b>	<b>Medium and long term (January 2019 through and including January 2024)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mapping existing land-based partnerships by a national entity such as Givat Haviva (by mid-2018).</li> <li>• A proposed model for land-based partnership and formulation of proposals for advancing additional partnerships in various areas of Israel, on the basis of needs assessment and interested stakeholders (by the end of 2018).</li> <li>• Identification of a national entity such as the Center for Local Authorities that can take charge and promote the subject while working to obtain budgeted resources (by the end of 2018).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Three spaces for land-based partnership will be selected by a national entity (by mid 2019).</li> <li>• Public engagement for stakeholders in shares spaces, for preparation of detailed plans for land-based partnerships (by mid 2020).</li> <li>• Development of the infrastructure aspects of the three above-mentioned spaces (early 2022).</li> </ul>

## Economic development

### General objectives:

1. Significant investment in urban and interurban infrastructure and in business development infrastructure to facilitate economic development.
2. A focus on increasing the employment of Arab women and diversifying the professions open to the employment of Arab men.
3. Use of both established and innovative business technology infrastructure to reduce the scope and duration of the investment required.

### Infrastructure

#### 1. Encouraging investment in infrastructure based on needs and opportunities

- Economic development for Arab society requires the development of various kinds of infrastructure – for energy, water systems management, and transportation systems.
- Development of infrastructure in these areas will facilitate increased revenue for Arab local governments, provision of better services to the population, new opportunities for employment in infrastructure, tourism, agriculture and trade, and expanded possibilities for the employment of Arab women within their communities and beyond.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Establishment of a unit for infrastructure development in Arab society at the Division of Planning and the Economy, Ministry of Infrastructure.</li><li>• Development of a mechanism to examine investment in infrastructure consonant with needs and opportunities for a period of 5-10 years.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Planning of solutions for infrastructure in the fields of energy, water and transportation:</li><li>• Solar roofs for public buildings.</li><li>• Bio-gas power stations in agricultural communities.</li><li>• Water supply and urban water systems management.</li><li>• Transportation.</li><li>• Completing master plans for leading Arab towns by 2022.</li><li>• Implementation of the foregoing.</li></ul>

## 2. Development of commercial, technology and services centers in Arab towns

Development of the commercial, technology and services sectors will facilitate the expansion of business activity and employment options, the removal of bureaucratic barriers, an increase in sources of revenue for Arab municipalities, and the attainment of budgetary parity between neighboring Jewish and Arab local authorities and communities, within ten years.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of a unit at the Ministry of the Interior for the development of regional commercial, services and office centers in Arab towns.</li> <li>• Conducting a survey of needs and opportunities for commercial, services and technology development in leading/selected towns.</li> <li>• Preliminary planning of commercial, services and technology centers in leading/selected towns.</li> <li>• Formulating an administrative mechanism to give priority to the purchase of professional services from local suppliers in the fields of infrastructure planning and building: planners, engineers, architects, attorneys, accounting firms, staffing firms that supply skilled professionals, etc.</li> <li>• Removal of barriers to entrepreneurs and private investors to invest in infrastructure and initiatives in real estate and revenue-generating building projects in Arab towns.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Detailed planning of commercial, services and technology centers in leading/selected communities.</li> <li>• Approval, implementation and development of commercial, services and technology centers in leading/selected communities.</li> <li>• Removal of barriers to entrepreneurs and private investors to invest in infrastructure.</li> </ul>

## 3. Improving existing mechanisms for expanding businesses beyond the community

One of the sources of economic development is encouraging the growth of existing business, by exploiting their development potential to expand beyond the boundaries of the community in which they operate.

