

An Inclusive Israeli Society or Separate Tribes?

Quantitative Indices

Alex Mintz, Chaim Weizmann, Ori Slonim, Chen Elisha & Tom Lourie

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The Purpose of the Research

- To answer the question: **Does Israel march in accordance with President Rivlin's spirit toward an Inclusive Israeli Society**, or does the trend in which the various tribes tug in their own respective directions continue?
- Identify trends of widening/narrowing disparities between the various tribes over time.

The Israeli Society Divided

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- Two years ago, the President of Israel, in a speech given here, at the Herzliya Conference, followed in the footsteps of the Central Bureau of Statistics and listed four tribes – according to the various educational sectors.

President Rivlin	The Israel Democracy Institute	Prof. Amnon Rubinstein (2017)	Prof. Sammy Smooha (1984)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Secular Tribe 2. The National-Religious Tribe 3. The Haredi Tribe 4. The Arab Tribe 	<p>Jews:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Haredim, 2. National-Religious, 3. Masorti-Dati, 4. Masorti-non Dati, 5. Secular <p>Arabs</p>	<p>Jews</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Haredim 2. Zionist-Religious 3. Masortim 4. Non-Religious 5. Messianic 6. Entitled by the Law of Return <p>Arabs</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Muslim 2. Druze 3. Bedouin 4. Circassians 5. Christians <p>Non-Arab Christians Others</p>	<p>Division by cleavages (pairs of two, per cleavage):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Class Cleavage 2. The Ethnic Cleavage 3. The National Cleavage/ Jewish-Arab Cleavage 4. The Political Cleavage 5. The Secular-Religious Cleavage

Methodology: Database and Indices Development

Development of the Inclusive Israeli Society indices:

- Comparative data for 2006-2015 on:
 - Education
 - Employment
 - Infrastructure and Resources
 - Political and Social Attitudes
 - Multivariate Model's Findings

Local Authorities:

▶ The Secular tribe:

Eilat

Beersheba

Haifa

Kiryat Ata

Kiryat Shmona

▶ The National-Religious tribe:

Efrat

Gush Etzion Regional Council

Sdot Negev Regional Council

Kiryat Arba

Karnei Shomron

▶ The Haredi tribe:

El'ad

Beitar Illit

Bnei Brak

Modi'in Illit

Immanuel

▶ The Arab tribe:

Umm al-Fahm

Baqa al-Gharbiyye

Nazareth

Rahat

Shfar'am

Indicators

Education:

- Number of pupils in class (mean);
- Rate of those entitled to matriculation certificates (*bagrut*) which meet academic acceptance requirements
- Mean expenditure per pupil of local authority

Indicators (cont'd)

Employment:

- Percent of employed persons, out of the local authority's residents of working age;
- Average monthly wage per employee.

Indicators (cont'd):

Infrastructure and Resources:

- Local authority's expenditure per resident (mean);
- Government participation in local authority's income – mean per resident;
- Mean infrastructure development expenditure per resident in the irregular budget.

Indicators (cont'd)

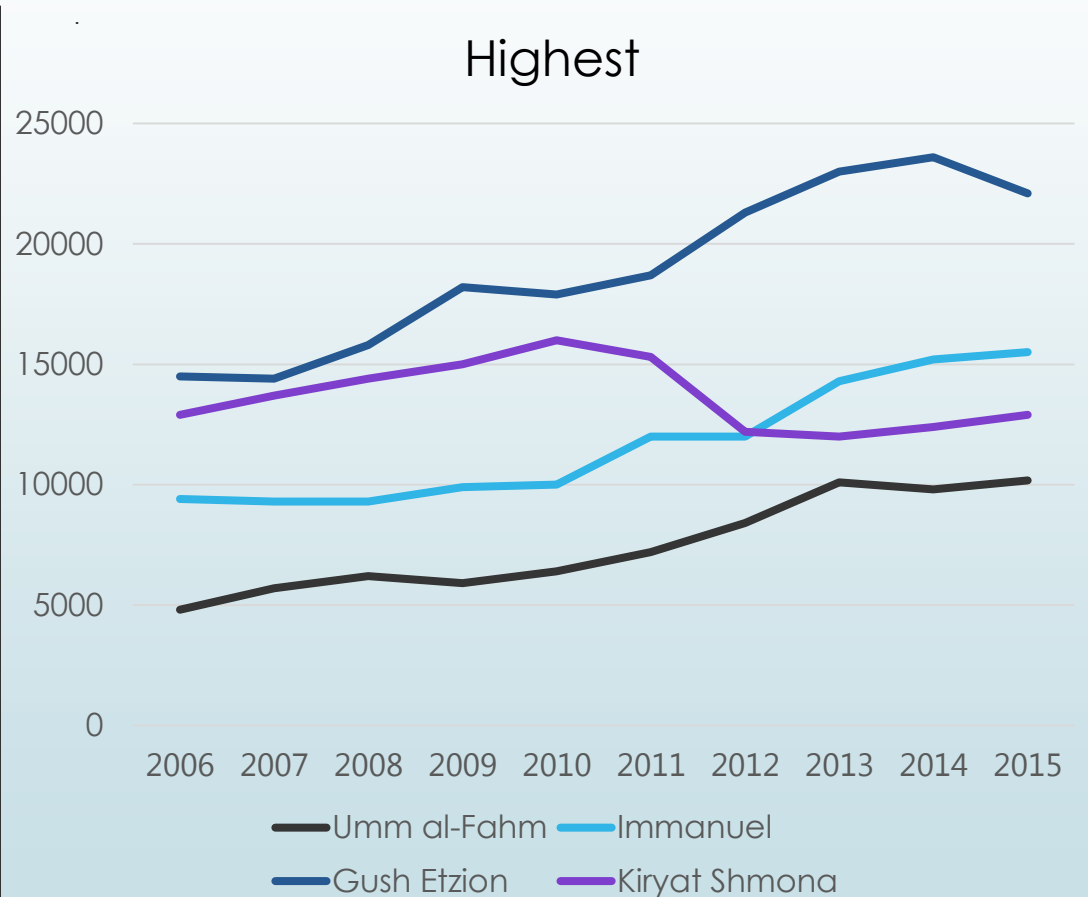
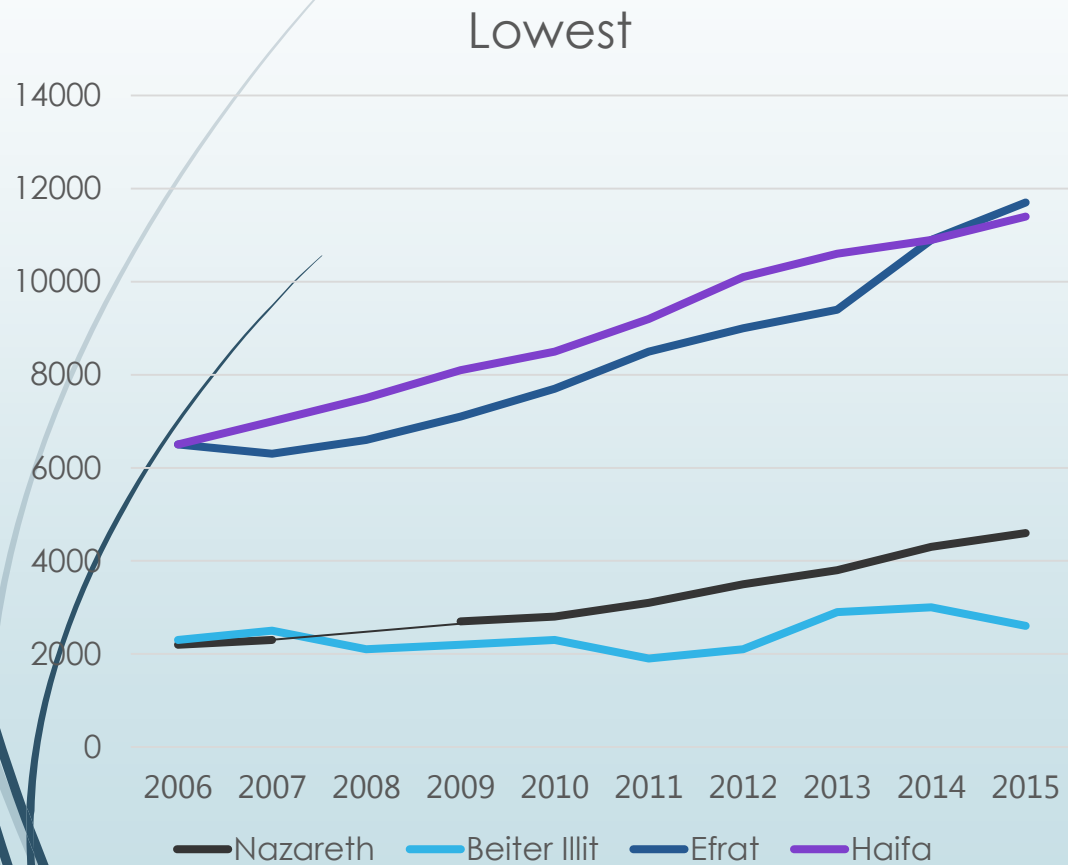
Political and Social Attitudes:

- Political affiliation;
- The tribes' stances on Judea and Samaria;
- Willingness to form an Inclusive Israeli Society;
- Equality of responsibilities and opportunities.

