Arab Citizens of Israel Early in the Twenty-First Century

Arik Rudnitzky

Memorandum
150

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המכון למחקרי ביטחון לאומי
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הערבים אזרחי ישראל בפתח המאה העשרים ואחת

אריק רודניצקי

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Foreword

In 2013, the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) decided to establish a new research program focusing on various aspects of Arab society in Israel. The decision was based on the recognition of Israel's large Arab minority and its constituent groups as a unique sector with particular significance in Israeli society. This group's development, its attitudes, and its status in Israel have a far reaching impact on the future of the country in general, and on its relationship with the Arab world and with the Palestinian nation outside its borders in particular. The challenge inherent in this situation lies in the reality that the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel has not succeeded in realizing the full potential of its citizenship and equal rights in a state that defines itself as the nation state of the Jewish people and remains embroiled in an historic conflict with the Palestinian nation, the brethren of Israel's Arab citizens. Therefore, we consider the study of trends in Israel's Arab society and the study of developments in the complex relations between Israel's Jewish majority and Arab minority essential for understanding the changes affecting the Arabs in Israel and the future of the relations between these two Israeli populations.

The current field is not new to Israel's research landscape. Over the past three decades, the study of Arab society and the study of the relations between Jews and Arabs in the State of Israel have gained considerable and consistent attention from researchers and analysts. The new program seeks to build upon this foundation and contribute to these continuing efforts in the hope of helping shape Israel's public discourse, which largely ignores the severity of the situation and instead applauds the fact that the differences between these two population groups typically do not lead to any "explosions" on the surface. We believe that this persistent disregard for the gravity of this problem is not beneficial to either community, and may lead to upheavals that seriously undermine national security. Rather, what is needed is a comprehensive effort that has both significant resonance and the capacity

to penetrate the shells around the largely indifferent public of both Arabs and Jews and help shape the discourse of the country's decision makers.

Consequently, in the spirit of interdisciplinary research that drives much of the Institute's work, we decided to launch the program in collaboration with the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University, which has a longstanding tradition of research on this important topic. We believe that such cooperation between these two institutes connected with Tel Aviv University will ensure not only a proper standard of research but also generate significant reverberations that ignite a serious public debate on the topics that emerge from our joint research efforts.

The current program is funded by the Neubauer Family Foundation of Philadelphia, which supports a series of important research projects conducted at INSS.

The study that follows, written by Arik Rudnitzky, project manager of the Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation at the Moshe Dayan Center, is an updated version of a study originally published in Hebrew. Representing the first important step in implementation of the new research program, it is designed to furnish an authoritative knowledge base that offers an assessment of the political and social situation of Israel's Arab citizens early in the twenty-first century, and lists some of the most important literature in the field of recent years. This memorandum will be followed by additional research studies that will focus on more specific aspects of Jewish-Arab relations in the State of Israel today.

Asher Susser
Moshe Dayan Center for
Middle Eastern and African Studies

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Introduction

In the past decade, Jewish majority-Arab minority relations in Israel have become an increasingly salient issue. Many have come to understand that the Jewish-Arab cleavage is more acute and grave than any other social rift in Israeli society. According to the Israeli Democracy Index Survey for 2007, 87 percent of the respondents (91 percent of the Jewish respondents and 66 percent of the Arab respondents) believe that the Jewish-Arab divide in the country is the most severe of all social divides, including the divide between rich and poor (named by 79 percent of the respondents), between secular and observant Jews (66 percent), between native-born Jews and new Jewish immigrants (62 percent), or between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews (55 percent).[1] These figures were largely fueled by a series of contemporary events that directly affected the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel: the events of October 2000, the publication of the Or Commission report in September 2003, the Second Lebanon War (summer 2006), the publication of the Future Vision documents between December 2006 and May 2007, the outbreak of violence between Acre's Jewish and Arab residents in October 2008, and Israel's military operations in the Gaza Strip in December 2008-January 2009, November 2012, and most recently, in July-August 2014.

Contemporaneous with these events, negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians on a permanent settlement agreement continued, complicated further by Israel's demand that the Palestinians recognize Israel as a Jewish state. This demand, when raised by Israel in anticipation of or during a round of talks with the Palestinians, prompted sharp criticism from Arab politicians and public figures representing almost the entire political spectrum of Arab society. The fact that Arab public leaders were even more vehement than the Palestinian negotiators in their sharp, undisguised criticism of the demand to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, underscores the fervent persistence of the ideological divide between Israel's Arab and Jewish citizens – reflected

in their diametrically opposing historical narratives – even after several decades of living together in the same state. It likewise highlights the acute need to resolve the situation.