Developing existing businesses rests on promoting and developing corporate governance, developing and promoting sources of credit, and developing a language and culture that facilitate communication beyond the local community.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct a professional survey on businesses with the potential to develop beyond the boundaries of the community, the town, the district, and the region.</li> <li>• Improve and/or establish professional mechanism to:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. provide greater access to, and develop, sources of credit;</li> <li>2. promote and develop corporate governance;</li> <li>3. develop a business language and culture to assist businesses to grow beyond local boundaries to do business regionally and nationally.</li> </ol> </li> <li>• Use incentives to encourage the country's (and the world's) leading brokerage firms to open branches in Arab towns and provide Arab society in Israel with access to professional accounting, law, financial, etc. services.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open offices and place representatives of global entities in Sakhnin, Nazareth and Umm al Fahm, not just in Tel Aviv and Haifa.</li> <li>• Upgrade the level of professionalism laterally close gaps between the center and peripheral areas, and expand employment opportunities in the services sector.</li> </ul>

#### 4. Encouragement for establishing branches of leading local companies and international companies in Arab towns

Formulate a comprehensive, multi-year program of government incentives to encourage the establishment of branches of leading international firms in Arab towns. These programs will be directed at companies providing business services (legal, financial and business consulting, accounting, IT consulting, etc.), at companies in the financial sector (credit funds), at the high tech sector (mature companies), and at venture capital funds and incubators, and will include incentives in the following areas: capital investment, employment, leasing, direct and indirect taxation, and municipal taxation.

As a consequence of the foregoing steps – an improvement in the statistics for the employment of Arab professionals in the business sector, greater access to advanced, modern business services for Arab companies, and the creation of a business climate that encourages integration into the economy.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of an interministerial committee (the Prime Minister's Office and the Finance, Economy, and Interior ministries) to formulate a government incentive program to encourage the entry nationally prominent firms into Arab towns, including by opening branch offices.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Creation of an ecosystem that will prepare the way to prosperity for businesses in Arab society and create success stories, both in the local arena and the global arena, while expanding the number of jobs and empowering the human capital in these companies.</li> </ul>

### Industrial Zones

#### 5. Develop advanced industrial zones (especially for IT) in Arab towns

This objective is aimed at developing advanced industry (especially IT industry) in four or five Arab towns that comprise large Arab population centers. Such industry does not require extensive infrastructure and hence can be rapidly developed in a shorter time frame than traditional industry, and will facilitate broader creation of independent sources of revenue for Arab towns.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Preliminary feasibility check on the development of advanced industry in four or five large Arab towns.</li> <li>Presentation of the findings to the Ministry of the Economy and lobbying to promote a government decision on the subject (based on the development done at Kfar Qasim and Nazareth).</li> <li>Conducting a campaign to enlist Arab communities to the vision of an advanced economy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Passing a government resolution to incentivize 5 industrial centers in major Arab towns (three new ones, along with Kfar Qasim and strengthening the one in Nazareth).</li> <li>Development of a rich and extensive collection of resource industries for high tech (food services, transportation, nonformal education, culture, sports and leisure).</li> <li>A dramatic increase in the relevance of high tech for Arab young adults and high school students.</li> <li>A significant increase in more advanced employment for Arab women.</li> <li>A breakthrough in the local Arab economy with major impact on Israeli's overall GDP.</li> </ul>

## 6. Development for existing industrial zones

Development and expansion of existing industrial zones within Arab towns, some of them frozen for many years (as in Shfaram and Umm al Fahm), via incentives and the encouragement of trade and industry. This will significantly increase the number of jobs in the surrounding area.

Budgeting land swaps or at least partial swaps for state land in the area of industrial zone locations for Arab towns, as a solution to the problem of private land.

In terms of environmental quality, developing industrial zones close to Arab towns will enable local garages and dirty industry to be removed from the towns themselves.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of an entity with authority and budgets for implementation of urban planning for the leading Arab towns, integrating knowledge from elsewhere in the world and from academia, with the inclusion of representatives of the various communities residing in those towns.</li> <li>• A preliminary planning survey on the expansion of industrial zones in the selected towns.</li> <li>• A presentation on possible land swaps for development and expansion of industrial zones on state land.</li> <li>• Assistance from professional planning experts who are leaders in their field.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formulation of a position paper including a planned budget and a dedicated work plan (at least for Israel Lands Authority areas, so as to put them to use), in cooperation with the National Forum of Arab Mayors and representatives of the various towns.</li> <li>• Implementation on the ground of the plan in the towns for which the plan was approved.</li> <li>• Development of a local public dialogue.</li> </ul>

## 7. Redistribution of resources in existing industrial zones (of Jewish towns) and greater revenue for neighboring Arab towns

The most fruitful part of the local authority's tax base is derived from assets like medium-sized craft workshops and industrial plants, because of the higher tax rate on land not used for residential purposes – mainly business and industry. This is the main source of revenue for localities in Israel; meanwhile, due to the lack of developed industrial zones within the jurisdictions of the Arab local authorities, they also lack revenue from that source.