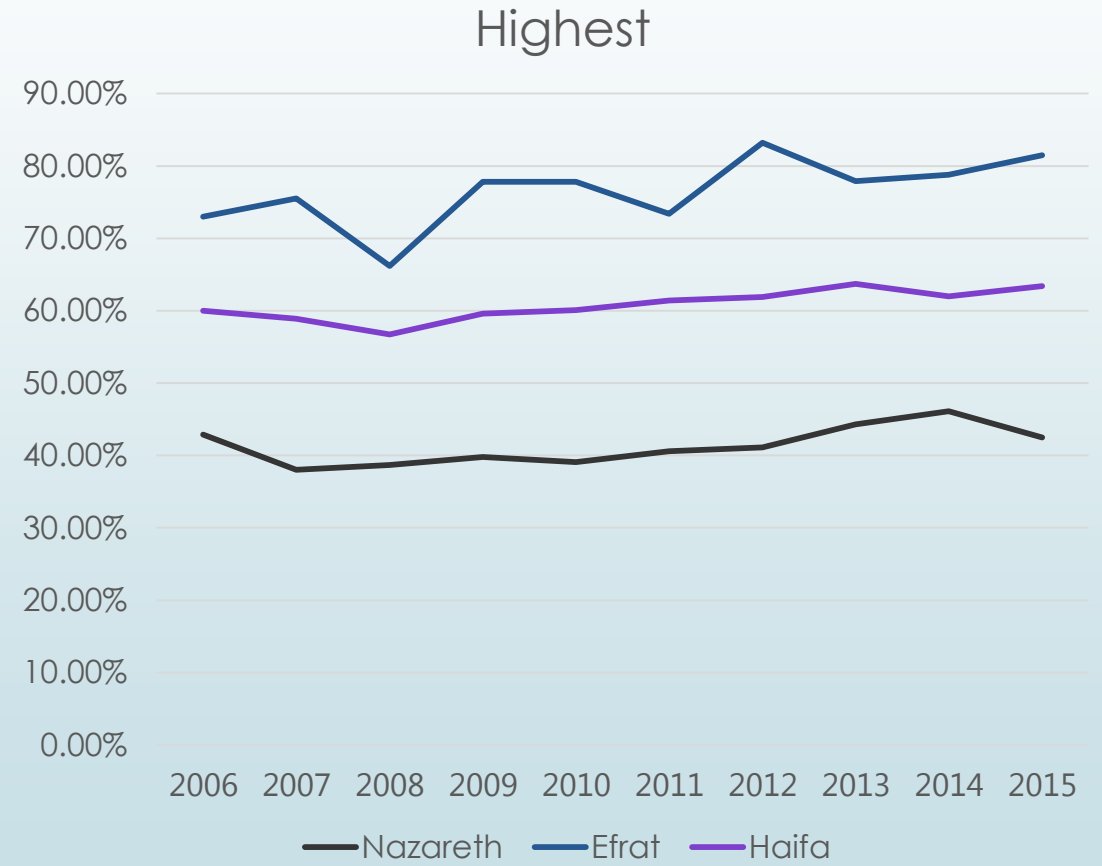
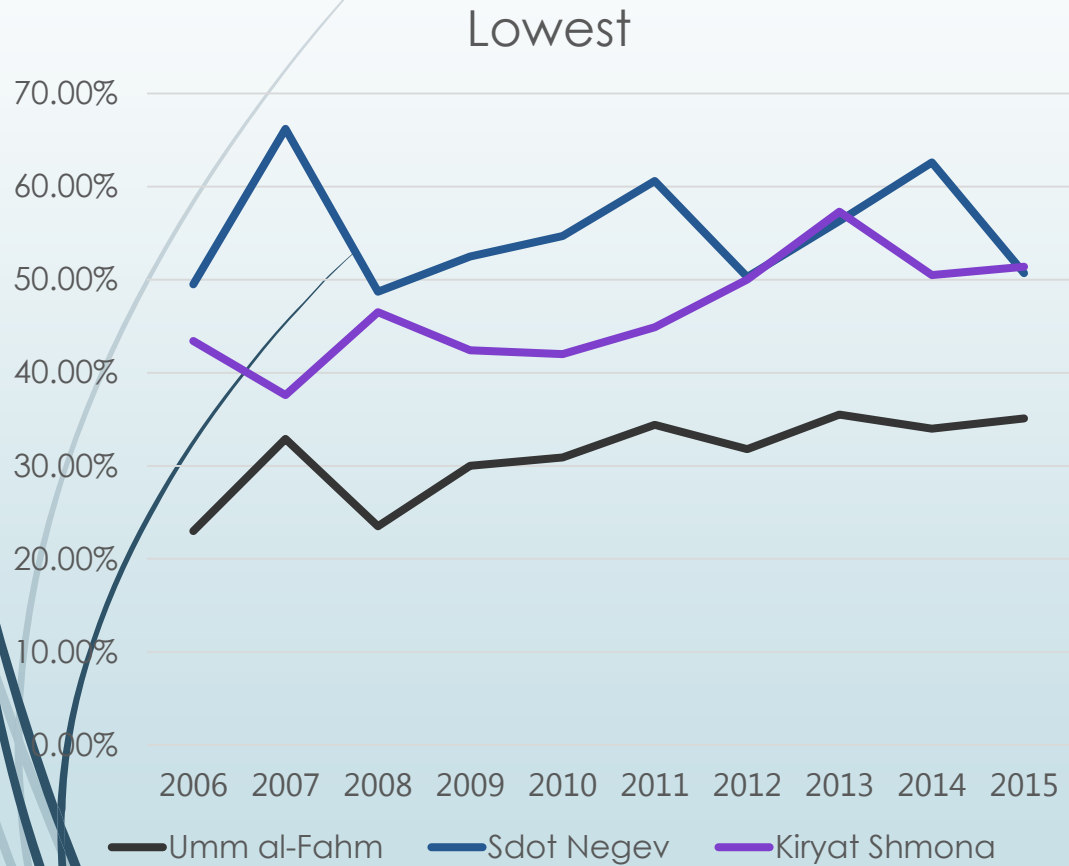
Data Presentation

- The following graphs outline a comparison between the strongest/weakest local authorities, with respect to each tribe, in each sector, on each parameter.