The critical significance of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel also arises from the fact that midway through the second decade of the twenty-first century the Arab population constitutes a large minority in Israel. Over the last three decades, this minority has doubled in size and currently numbers 1.3 million (excluding Arab residents of East Jerusalem), or one fifth of the country's citizens. In this period, Arab citizens underwent national and civic mobilization processes that left a strong imprint on their collective consciousness. Several years ago, these developments ripened in the form of the Future Vision documents, but their origins are deeply rooted in the historical evolution of the Arab minority, which has, under Israeli rule since 1948, developed differently and separately from other parts of the Palestinian nation. Today it is widely accepted that Israel's Arab minority is no longer a small, enfeebled population group, as it was in the first decades after the founding of Israel, but is rather a dynamic, serious sector. Over time, this population has produced diverse political and ideological streams that aspire to promote the interests of the country's Arab citizens – each stream according to its worldview and corresponding practical political agenda. Today, members of all of the streams openly demand that the Jewish majority grant rights to the Arabs, as citizens of the state and as members of a national Palestinian minority living in a Jewish nation state.

The period beginning in the mid-1990s, following the start of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians, is commonly viewed as a new chapter in the history of Israel's Arab minority, deserving of scholarly debate in its own right. Today, from a perspective of two decades, the implications of the peace process on the developing national consciousness of Israel's Arab minority are highly evident, along with the global discourse on national and ethnic minorities. However, not only did the issue of self-determination come into sharper focus for the Arab minority in this period; concurrent with growing preoccupation with the question "who are we," Arab politicians and intellectuals in Israel began to contemplate the nature of Israel's Jewish majority, and, as a result, became increasingly engaged with the nature of a future permanent settlement between Israel's Arab minority and Jewish majority.

The events of October 2000 are considered a watershed in the history of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. They triggered growing interest among policymakers and academic scholars in the status of Israel's Arab minority and the future relationship between the country's Arab and Jewish citizens. Not surprisingly, quite a number of books and academic studies were published on the identity and orientations of the Arab minority in the new post-October 2000 era, in addition to the comprehensive documentation of the events presented in the Or Commission report and its detailed analysis of the historical developments in Arab society that underlay these events. Also published in the post-2000 period were comprehensive reviews that contained selected social, economic, demographic, and political data on Arab society in Israel, such as *The Arab Society in Israel – Information Manual*, published by the Abraham Fund Initiatives,[2] and *Arab Society in Israel*, updated regularly by the Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem.[3] This literary output aimed to satisfy the demand of many academic and government figures and the general public for information about the nature of the Jewish-Arab rift in Israel. The events of October 2000 reinforced the understanding that this was a critical issue growing ever more severe.

This memorandum surveys the political and social developments in Israel's Arab society, which have had a formative influence on the national discourse of the Arab minority since the 1990s. The first chapter offers basic data on the Arab population in Israel. The second chapter, which is the core of this memorandum, addresses the political and ideological changes in Arab society over the last two decades. It analyzes the patterns of political behavior of Arab citizens in this period, changes in the national discourse in Arab society, and patterns of organization of Arab civil society. Chapter 3 of the memorandum discusses recent governmental policies on the country's Arab population. Chapter 4 reviews the social and economic profiles of the Arab population in a broad range of areas, including health, education, economics, poverty, and unemployment. The final analytical chapter describes the main trends in Jewish-Arab relations in the past decade. It is followed by a conclusion that includes key policy recommendations. An annotated bibliography of the major studies written in recent years on the issues covered in the memorandum closes the work.

Chapter 1

Israel's Arab Population: Background Data and Information

General: Composition and Geographic Distribution

By late 2013, the Arab population of Israel numbered 1,683,200, or 20.7 percent of Israel's total population (8,134,500). These figures include some 305,000 Arab residents of East Jerusalem, the majority of whom have "permanent resident" status rather than Israeli citizenship. Consequently, the population of Arab citizens in Israel at the end of 2013 numbered 1,378,200, or 17.6 percent of Israel's total citizen population (excluding non-citizens).[1]

Experts on Arab society typically distinguish between five principal regions that are home to the majority of Arab communities (table 1). This division does not mirror the country's common geographic division into districts and sub-districts by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). The division accepted by Arab society experts is justified by the distinct demographic and sociological features of each Arab concentration as well as by the political orientation and historical evolution of each area, as described below.

a. *The Northern Region*: More than one half of Israel's Arab population resides in the this area, which includes the northern district (Golan Heights, Galilee, valleys) and a section of the Haifa district, excluding the mixed cities of Acre, Haifa, Maalot-Tarshiha, and Upper Nazareth, and excluding the Arab towns in the Hadera sub-district.
b. *The Triangle*: The term "Triangle" does not appear in the official statistics of the State of Israel, but it is commonly used in research and political discourse concerning the Arab population. It refers to the geographic area annexed to Israel under the 1949 Armistice Agreements (Rhodes Agreements), and includes the natural regions of the Hadera sub-district in the Haifa District (Mount Alexander and the Hadera vicinity) as well as

the Sharon and Petah Tikva sub-districts, which are in the center district. One fifth of the country's Arab citizens live in this area.