In that light, a need emerged for Arab local authorities to participate in the administration of joint or regional industrial spaces, with the goal of enabling them to share in revenue of that type.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mapping the inter-regional and regional industrial zones and the relevant Arab towns that could join them.</li> <li>• Formulation of a plan to work with Jewish and Arab municipalities on the redistribution of the revenue from regional industrial zones.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of a mechanism at the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of the Economy for the redistribution of these assets and this revenue, so as to determine how the Arab municipalities should be integrated and to agree on how the assets and the revenue from the industrial zones involved will henceforth be reallocated.</li> <li>• Growth in independent revenue for Arab towns.</li> <li>• More connection between Arab and Jewish employment.</li> </ul>

## 8. Moving to actualize a pending government resolution on the high tech zone in Kfar Qasim (Tsofen).

Approval of the plan for establishing a high tech center.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Forward movement on implementation plans by the Kfar Qasim municipality, together with Tsofen, the Finance Ministry, the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry for Social Equality.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implementation of the plan for establishing a high tech center in Kfar Qasim, which will be a breakthrough in terms of government participation in establishing a high tech center, and a significant symbolic and declarative step.</li> <li>Integration into high tech employment in Kfar Qasim of hundreds of workers, with c. 50% of them Arabs.</li> <li>Increased numbers of students of the exact sciences and people working in those fields, in Kfar Qasim and adjacent towns.</li> </ul>

## High Tech Employment

### 9. Expanding the high tech employment market open to Arabs

Implementation of the steps that will subsequently lead to a significant increase in the percentage of Arab science and technology graduates employed in the fields for which they prepared, to an increase in the volume of college graduates in high tech fields who find work in companies doing projects and providing computing services to government, to an increase in the volume of engineers who find work in the fields for which they prepared, and to an increase in the number of high school students choosing tracks that prepare them to study technology.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishing an intervention team to deal with government and legislators who block change in the situation that ensued after privatization of computing services provision for government and the civil service. This team will include a jurist, an expert in recruiting and selection high tech workers, an expert in the struggle against discrimination in the job market, to work in cooperation with Sikkuy, Tsofen and Kav Mashve.</li> <li>Formulation of a series of steps to be taken by the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance together with the Authority for the Economic Development of the Arab Sector, to force entities performing computing services and software systems development for government and public agencies to recruit a fixed quote of Arab engineers, consonant with "fair representation," as with similar programs already being conducted for Haredim.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introducing and expanding professional training tracks for high tech at Arab colleges.</li> </ul>



## 10. Developing high tech employment centers in Arab towns

Provide government support (tax breaks, employer grants) to Arab companies that are subcontractors for high tech and software companies, so that they can operate in Arab towns.

As a result of the foregoing – increase the revenue to Arab towns from property taxes, with a rise in the socioeconomic level of the Arab population, and provision of a solution to the need for high tech industry.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of an interministerial team to examine companies' needs and determine incentives for bringing high tech to Arab towns.</li> <li>The relevant government entity will enable a software company interested in doing so, to run a project on an experimental basis in one of the government centers located in a peripheral area.</li> <li>After the experimental period, the results will be evaluated and procedures drawn up for decentralization of government projects.</li> <li>The government will support the establishment of software development centers and/or testing in Arab cities and towns, and will enable software companies to operate out of them under subsidized conditions. Software companies will recruit developers and testers from the geographic vicinity, including women with suitable education, and will avail themselves of the very large pool of engineers and other professionals from fields closely allied to computing, so that they can integrate into working in these projects. Arab science and technology graduates will be able to choose between higher paid work in the center of the country, requiring a long commute, or slightly lower paid work close to home.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of centers for high tech industry entrepreneurship in large Arab towns (with aid from the government, the Innovation Authority, Tsofen, etc.).</li> <li>Initiatives to establish high tech companies in Arab towns (with aid from the government, the Innovation Authority, Tsofen, etc.).</li> <li>Within a few years, a high tech ecosystem will have been established in areas with high concentrations of Arab residents, and the proportion of the Arab population employed in high tech will match that of the Jewish population so employed, while professional employment for Arab women will have become standard.</li> </ul>