Expenditure per pupil, in NIS, per year

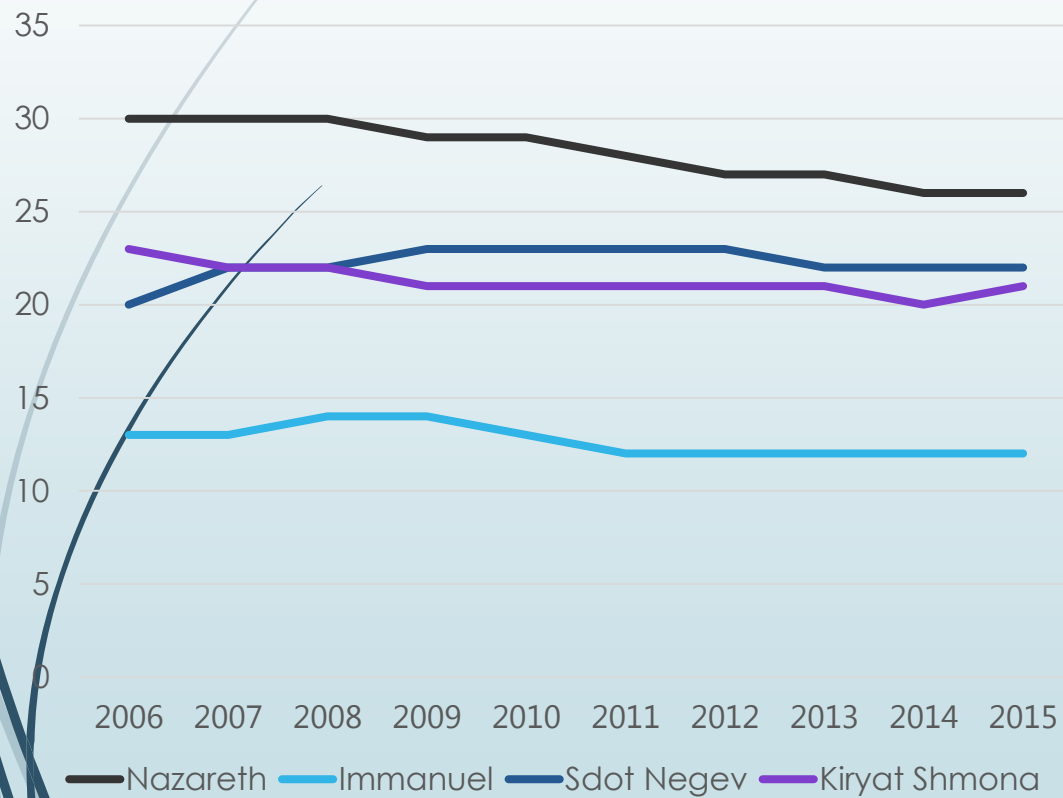


Quality *bagrut* entitlement rate

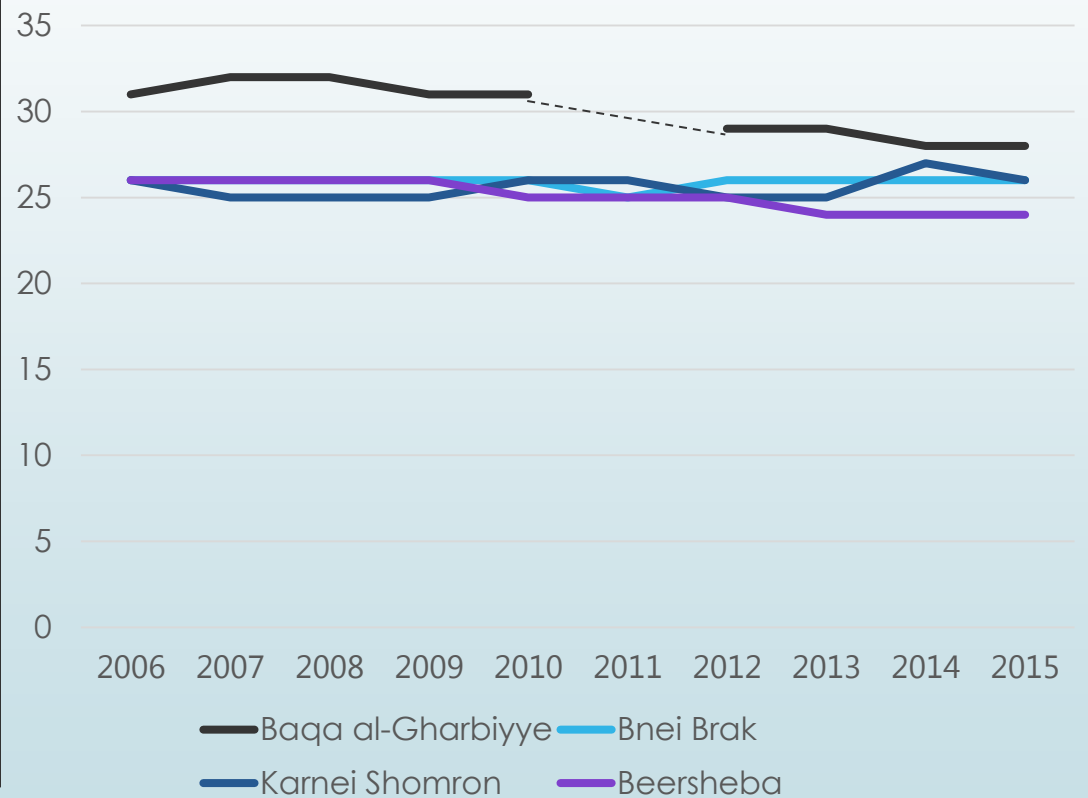


Number of pupils in class

Least crowded



Most crowded



Expenditure per pupil & quality matriculation entitlement: comparative findings

- The entitlement to quality matriculation certificates (*bagrut*) within the Secular and National-Religious local authorities is significantly higher than that among the Arab ones, aside from a number of outstanding local authorities.
- At the lower expenditure levels, the expenditure of the Haredi and Arab tribes is not even half that of the Secular and National-Religious tribes.
- There is a lack of data regarding this parameter in the Haredi tribe, whose rate of eligibility for quality *bagrut* has been known to be strikingly low.

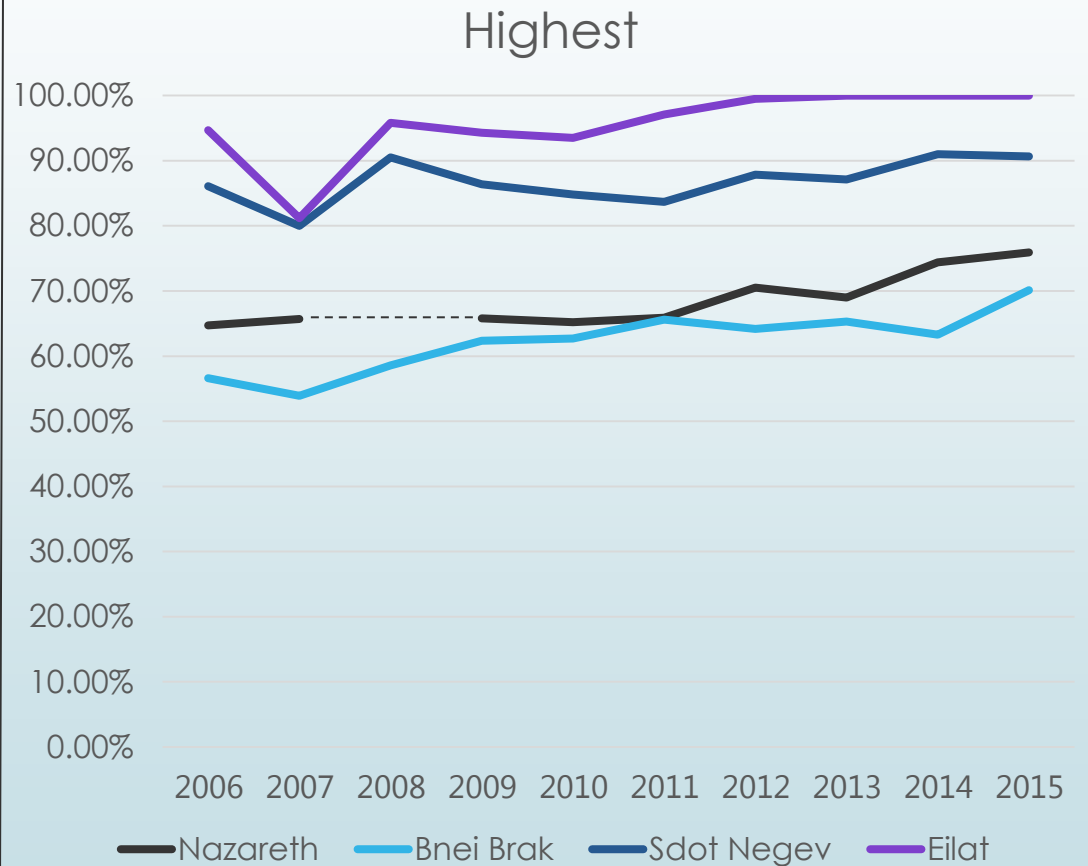
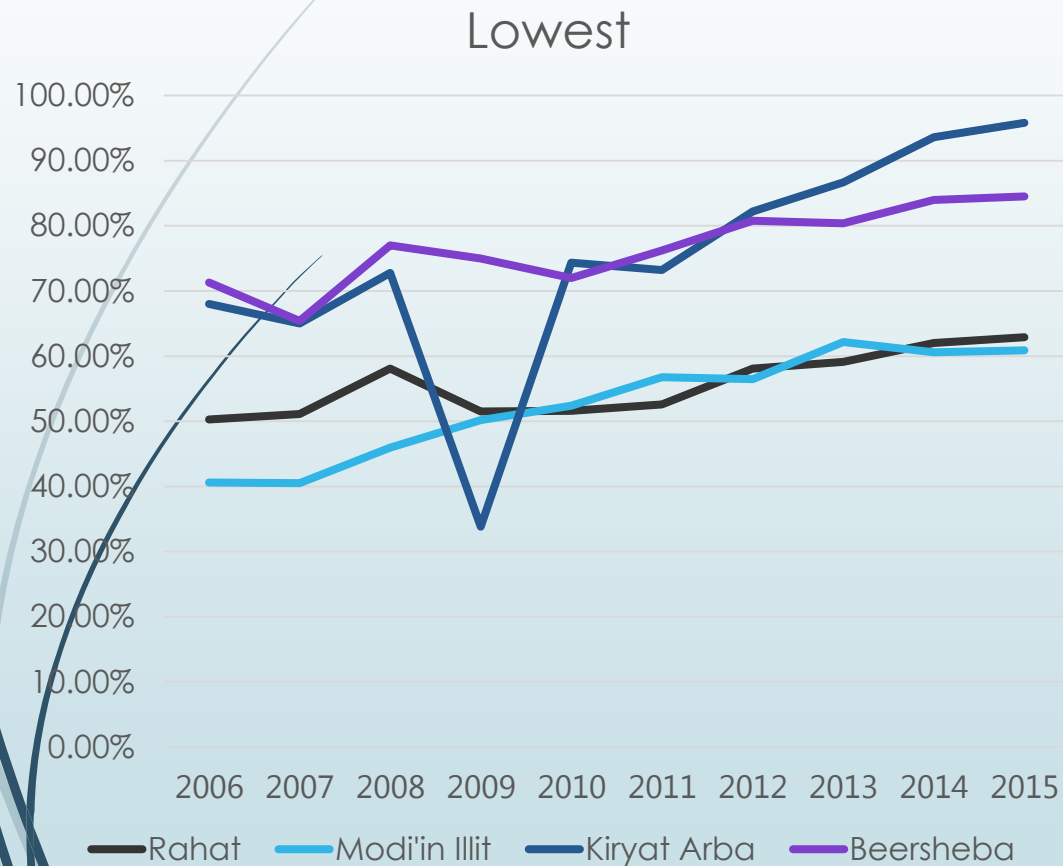
Number of pupils in class: comparative findings