c. *The Negev*: This area corresponds to the Beer Sheva sub-district, where the vast majority of the Negev Bedouin live. Negev Bedouin account for one sixth of the country's Arab citizens, and one quarter of the population of the Negev.[2]
d. *Mixed Cities*: According to the CBS, "mixed cities" are cities that have a majority of Jewish residents and a considerable Arab minority. Less than one tenth of all of Israel's Arab citizens live in seven cities that fall under this definition. Five of these cities (Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle, and Lod) are considered "traditionally" mixed cities; that is, cities where Arabs and Jews lived together before the establishment of the State of Israel. Two other cities (Upper Nazareth and Maalot-Tarshiha) became mixed cities after Israel's independence. Upper Nazareth was founded in 1956 and received municipal status in 1974. It gradually became a mixed city as a result of the migration of Arab citizens (mainly from Nazareth and adjacent Arab towns) to specific neighborhoods. Maalot-Tarshiha became a mixed local council in 1963 as the result of the merger of (Jewish) Maalot and (Arab) Tarshiha. In 1996, Maalot-Tarshiha was declared a city.[3]
e. *Jerusalem Area*: This area includes the Arab citizens who live in the Jerusalem district (not including Arab residents of East Jerusalem).
f. *Remainder of Israel (ROI)*: According to estimates, several thousand Arab citizens currently live in various Jewish towns in the northern and central districts, and in the northern section of the southern district (Ashkelon sub-district). The main motivation for the migration of Arab residents from their original towns to adjacent cities is the lack of development in Arab towns. This phenomenon is well known, especially in the Galilee (where Arabs have migrated to Karmiel, for example), but it occurs in other areas in Israel as well.

Table 1. Geographic distribution of Arab citizens of Israel (end of 2013)[4]

Area	Population (in thousands)	Percent of total Arab population
North	734.2	53.3
Triangle	293.8	21.3
Negev	224.2	16.3
Mixed cities	109.8	8.0
Jerusalem area	13.5	1.0
ROI	2.7	0.2
Total	**1,378.2**	**100.0**

The vast majority of Israel's Arab citizens (81.7 percent) are Muslim; 8.6 percent are Christian and 9.7 percent are Druze (table 2). The Arabs living in the Triangle and the Negev, who together constitute more than one third of the total Arab population, are Muslims. In contrast, the Arab population in the North, the Jerusalem area, and the mixed cities includes Christians, Muslims, and Druze. Christian and Druze account for almost one third of the total Arab population in the North, yet less than one fifth of the total Arab population in Israel.

Table 2. Distribution of Israel's Arab citizens by religion and residence (end of 2013)[5]

Religion	Percent of total Arab population	Percent of total Arab population in the North (Galilee and Haifa area)
Muslims	81.7	68.9
Christians	8.6	14.0
Druze	9.7	17.1
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**

These figures are important for understanding the general political orientation of Israel's Arab population. Historically, the north became the center of political and cultural activism for the Arab population that remained in Israel after 1948. The traditional leadership institutions of Israel's Arab minority – headed by the National Committee of the Heads of Arab Local Governments (founded in 1974) and the Supreme Follow-Up Committee (founded in 1982) – have been located in the Galilee since, primarily in the city of Nazareth. Since Israel's independence, Christians have played a

prominent role in political parties that represented the Communist stream in Arab politics (Maki, the Israel Communist Party; Rakah, New Communist List; and later, Hadash, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality), while the Druze typically joined the Zionist parties. As a result, Christians and Druze have had greater influence in parliamentary politics than their relative weight in the Arab population would suggest. The political significance of the Triangle and the Negev should not, however, be discounted, especially in view of the fact that the Islamic Movement – one of the leading political forces in Arab society today – emerged and became established in these areas (although its influence is mainly outside parliamentary politics, as discussed below).

The Socioeconomic Index of Arab Towns in Israel

The CBS uses an integrated index of economic indicators to represent the socioeconomic conditions in Israeli towns. These indicators include residents' financial sources, housing statistics, standard of municipal infrastructure, vehicle ownership, household ownership of durable goods, education, employment statistics, and demographic indicators.[6]

According to the socioeconomic index published by the CBS in June 2013, the vast majority of Arab towns fall in the lowest three socioeconomic clusters. The three regional councils in the lowest two socioeconomic clusters (clusters 1 and 2) are regional councils that comprise Arab towns exclusively. In the highest cluster that contains Arab towns (cluster 5), two of these towns have an exclusively Christian population. Of all the 60 towns in the top five socioeconomic clusters (clusters 6-10), none is an Arab town.

Table 3. Socioeconomic status of Arab towns according to the socioeconomic index of towns in Israel (2013)

Cluster	Total number of towns per cluster	No. of Arab towns in cluster	Percent of Arab towns in cluster
5	34	2	5.8
4	25	8	32.0
3	28	22	78.6
2	47	44	93.6
1	5	3	60.0

The figures in table 3 indicate that the average standard of living in Arab towns is lower than the average standard of living in Jewish towns. Both internal factors, which are a function of the lifestyle of the population group in question, and external factors, which are mainly a function of government policy, account for this discrepancy. For example, Bedouin towns in the Negev and Haredi (ultra-Orthodox Jewish) towns have a comparable standard of living,[7] while the standard of living in towns with an Arab Christian population is similar to that in towns with a secular Jewish population. While the first case involves population groups that maintain a traditional-religious lifestyle, including an average household size that is significantly greater than the national average, the second case involves population groups that have adopted a modern lifestyle, with an average household size that is lower than the national average. The practical implications of these statistics are that families that belong to the first group are at greater risk of economic hardship than families that belong to the second group (the social and economic aspects of this observation are discussed below). In contrast, the fact that adjacent Jewish and Arab towns persistently reflect significant socioeconomic differences (table 4) stems from the differential economic development in these towns, which is primarily a function of government policy.