## Employment of women

### 11. Increase in the percentage of Arab women in the job market

The proportion of Arab women in the job market is about 32%, compared with 74% for Arab men and about 80% for Jewish women. The proportion of Arab women employed in part time work who would prefer full time work, among all Arab women working part time, is three times the rate among Jewish women: 35.2% as compared with 11.6%, respectively.

The most lucrative types of employment among Arab women (as among Jewish women) are professional fields, including education and teaching in secondary schools and academic institutions. At the same time, we see that Arab women are employed at a rate some 65% lower than Jewish women in engineering and technology jobs (6.4% compared with 18.1%, respectively) and in management jobs (2.9% compared with 8.7%, respectively).

The low proportion of employment of Arab women arises from a combination of intersecting gender-related barriers and others due to their being Arab women. Additional barriers include the following: The lack of access to adequate transportation to centers of employment, a low supply of jobs in Arab towns, women who cease looking for work after despairing of finding anything near their homes, informal employer discrimination, a dearth of childcare and

preschool facilities, an absence of adequate enforcement of labor law, low wages, a lack of vocational guidance, a lack of adequate and suitable education and training, an inadequate command of (job-related) Hebrew and English, inadequate command of advanced computer skills, and barriers grounded in social attitudes toward the place of women in the family.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creation of solutions enabling much greater access to efficient transportation to enable Arab residents, particularly women, to commute to work at a distance from home.</li> <li>• Integration of the issue of employment into high school curricula, with an emphasis on women's employment.</li> <li>• Naming a committee to determine goals and measures of success for the integration of Arab women into government ministries and the civil service and then building work plans for the employment of Arab women in the relevant government ministries.</li> <li>• Subsidized internships for Arab women college and university graduates in fields where Arab women are currently absent, allocation of budgets for stipends and guidance during their studies and after graduation, for integration into high-quality positions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Removing barriers that prevent potential workers from the Arab population from taking jobs at a distance from home.</li> <li>• Integrating precise, careful career planning into Arab society which will influence other circles, facilitating access to high quality job options in the Israeli job market.</li> <li>• Greater numbers of Arab women in management positions and decision-making roles in public administration in Israel.</li> <li>• A cadre of Arab women in key positions in the Israeli economy.</li> </ul>

### Increased regulation of colleges

More intensive regulation of colleges in Israel, with the goal of improved quality of human resources and synchronization between supply and demand in the job market.

The increased regulation will include, inter alia:

- improved quality of teaching;
- subsidized courses of study consonant with the demands of the job market;
- ranking the colleges by proportion of their graduates employed in the fields they studied and consequently, among other things, enable subsidies.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Building evaluation and control measures for colleges in terms of quality of teaching, with preference to fields in high demand in the job market.</li> <li>• Opening modern courses of study coordinated with the job market.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Better-qualified human resources and improved synchronization between supply and demand in the job market.</li> </ul>

## Governance

The representation of Arab citizens of Israel in the nation's governance institutions is in need of a conceptual change that will lead to full partnership in decision making, including deciding about issues of crucial national importance. This means both political representation and representation in the professional ranks, to persuade Arab society that it is preferable to participate in the life of the state and have a say about national issues, rather than close itself off in sectorial isolation. The process of change must include full and thorough parity in the allocation of resources, including affirmative action where required.

The team proposes new directions to increase participation in the political space, with a bottom-up strategy, while creating partnership between the third sector, the business sector, local authorities and civil society forces. This partnership will resound powerfully and lead the government to join the effort. In the current state of the nation and its current political climate, the government has no desire nor ability to formulate policy that can actualize the foundations and norms of a shared society.