- A positive trend of a decrease in the number of pupils in class has been observed in all local authorities.
- Within the Arab local authorities, the number of pupils in class is highest.
- Within the Haredi local authorities, the number of pupils in class is lowest.

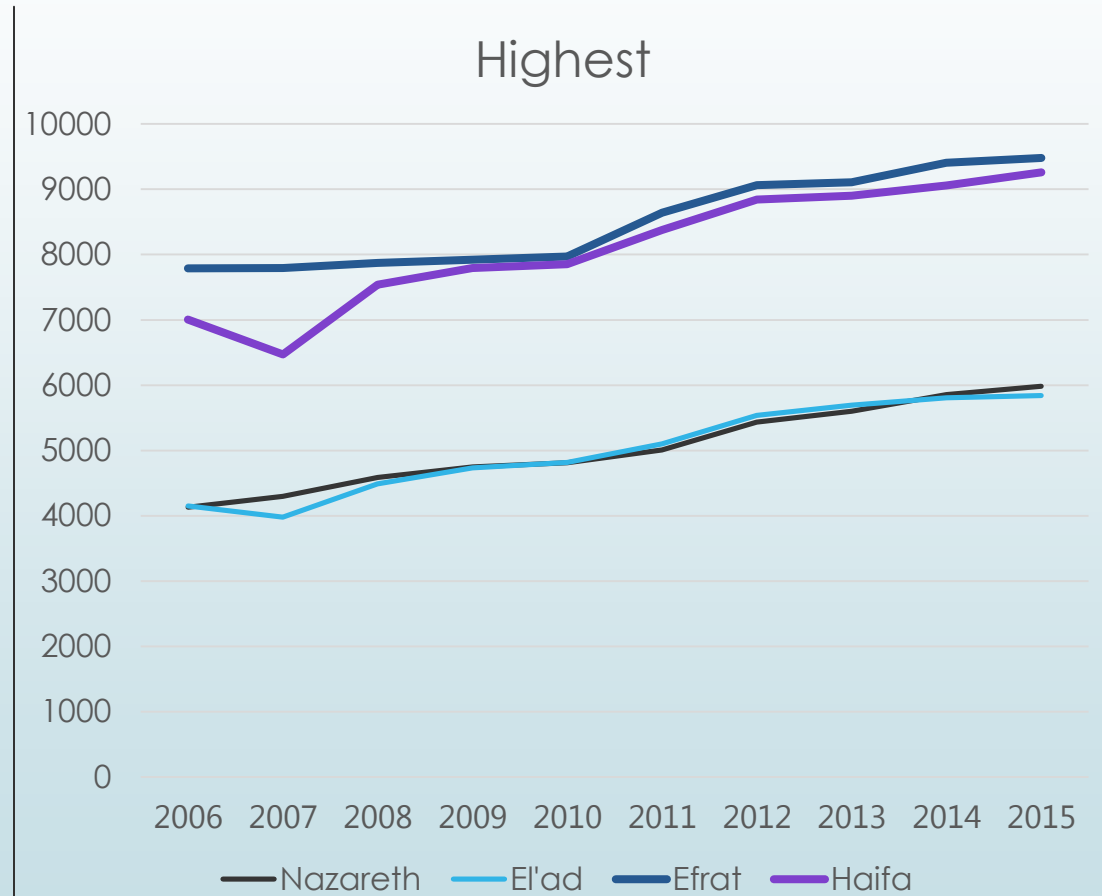
Key Findings—Education

- There are vast disparities in investment in education between the Secular and National-Religious tribes on the one hand, and the Haredi and Arab tribes on the other.
- These disparities are clearly discernible in significant differences in entitlement to quality matriculation certificates (*bagrut*).
- The implication is a widening of the future gaps in the earning ability of the members of the various tribes and the deepening of income inequality. In spite of a significant increase in expenditure per pupil in all tribes.