Table 4. Adjacent Jewish and Arab towns

Geographical region	Town	Town population (end 2013)	Socio-economic cluster (2013)
Carmel Coast	Zichron Yaakov*	21,400	8
	Fureidis**	11,900	2
Galilee	Karmiel*	44,700	5
	Al-Shaghour towns: Majd al-Kurum, Bi'neh, Deir al-Asad**	33,200	2
Triangle	Rosh Ha'ayin*	41,500	6
	Kafr Kassem**	21,000	3
Negev	Meitar*	6,900	9
	Hura**	18,300	2

*towns with Jewish population
** towns with Arab population

Modernization and economic growth, reinforced by the Israeli-Palestinian peace process in the 1990s, left their mark on Arab and Druze villages in Israel, but despite the increased levels of education and healthcare, socioeconomic differences between the Arab and Jewish towns did not change significantly. Recent studies indicate that these differences are one of several factors that exacerbate the tension between the two population groups. For example, according to a study published by the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) in 2007, the Arab public harbors a deep rooted sense of discrimination, due to the fact that poverty rates in the Arab population are much higher than the corresponding poverty rates in the Jewish population. This feeling in itself heightens tensions between these two population groups, which project onto other aspects of their relations (see below for an extensive discussion of social and economic indicators).[8] The Or Commission determined that this is not merely a feeling of inequality but rather actual discrimination.[9] The Commission discussed extensively the downward spiral that characterized the relationship between the country's majority and minority groups, which was fanned by a combination of politicization and national mobilization in the Arab minority, and poor socio-economic conditions in Arab towns.[10] These developments and their significance are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

Political and Ideological Transformations

Political and Ideological Streams in Arab Society

Notwithstanding the establishment of the Joint List on the eve of the March 2015 Knesset elections, the Arab public in Israel is not a homogeneous political or ideological group. First of all, the use of collective nouns such as "Arab public," "Arab population," "Arab minority," or "Arab citizens" to describe a population comprising Muslims, Christians, and Druze is controversial in itself. Some include the Druze in the "Arab minority" to emphasize the Druze's Arab nationality and the concept that the Druze are an integral part of the national Arab minority in Israel. At the same time, these analysts argue that the state itself, through its policies since independence (such as application of mandatory conscription on the Druze in 1956), created an artificial wedge between the Druze on the one hand, and the Muslims and Christians, who make up the majority of the Arab minority in Israel, on the other hand.[1] Others contend that the political identity of the Druze developed distinctly from the remaining Arab population even before the establishment of Israel, and that the unique Druze identity should be respected.[2] This debate is beyond the scope of our discussion. In this review, the terms "Arab public" and "Arab minority" are used as collective descriptions of the Arab population including Israel's Druze citizens solely for the sake of convenience. Such use should not be construed as support for a particular position in this debate.

The research on the political and ideological orientation of Israel's Arab citizens generally cites four main streams: (a) the Arab-Israeli (Zionist) stream; (b) the Arab-Jewish Communist (non-Zionist) stream; (c) the Islamist stream; and (d) the national stream.[3] This division corresponds to the main political streams in Arab society, although not all participate in parliamentary elections. For the purposes of this discussion, these streams are identified

by the dominant element in their worldview. While the national stream emphasizes the national Palestinian component in the identity of the Arabs in Israel, the Islamist stream stresses the religious (Islamist) component, and the Arab-Jewish Communist stream advocates a joint struggle by Israeli citizens of both national groups. Nonetheless, the supporters of these three streams all emphasize the national Palestinian identity of Israel's Arab minority.

The Arab-Israeli (Zionist) Stream

Supporters of the Arab-Israeli (Zionist) stream accept the minority status of Arab citizens within a Jewish majority state, and they do not aim to undermine the balance of power between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority, or upset the currently prevailing political order in Israel. They consider the Arab minority a national minority, but in contrast to the supporters of the other streams, voice no unequivocal demand for its recognition as such by the state.

Proponents of this stream do not demand fundamental changes in the definition of Israel as a Jewish nation state, and focus instead on a campaign for civic equality between Jews and Arabs within Israel, expressed in the demand for equal distribution of economic resources, equal opportunities in employment, and so on. Their tone is conciliatory and their demands for change are articulated in ways designed to appeal to the sensitivities of the Jewish majority. For these reasons, in the past this stream was known as the "moderate camp." Followers of the Arab-Israeli stream urge the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, based on the belief that combined progress in the peace process with the Palestinians and in the struggle for equality within Israel will improve the status of Israel's Arab citizens. The representatives of this stream are members of Jewish Zionist parties (on the left or right), and they categorically reject the use of illegal means or violence to achieve their political aims.