Our first recommendation is divided in two, with separate milestones as follows:

### A. Establishing a public council with an executive governing board for shared political space

The public council for a shared political space should be the key driving force for an initiative for a new kind of governance that will formulate partnerships between central government institutions, municipal governments, the business sector and civil society organizations.

In the public council for a shared political space there will be Jewish and Arab members; from among them, an executive committee will be chosen, including people of substantial standing, knowledge and experience in various realms: the third sector, local and central government, and the business sector.

The main responsibility of the public council (and within it, the executive committee) is to create a shared political space.

<b>Short term</b>	<b>Medium and long term</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Identify and recruit a preliminary core of people to establish the Public Council for a Shared Political Space.</li><li>• Define the basic operating principles for the activity of the Public Council for a Shared Political Space.</li><li>• Expand the forum of members using broad recruitment of Jewish and Arab activists, based on the preliminary principles already formulated.</li><li>• From among the members, name an executive committee to formulate goals and objectives for the public council's activity, working methods, and structural components (general membership meeting, chair, executive director, executive committee), etc.</li><li>• Establish the institutions of the council: the general membership meeting and selection of the chair and the executive committee (board of directors).</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Ongoing activity of the Public Council for a Shared Political Space and its component institutions.</li></ul>

## B. Creating a shared political space supporting a new kind of governance

The shared political space will have charge of formulating bottom-up action strategies to influence the policy determining the foundations and norms for a shared society, propose alternatives to hierarchical decision making, and initiate cooperative efforts between the public sector, the business sector and civil society.

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build an informational center to produce periodic reports and collect relevant information to enhance sharing in the political space.</li> <li>• Formulate a policy outlining the principles and norms for a shared society.</li> <li>• Propose alternative models for changing existing hierarchies in decision making.</li> <li>• Map the arenas and fields on which having an impact will create a domino effect on other areas, e.g., central government, municipal government, advanced industries, etc.</li> <li>• Create models for building coalitions reaching beyond population boundaries, to serve as the basis for formulating ad hoc impact coalitions on various subjects.</li> <li>• Establish a research infrastructure to produce and publish a continuing series of follow-up reports on various subjects.</li> <li>• Local governance / local authorities: Setting development objectives in defined outcome areas congruent with civil society and public engagement and with objectives from the business sector, with potential to shift and challenge the national government.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create impact coalitions to interest new circles in activity and commitment to partnership between national government institutions, government ministries, municipal government, the business sector and civil society organizations.</li> <li>• Create buzz, interest, and public involvement through action.</li> <li>• Initiate shared projects among national government institutions, municipal government institutions, the business sector and civil society organizations.</li> <li>• Expand cooperative efforts between local government institutions and the third sector as a source of power for broad civil involvement.</li> <li>• Build capacities and increase professionalization and streamlining in local governance and civil society entities (such as non-profit organizations).</li> <li>• Expand business sector involvement in activities of an economic nature.</li> <li>• In the realm of the character of the regime, create new rules for democracy with broad loci of decision making that include additional players, apart from politicians.</li> <li>• Formulate and publicize proven solutions (formulas for solutions) for various problems and issues at the heart of the public interest and present them for implementation via the various government ministries.</li> <li>• Influence and propel governance processes: legislation, budgeting of resources, working models, etc.</li> <li>• Initiate and leverage economic and infrastructure projects at the regional level between local authorities, both Arab and Jewish (shared industrial zones, and so on).</li> <li>• Maintain ongoing, continuous contact between initiatives at the local authorities and those being conducted by civil society.</li> </ul>