Employment rates among working-age groups



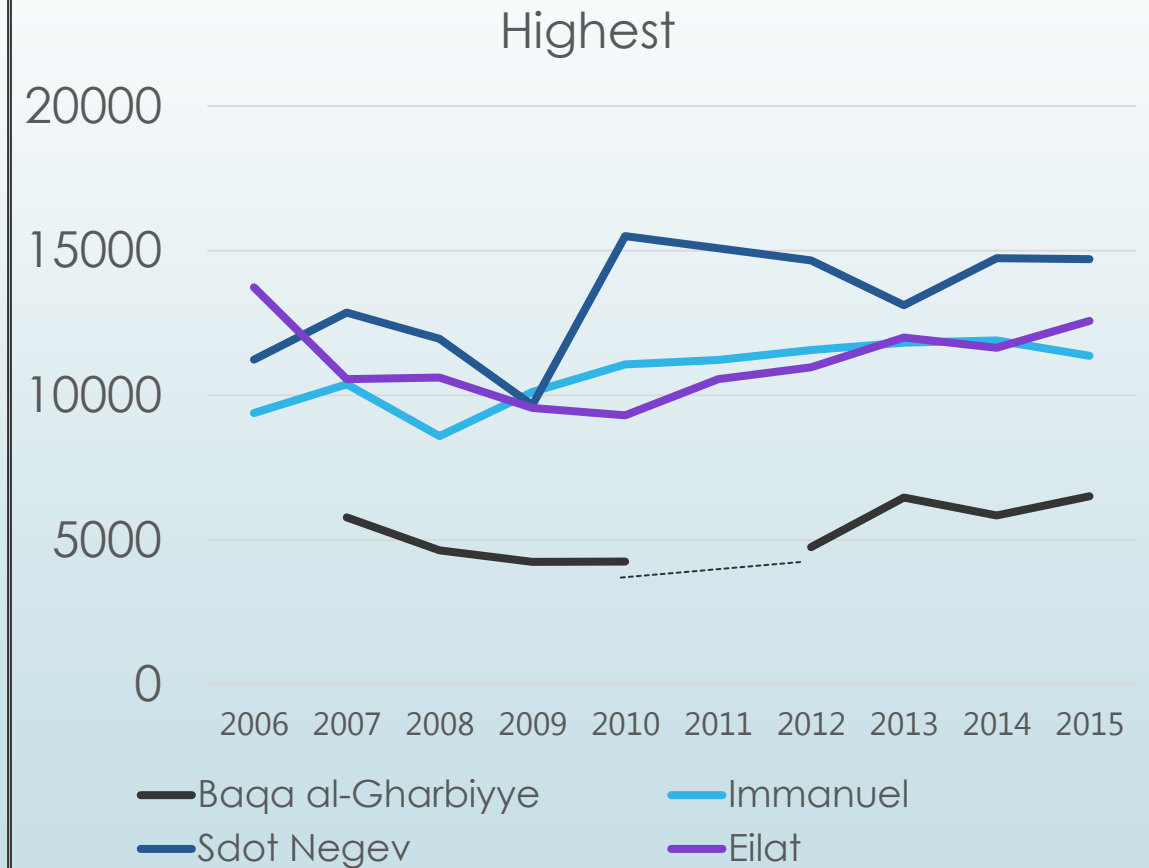
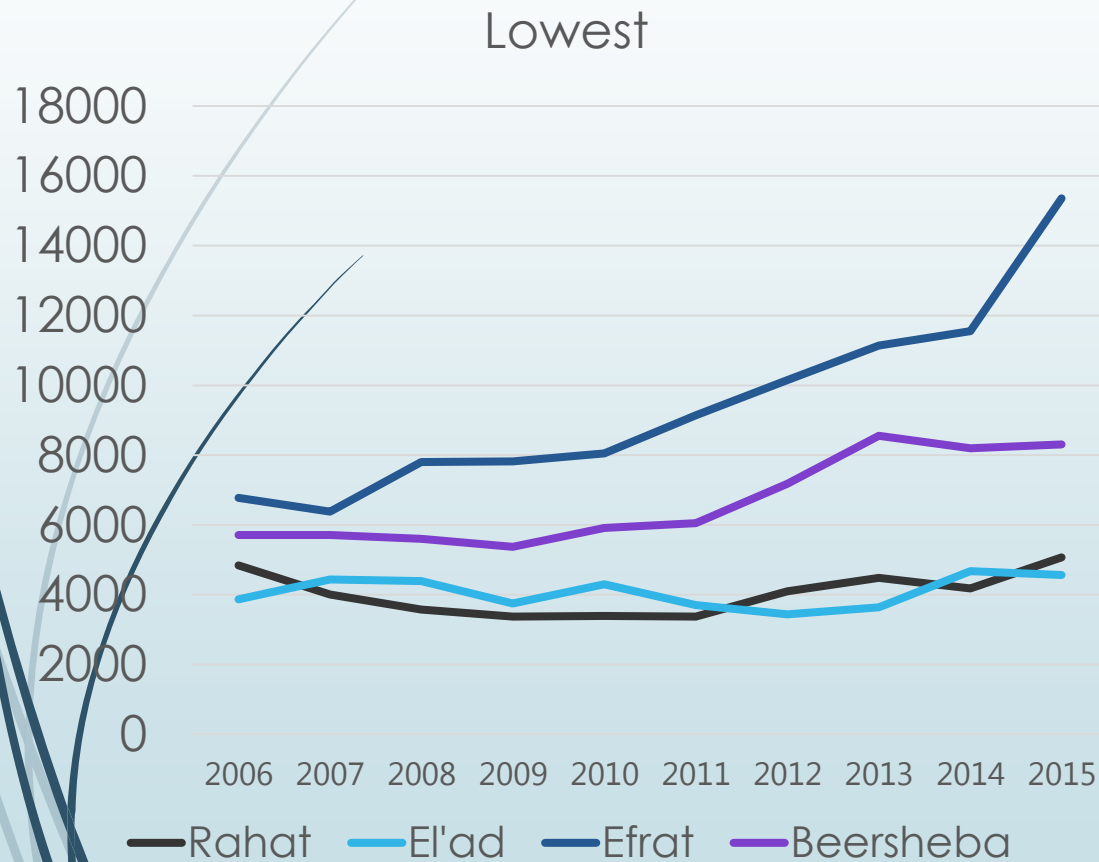
Mean monthly wage per employee, in NIS, per year



Key Findings—Employment and Monthly Wages

- Analyzing each tribe independently, a story of cross-tribal improvement in employment rates and monthly wages over time is revealed.
- However, a comparative analysis clearly demonstrates that the **disparities** between the Secular and National-Religious tribes and the Arab and Haredi tribes **have been persistent and even widened over the years.**
- The mean monthly wage per employee in the Secular & National-Religious local authorities is significantly higher (over 60%) than that in the Haredi & Arab local authorities.

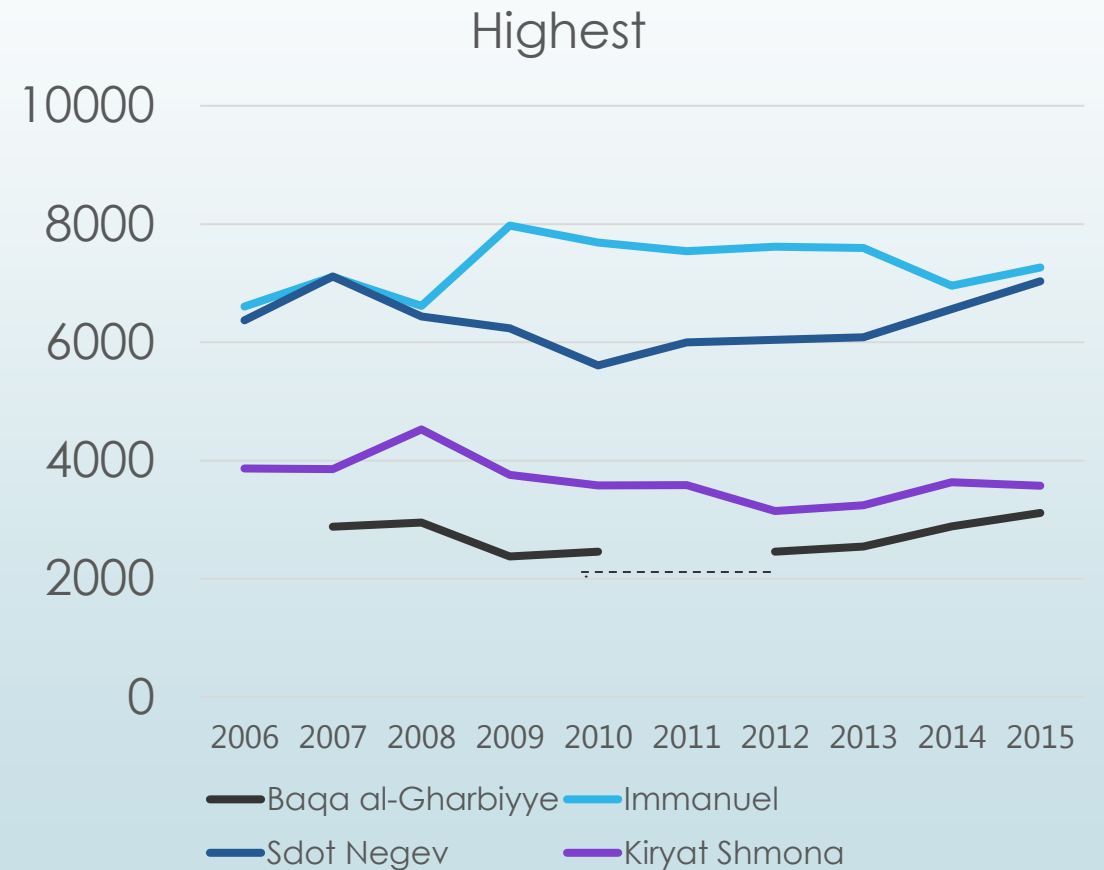
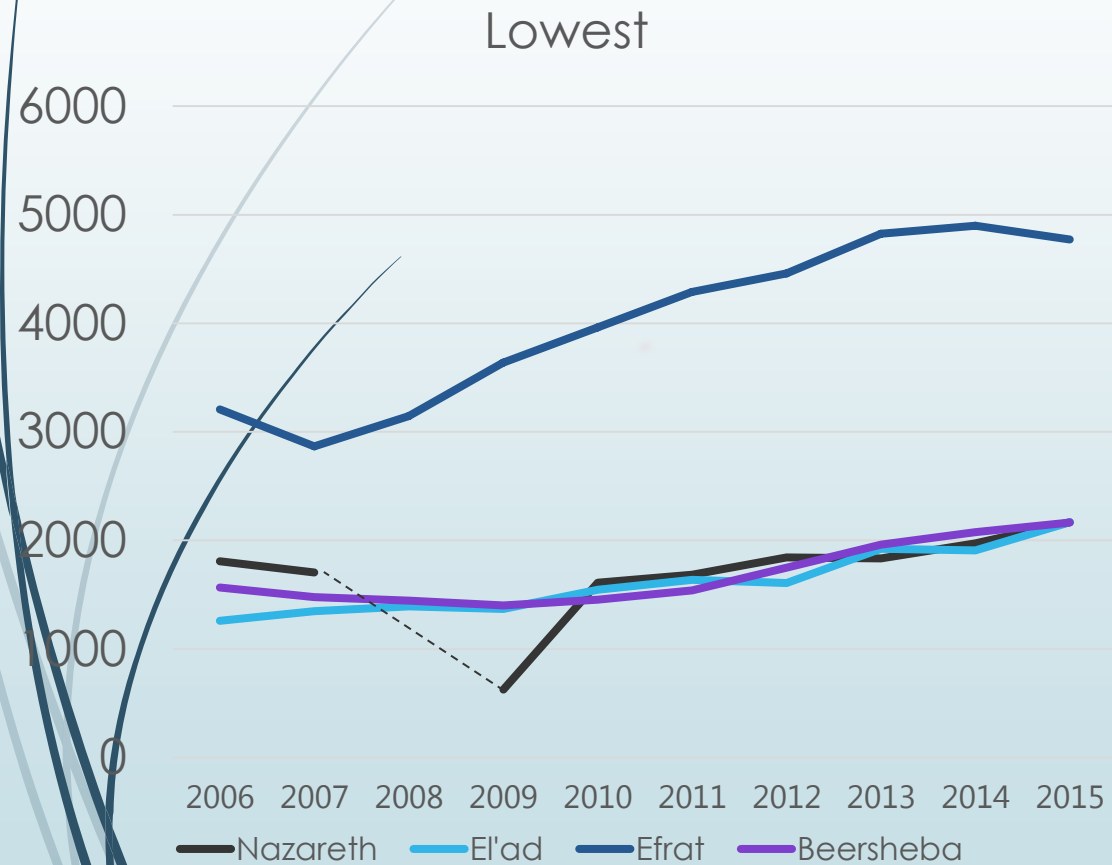
Total local authorities' expenditure per resident, in NIS, per year