The Arab-Israeli stream has been active in the Arab population of Israel since early statehood, yet over the past two decades its political power has gradually declined and support among the Arab public has diminished (table 5). In this period, Arab voting for Jewish Zionist parties has declined considerably: from 52.3 percent in the elections for the 13th Knesset (1992), to 30.8 percent in the elections for the 16th Knesset (2003), and 16.8 percent in the elections for the 20th Knesset (2015). The mainstay of the stream's political power currently comes from the Druze towns, which are traditionally

identified with the Arab-Israeli stream (in elections in the past decade, 80 percent or more of Druze voters voted for Jewish Zionist parties). This stream has all but disappeared from the political map in the major Arab towns of the Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev.

Supporters of the Arab-Israeli stream did not develop a distinct ideology. Instead, they embraced the political and ideological agenda dictated by their parent parties. They rarely addressed ideological issues related to the desired nature of the state for Arab citizens, and in any case did not challenge the definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish state.[4]

The Arab-Jewish Communist Stream

Supporters of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream, one of the oldest political and ideological streams in Arab society in Israel, have been part of the Israeli political scene since the 1st Knesset (1949), and continue to play a role in parliamentary politics as members of the DFPE (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality; in Hebrew: Hadash). Proponents of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream argue that discrimination against Arab citizens, which is intrinsic to the Zionist nature of the state, is effectively manifested in the privileging of Jewish over non-Jewish (i.e., Arab) citizens. Therefore, supporters of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream openly call for the elimination of Israel's Zionist character, a step that they consider a necessary condition for the country's transformation into a democratic state. At the same time, they have demanded recognition of the Arab minority as a national minority.

While proponents of this stream differ from the supporters of the Arab-Israeli stream on these two points, the Communist stream is similar to the Arab-Israeli stream in accepting the current balance of power in Israel between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority. Furthermore, proponents of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream hold joint Arab-Jewish action in high regard. For both ideological and pragmatic reasons, they object to separate political organizations on a national Arab basis, concerned that such separatism would undermine the promotion of Arab minority interests in Israel. As a result, this stream adopted a pragmatic approach: it is willing to cooperate with Jewish elements on the campaign to promote the peace process and equality for the country's Arab citizens, even if these elements hold different views on fundamental issues such as the right of return of Palestinian refugees. Supporters of the Arab-Jewish stream link progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process to the struggle for equal rights for

Israel's Arab citizens, and consider the national (Palestinian) and the civic (Israeli) components of their identity as being complementary rather than mutually exclusive. They also support the establishment of a Palestinian state on the entire territory of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (occupied in the 1967 war), alongside the State of Israel.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Arab-Jewish Communist stream reached the height of its power. In the 1977 elections, the DFPE won more than 50 percent of the Arab vote, an achievement facilitated by Rakah's (later, DFPE) successful mobilization of the Arab public for mass protest activities that culminated in the Land Day events of March 1976. After the mid 1980s, the Arab-Jewish stream's influence declined due to the ascendance of the Islamist stream and the national stream in Arab politics in Israel.

It is difficult to assess the political power of the Arab-Jewish stream in the Arab public today. On the one hand, parliamentary election results in the past decade show that this stream has firmly established itself as the second strongest stream in Arab politics in Israel. On the other hand, while until the 2015 elections, when the participation of the Joint List led to an increase in the Arab voter rate, almost one half (45 percent) of all eligible Arab voters used to abstain from voting in parliamentary elections for ideological and other reasons, this group is presumably not supportive of the Arab-Jewish stream, which has traditionally advocated participation in Israeli politics, but rather identifies with circles in the Islamist and the national streams that do not support participation in elections, and even call to boycott the elections entirely. In any case, the stable majority in the Arab public that supports the "two states for two peoples" solution in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the spirit of the traditional slogan coined by the Communists, is evidence of the strong influence of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream on the political climate in the Arab public.

The Islamist Stream

The ideology of the Islamist stream is grounded in three elements: (a) Orthodox Sunni sources of Islam, and especially the Qu'ran and Muslim traditions; (b) a reformist stream of Islam originating in the nineteenth century, which sought to balance between reliance on the tenets of Islam and acceptance of innovations of the modern era; (c) the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, which advocates the establishment of a Muslim state operating according to Islamic law (*sharia*). Proponents of the Islamist stream believe that the

Islamic religious component is the most important component of the identity of Arabs in Israel and therefore should be cultivated. They do not, however, deny that Israel's Muslim citizens are affected by a sense of affiliation with additional identities, such as Palestinian national identity, pan-Arab national identity, and even civic Israeli identity. They reject the Zionist nature of Israel, yet accept Israel's Jewish majority and dominant Hebrew culture as a fait accompli. Based on these understandings, proponents of the Islamist stream urge the Arab minority to organize itself along Islamic religious lines, taking into consideration Israel's existing political reality.