## Increased access for Arab entrepreneurs to financial tools at banks and other financial entities

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase public awareness by publicizing the existing barriers to Arab entrepreneurs.</li> <li>• Initiate professional activities and publications to increase awareness among Arab business people about financing options on the national level, e.g., financing for industrial, agricultural, environmental, and other projects.</li> <li>• Initiate and design professional activities and tools (conferences, public outreach materials, professional publications) to increase access for Arab entrepreneurs to financial tools (the banking system and financial entities) to the same level as exists for Jewish entrepreneurs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formulate a set of agreed-on procedures to redefine the mutual relations between banks and other financial entities and existing businesses (less stringent demands for collateral, etc.).</li> <li>• Initiate the establishment of a mechanism for business mentoring for projects.</li> <li>• Assistance in increasing the number of Arab-owned enterprises that achieve breakthroughs and succeed in penetrating the national Israeli market (like El Nakhla Coffee, Al Arz Tahini, etc.).</li> <li>• Aid in setting up cooperative business enterprises between Arab and Jewish entrepreneurs, by identifying the sizeable consumer potential among Arab families.</li> </ul>

## Creating platforms for cooperation between local authorities and the third sector

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Disseminating the idea and enlisting municipal authorities to adopt it.</li> <li>• Mapping local and regional needs with attention and priorities guided by importance and feasibility.</li> <li>• Enlisting the third sector and the business sector as needed, for participation in planning and implementing solutions.</li> <li>• Formulating solutions for selected issues.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiating and leading processes of strengthening local governance to function as a vanguard, together with civil society.</li> <li>• Increasing the number of shared initiatives undertaken by local authorities with the third sector, directed to improving the lives of residents, including economically (moving forward in high tech, etc.).</li> <li>• Propel the national government to action through and with the help of regional governance initiatives.</li> </ul>

## Encouragement (aid in financing and implementation) for projects within the jurisdictions of local authorities in cooperation with entrepreneurs: joint ventures, BOTs (build-operate-transfer), PFIs (private finance initiative).

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Learning from experience with existing projects such as, e.g., what is happening in the Lev Ha'aretz Industrial Zone in Kfar Qasim.</li> <li>• Crafting an action model and launching a specific project to include a joint approach to entrepreneurs and national government for provision of incentives and the release of land to meet the needs of the project.</li> <li>• Initiating the building of infrastructure for entrepreneurial projects within the jurisdictions of Arab local authorities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enlisting the success of a few projects as the basis for leveraging expansion to include additional projects in the various localities.</li> <li>• Gathering together a large number of local authorities to leverage public assets for economic growth jointly with business entrepreneurs (such as commercial centers that provide tax revenue, tourism projects, etc.).</li> <li>• Initiating and moving forward on projects to create jobs for residents of Arab areas, including women.</li> <li>• Encouraging and expanding cooperative efforts between Arab and Jewish local authorities involving business entrepreneurship.</li> <li>• Creating a foundation for government intervention in announcing new development zones and providing incentives and tax breaks to entrepreneurs.</li> </ul>

## Integrating Arabs into courses of study that prepare participants for government positions

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initiating a project to encourage candidates from the entire spectrum of the Arab population to join unique programs that train people for roles and positions in the government space (PR, awareness and outreach campaigns, stipends, etc.).</li> <li>• Promoting the objective that Arabs will comprise at least 20% of the graduates of government studies programs with internships in government ministries.</li> <li>• Admitting and promoting Arab interns alongside Jewish interns in the various government ministries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of an academic infrastructure to integrate Arabs into exclusive programs that prepare candidates for positions in the government space.</li> <li>• Establishment of an organizational infrastructure in government ministries ready to absorb professional Arab staffers.</li> <li>• Promoting Arabs' candidacies for senior positions in government service.</li> </ul>

## Track the proportion of Arab employment in the public space, and increase it

Short term	Medium and long term
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitor the proportion of Arab workers in public service at all ranks and professional categories and in all allied and subsidiary units and government companies (with an annual assessment).</li> <li>• Disseminate the data on employment of Arabs in government service, allied units and government companies – to the government and to the Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee.</li> <li>• Assure that information about public positions is available to the Arab population.</li> <li>• Initiate and encourage public debate on this subject.</li> <li>• Initiate and encourage action on the part of state institutions to employ Arab workers.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conduct activities to increase mutual trust between, and joint work by, Arabs and Jews in the public sector.</li> <li>• Increase the proportion of employment of professional Arab staff in key positions in the public sector.</li> <li>• Coordinate policy formulation processes with the Arab target population.</li> <li>• Optimal implementation of policies aimed at the Arab population.</li> </ul>