Key Findings—Expenditure per resident

- In the National-Religious local authorities, total expenditure per resident is more than three times that of the Haredi and Arab local authorities.
- In the Secular local authorities, expenditure per resident is almost twice that of the Arab and Haredi local authorities.
- Due to the Matching System, these disparities are even greater and the inequality is much deeper than can be immediately gleaned from the data presented.

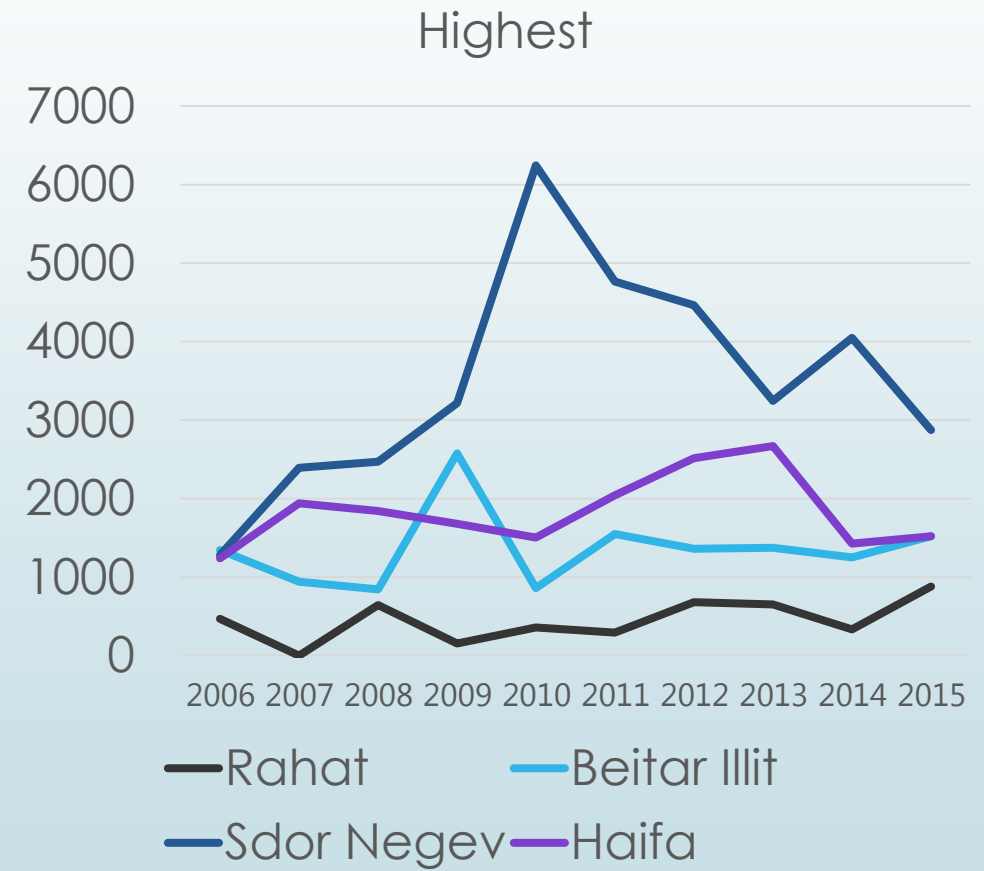
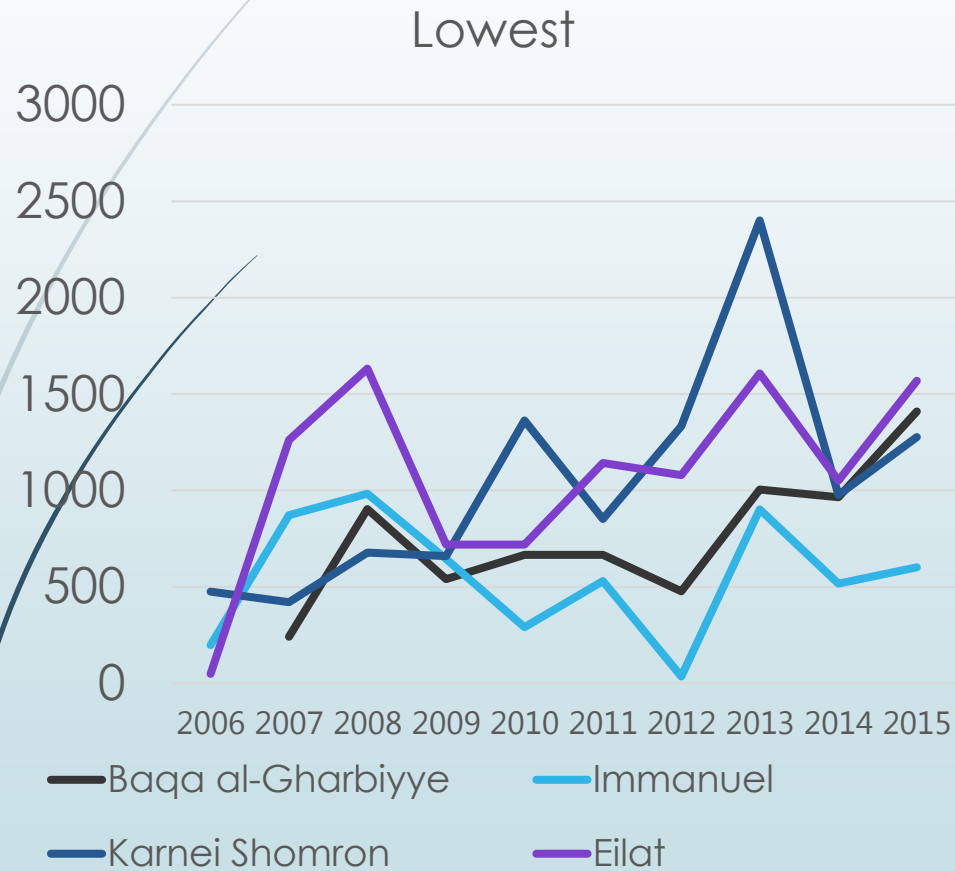
Government participation in local authorities' revenues per resident, in NIS, per year



Government participation in local authorities' revenues: comparative findings

- Over time, there is a moderate increase in government participation in the weak local authorities of all tribes
- However, among the National-Religious and Haredi local authorities, the government's participation in local authorities' revenues **more than doubles** its participation in Secular and Arab local authorities' revenues.