It is generally accepted that the Islamist stream's first steps in Arab politics in Israel can be traced to the establishment of the Islamic Movement in the early 1970s.[5] In 1996, the movement split on participation in parliamentary elections. One faction (the "parliamentary faction" or "southern faction") supports participation in parliamentary elections, and is part of the United Arab List (Ra'am-Ta'al), while the second faction ("the ex-parliamentary faction" or "the northern faction") opposes participation, and some faction members openly press for a boycott of elections.

According to several assessments, the Islamist stream (both factions) is one of the strongest political streams currently active in Arab society. These assessments are based on the results of public opinion polls conducted in the past decade, which show that public identification with the Islamic Movement as the faithful representative of the Arab minority in Israel is as strong as the total extent of identification with the Arab parties that are currently represented in the Knesset.[6] The massive participation in the annual rallies organized by both factions of the Islamic Movement offers additional support for these assessments. According to unofficial estimates, tens of thousands of individuals attend these annual gatherings. The major reason for these high attendance rates is presumably the fact that the Movement elected to focus its rallies on religious issues that have strong national overtones that play on the sensitivities of most of the Arab public in Israel (such as the "al-Aqsa in Danger" rally). In any case, these rallies attract more participants than any other popular gathering sponsored by an Arab party.[7] The Islamization of Arab society in Israel in recent decades is, indeed, marked. Recent public opinion polls among the country's Muslim citizens indicate that the religious component of their identity has strengthened significantly over time.[8]

The influence of the Islamist stream is not, however, fully reflected in Arab voting in parliamentary elections, as only members of the parliamentary

faction of the Islamic Movement tend to vote, while members of the ex-parliamentary faction abstain. Still, for three consecutive election campaigns (2006, 2009, and 2013) Ra'am-Ta'al – the list in which the Islamic Movement was represented – has won the highest rate of support from Arab voters (compared to the other two parties, Hadash and Balad), although the Ra'am-Ta'al list includes political organizations that do not necessarily have an Islamic identity. The largest of these organizations is Ta'al (Arab Movement for Renewal), a party headed by Ahmad Tibi, whose positions are actually close to those of the DFPE.

The National Stream

The national stream is not a new political phenomenon in Arab society. In the 1950s and 1960s, its supporters initially organized themselves in the Arab Front and later in the *al-Ard* (The Land) movement; in the 1970s and 1980s, they organized the Sons of the Village Movement (*Abnaa' al-Balad*) and the Progressive National Movement, and subsequently the Progressive List for Peace (Ramal), which was represented in the Knesset in 1984 (11th Knesset) and 1988 (12th Knesset).[9] Today, the majority of national stream supporters are represented in the Knesset by the National Democratic Assembly (NDA, or Balad), a party that first participated in Knesset elections in 1996. Another group is represented by the Sons of the Village Movement, whose members boycott parliamentary elections. The ideology of the national stream is based on the principles of the national Arab movement, led in the 1950s and 1960s by then-Egyptian President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser, and on the principles of the Palestinian National Movement. Officially, the ultimate goal of the national stream is to establish a single democratic state on the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine. Thus, its positions are identical with those of the Palestinian Front organizations established in the late 1960s (the Popular Front and the Democratic Front).

The basic assumption of the national stream supporters is that the Arabs in Israel are Palestinians for all intents and purposes, and therefore they will eventually unite with their brethren in a single political organization, even though such unification is currently limited to joint national and political aspirations. This stream has a definite anti-Israeli approach. For many years it refused to recognize Israel's legitimacy as a political entity, it boycotted Knesset elections, and it refused to recognize the status quo between Jews and Arabs in Israel. On this point, it differed from the Arab-Jewish Communist

stream and from the Arab-Israeli stream, which both acknowledge the Israeli political arena as the sole legitimate political framework for action, and accept the majority-minority relations between Jews and Arabs. While the proponents of the national stream are willing to accept Israel as a given, in the present circumstances, they also demand cultural autonomy for Arabs in Israel as the first step toward a bi-national arrangement within Israel. Although its supporters are organized for political action on a national Arab basis, they are not averse to Jewish-Arab collaboration at the tactical level.

According to Knesset election results in the decade 2003-2013, the national stream is the third strongest political force on the Arab street, following the Islamist stream and the Arab-Jewish Communist stream. The nationalists have managed to establish themselves as a distinct political stream with solid support from Arab voters, and have consequently maintained stable representation in the Knesset. Furthermore, the national stream's influence on public and political Arab discourse in Israel significantly exceeds its limited political clout. Nationalists have made an important contribution to the assimilation of key concepts such as "a state of all citizens," "cultural autonomy," and "indigenous minority," which have become prevalent in the national Arab discourse in Israel. These notions have won the solid support of the broad Arab public, which is reflected in public opinion polls conducted in recent years. Nationalists have been the prominent partners (together with members of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream) in developing the Future Vision documents, which introduced, on behalf of the Arab minority, a collective position on the nature of the state and the desired status of this minority in the state (an extensive discussion of these documents appears below).

Table 5. Distribution of votes in the 20th Knesset elections, in Arab and Druze towns (2015)[10]

Geographical region / Political party		Percent of total	Percent of North region		Percent of Triangle	Percent of Negev
			Excluding Druze	Druze villages		
Arab parties	Joint List	82.4	86.5	18.8	94.0	87.3
	Arab List	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.4	1.7
	Hope for Change	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.4
	Total	83.2	87.4	19.1	94.5	89.4
Jewish and Zionist parties	Zionist Camp	4.9	4.1	21.8	1.2	2.7
	Meretz	2.6	2.4	2.2	3.1	2.7
	Kulanu	2.3	1.0	17.9	0.3	1.2
	Yisrael Beitenu	2.3	1.4	16.6	0.0	0.1
	Shas	1.6	1.4	7.5	0.2	1.1
	Likud	1.5	1.3	6.6	0.3	0.8
	Yesh Atid	0.7	0.5	3.6	0.1	0.6
	Other	0.9	0.5	4.7	0.3	1.4
	Total	16.8	12.6	80.9	5.5	10.6

Results of the elections campaigns held in the decade 2003-2013, as well as the 2015 elections with the participation of the Joint List, indicate that all four of these streams and the worldviews that they represent enjoy strong support in the Arab public. At some level, activists in each group are making a conscious effort to preserve the distinctiveness of their stream compared to the other streams. For example, there is a gaping divide between the positions of the DFPE and the Sons of the Village Movement (the national stream) on participation of Arab citizens in parliamentary politics, and on the desired solution to the Palestinian problem. While the former justify participation in elections and political representation in the Knesset and also support a two-state solution, the latter totally reject the idea of electoral participation and advocate a single, bi-national state over the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine. Furthermore, each party represented in the Knesset maintains parliamentary independence and submits bills on its own behalf, although in some cases their bills deal with similar issues. For example, in

the 16th Knesset, the NDA submitted a bill for a Basic Law, entitled "The Arab Minority in Israel as a National Minority." A similar bill was proposed by Ra'am-Ta'al in the 17th Knesset, entitled "Civic Partnership and Equality for the Arab Minority." Both bills were designed to establish a legislative foundation for the rights of the country's Arab citizens to full equality and respect for their cultural and national distinction.[11] Another example of similar yet separate parliamentary action is a series of bills submitted separately by each of the Arab factions in 2009, during the 18th Knesset, whose common aim was to establish and protect Arabic as an official state language.[12]

Along with the efforts to maintain separateness, supporters of these streams, and especially party leaders, also collaborate in demonstrations of unity, mainly in response to demands from the Arab public that would prefer unity among the Arab representatives in the Knesset. The members of the various streams are all members of the Supreme Follow-Up Committee, and regularly attend the Arab minority's national events such as Land Day and Nakba Day, and events to commemorate the events of October 2000. Party members try to minimize their ideological differences and emphasize their common cause – the campaign for the national collective rights of the Arab public. In effect, even at the ideological level, substantial differences between the proposals adopted by the various streams regarding the status of the Arab minority in Israel are not easily identified, despite the semantic differences between them. Whether these proposals entail the NDA's state-of-all-its-citizens proposal, the traditional agenda of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream to fight for civic equality and recognition of the Arab minority as a national minority within its "two states for two peoples" concept, or the idea of "a state of all its nations" proposed by Ahmad Tibi in recent years (for more on these models, see below) – at the practical level, the proponents of these streams effectively demand that the state recognize the Arab minority as a national minority entitled to collective rights, and further demand equality of rights for Arab citizens as individuals. The fact that these streams have adopted different slogans is what allows each of them to maintain a facade of political singularity for the Arab voter public, while collaborating with the other streams on fundamental issues related to the status of Arab citizens in Israel.

Trends in Political Participation

The decade 2003-2013 was marked by a steep drop in the percentage of participation by Arab citizens in parliamentary elections. Arab voting rates plummeted from 77 percent and 75 percent in the 1996 and 1999 elections, respectively, to a mere 63 percent in 2003. Throughout the decade, voter turnout declined steadily, until it stabilized at around 55 percent in the past three elections: 56.2 percent in 2006, 53.4 percent in 2009, and 56.5 percent in 2013. In other words, within 10 years, voter turnout in the Arab public dropped by 20 percent (figure 1).

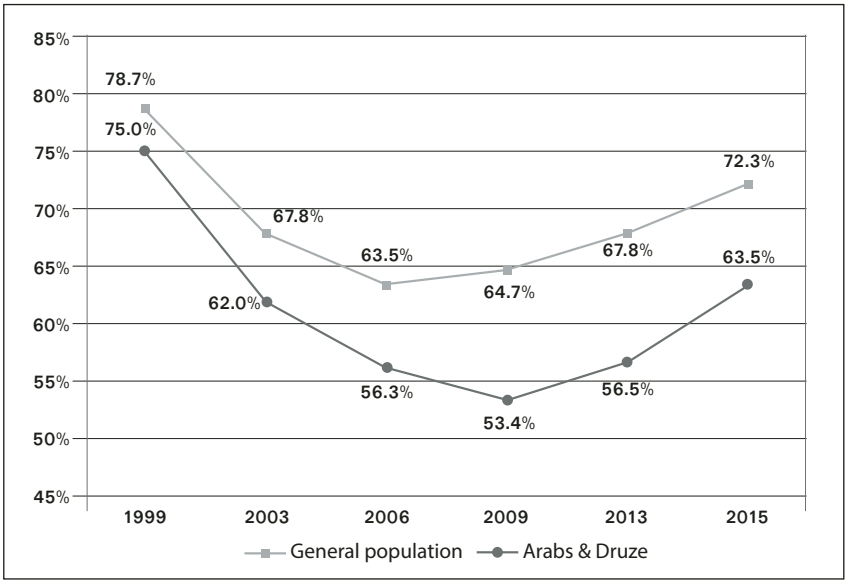

Figure 1. Voter turnout in parliamentary elections, 1992-2015[13]