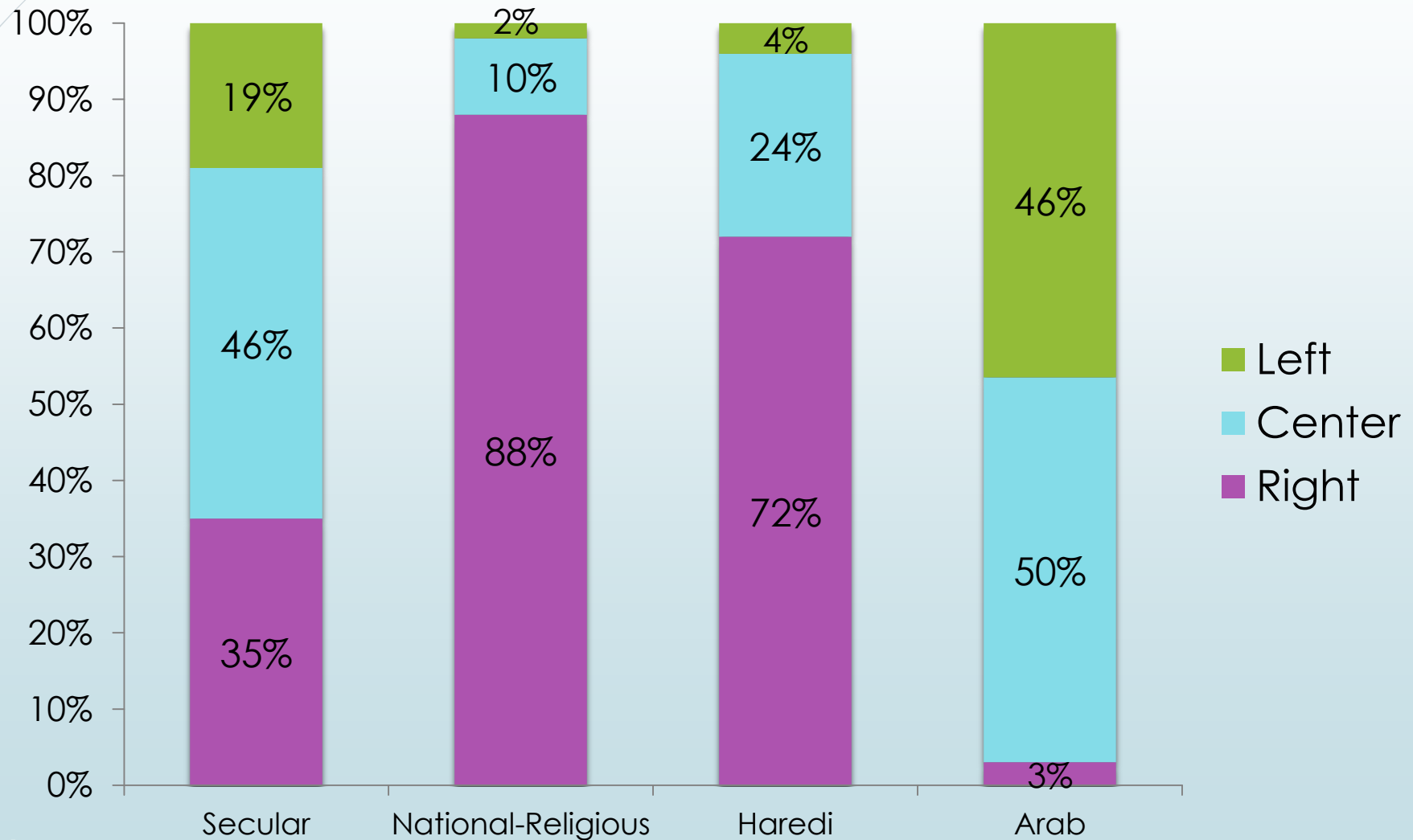
Expenditure on infrastructure development in the irregular budget per resident, in NIS, per year



Expenditure on infrastructure development in the irregular budget: comparative findings

- The infrastructure development expenditure in the irregular budget in the Secular and National-Religious local authorities, is much higher than that in the Arab and Haredi local authorities.
- If this trend continues, the Haredi and Arab local authorities will continue to suffer from a gap in infrastructure which would only grow wider in the future.
- This affects the ability to reduce inequality between Jews and Arabs as well as between the Secular and National-Religious tribes, on the one hand, and the Haredim, on the other.

The Four Tribes' Political Worldviews

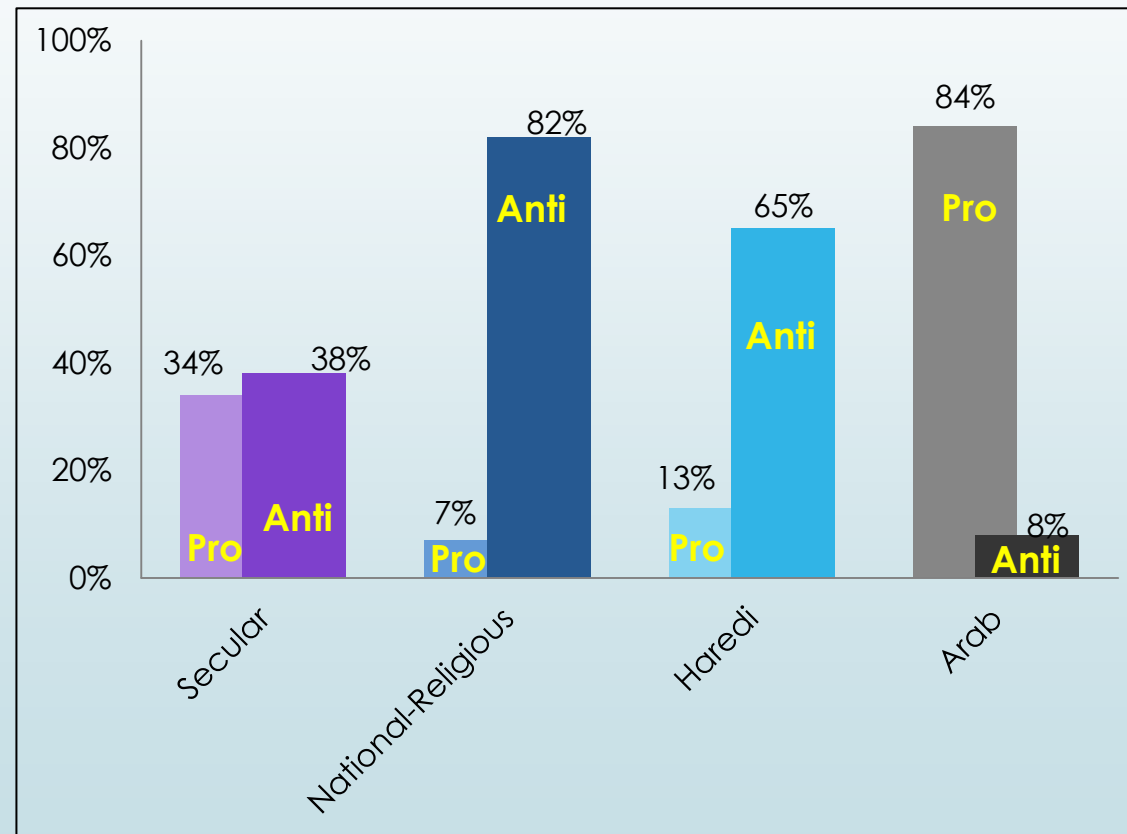


The Tribes' Political Worldviews— Findings

- As is known, a vast majority within the National-Religious and Haredi tribes defines itself as right-wing;
- The Secular tribe is divided in its politics;
- The Arab tribe affiliates itself mainly with the political left and center;
- In Israel, religiosity levels clearly explain voting patterns.

Attitudes on ceasing Israeli control over Judea and Samaria

The tribes' stances



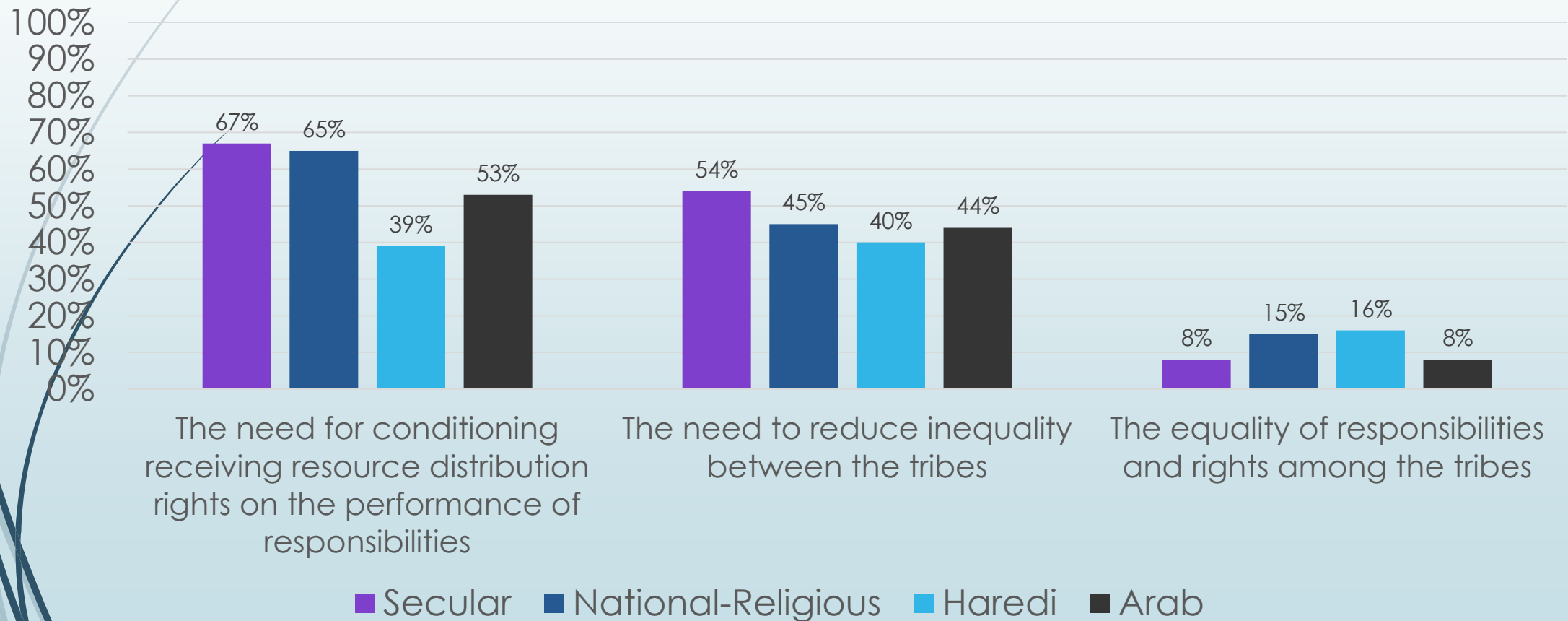
Legend: Light – For; Dark – Against.

Attitudes on Ceasing Israeli Control Over Judea and Samaria—Findings

- As a whole, the Israeli political right supports maintaining Israeli control over Judea and Samaria, while the left and center support the cessation of Israeli control over these territories.
- Religion explains well opinions regarding cessation of Israeli control over Judea and Samaria, as shown in the previous slide.

The Tribes' Attitudes on Equality, Rights, and Responsibilities

The rate of those who specified "very much so + quite so"

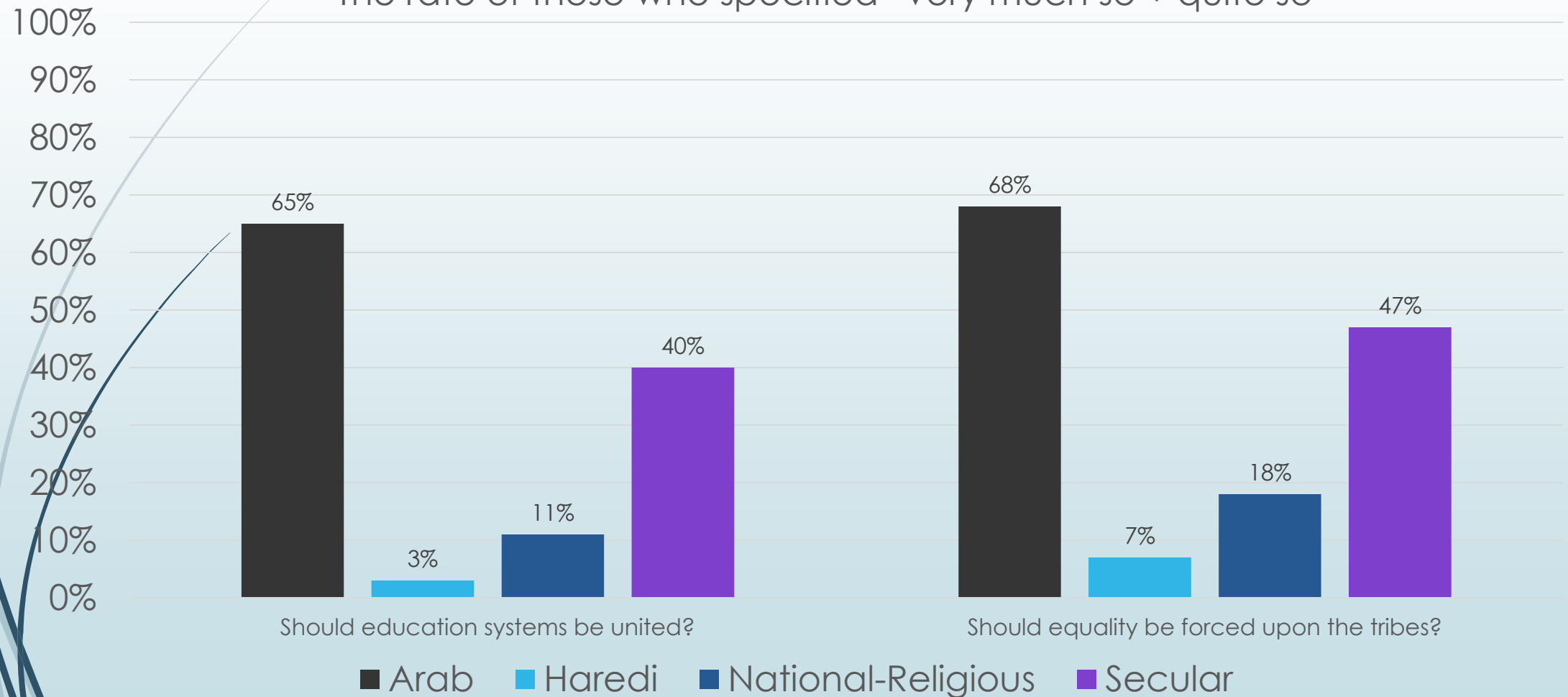


The tribes' stances on equality

- Most of the public, members of all tribes, do not believe that Israel displays equality of rights and responsibilities.
- A majority within the Arab tribe (as well as within the Secular and National-Religious tribes) support conditioning receiving resource distribution rights on the performance of responsibilities;
- One of the most interesting and encouraging insights arising from the “New Israeli Order and an Inclusive Israeli Society” survey (Mintz and Elisha, 2016) is the desire of almost 50% within the Arab tribe, to integrate within the Israeli society.

Society in a new Israeli order

The rate of those who specified “very much so + quite so”



Equality and inequality-Key findings (cont'd)

- The inequality in investments in the future (education, infrastructure), might even deepen the disparities and lessen the possibility of realizing the vision of an Inclusive Israeli Society. In spite of the government resolution 922 “the five year plan for the minority population”, of December 2015, which comprises the allocation of 15 billion NIS to the Arab tribe. The resolution’s implementation has been conducted leisurely.
- It seems that also with regard to investment in the future, the Secular and National-Religious tribes lead in great distance from the Haredi tribe, while the Arab tribe lags far behind.

Key Finding

- The data over the years demonstrates a hierarchy between the various tribes.
- The National-Religious tribe stands prime among those privileged by the economic, infrastructure, and educational boom in Israel on almost all parameters examined (infrastructure allocations, education, participation of government in local authorities' revenues, number of pupils in class, entitlement to quality matriculation certificates);
- The Secular tribe ranks second on most examined parameters.
- The Haredi, the third
- The Arab tribe – lingers far behind, on almost all parameters;
- Parenthetically, all of the significant National-Religious urban local authorities are located within Judea and Samaria.

Key Research Insights

- The paramount insight is that **in the last decade, there has been no significant progress toward an Inclusive Israeli Society.**
- **On the contrary.** The disparities between the various tribes have been growing wider.
- If this trend continues, we will move further away from the realization of the President's vision.
- On a sectoral outlook, it would appear that each tribe is improving on all indicators. And yet:
- When we dis-aggregate total data to data per tribe, a different picture emerges: The findings regarding the tribes paint a grim picture of widening and deepening disparities. The aggregate level data masks, of course, many of these divisions and gaps.
- Israel moves forward, yet the disparities between the tribes are widening.

Conclusions

- This research examined whether Israel is moving toward an Inclusive Israeli Society or toward separate tribes.
- The research shows that hitherto, we have been growing further away from the vision of the President of Israel.
- Israel's national resilience is dependent on the creation and fostering of social capital and of a more equal society with greater social solidarity.
- In-order to advance an Inclusive Israeli Society, drastic policy changes must be implemented.
- These changes can only come from an institutional-systemic overall approach.