Although voter turnout in the Jewish public also decreased considerably between 1999 and 2006, this decline was attributed to increasing political indifference, and while some increase in Jewish turnout has been recorded more recently, Jewish voting rates remain significantly below levels of two decades earlier. Political indifference has become a feature of the Israeli voting public in general, Arab voters included,[14] but additional factors explain the drop in turnout in the Arab public, and why the drop was so sharp in comparison with the Jewish public.

The main reason for the decline in voter turnout in the Arab public is the impact of the events of October 2000, after which the Arab public's frustration

and sense of alienation increased as a result of its lack of political influence. Their sense of political impotence surged particularly given the results of the 1999 elections, when then-Prime Minister-elect Ehud Barak totally ignored the Arab parties, despite his having won the votes of 95 percent of the Arab voters (in the direct prime ministerial elections).

Several key factors have motivated the Arab public's growing non-participation in parliamentary elections:[15]

a. *Ideological grounds*: The standard bearers of election boycott are two ex-parliamentary movements: the Sons of the Village Movement and the northern faction of the Islamic Movement. The Sons of the Village Movement is a radical nationalist movement that has consistently called to boycott elections on the grounds that political participation of Arabs in the Knesset is pointless, since the Knesset is the supreme representational institution of the Jewish nation state founded on the ruins of the Palestinian people's catastrophe in 1948. On the eve of the 2003 Knesset elections, several members of the Sons of the Village Movement founded the Popular Committee for Boycotting the Elections. In all the election campaigns since then, the Committee has campaigned to persuade the Arab public to boycott Knesset elections. Members of the ex-parliamentary faction of the Islamic Movement ("the northern faction") oppose participation in elections on principle, on the grounds that such participation is a violation of the Islamic faith on two accounts: one, the Knesset represents the principle of human sovereignty, while Islamic faith recognizes only the sovereignty of Allah; and two, the Knesset represents Jewish sovereignty on the land of Palestine, which is considered *waqf* (Islamic endowment). From an Islamic perspective, recognizing such sovereignty is inconceivable since Islam recognizes the Jews as a religious group and not a national group entitled to territorial sovereignty, and even then, entitled to status only as *dhimmis* ("protected persons") under an Islamic ruler who is sovereign of a specific territory.
b. *Disappointment with Israeli politics*: Based on their cumulative experience, Arab citizens have concluded that they are unable to create a positive change in their status in Israel through parliamentary action. This conclusion is bolstered by the fact that the parties that represent the Arab public in the Knesset have never been members of a government coalition, with the exception of the second Rabin government (1992-1996), and even then, they functioned as an ex-coalition bloc supporting the government

on many issues. This situation, together with the perceived futility of their voting, reinforced the political indifference of eligible Arab voters. They concluded that with no benefit to be gained from participating in the elections, better alternatives to improve the condition of Arabs in Israel should be sought. One effective and increasingly popular alternative to the Knesset is activism through NGOs (see below for an extensive discussion of this topic).

c. *Protest against the Arab parties*: Criticism is voiced both against the Arab parties' inability to unite as a single list in the elections, a move that would presumably encourage many indifferent Arab voters to cast their vote on election day and help realize the full electoral potential of the Arab public, and against the parties' insufficient action to address the internal ills of Arab society. Critics believe that the parties' ineffectiveness, as well as their squabbling – which is sometimes motivated by personal rivalries of party leaders – undermines the Arab population's ability to develop an agreed national and civic agenda, and leaves in its wake Arab citizens who are confused and bereft of any clear cut political orientation.

While the drop in voting rates in the past decade is the most prominent feature of Arab politics in Israel in this period, representation of Arab and Arab-Jewish parties in the Knesset did not diminish. In fact, beginning with the 2003 elections, Arab representation consolidated into a stable tri-partite form that includes the three major political and ideological streams in Arab society: the Arab-Jewish Communist stream, the national stream, and the Islamic stream. Moreover, these three parties have steadily increased their electoral power, and the number of Arab and Druze MKs representing them in the Knesset has increased as well (table 6).

Table 6. Arab and Druze MKs, 2003-2015[16]

	2003 elections (16th Knesset)	2006 elections (17th Knesset)	2009 elections (18th Knesset)	2013 elections (19th Knesset)	2015 elections (20th Knesset)
Ra'am-Ta'al-Mada*	2	4	4	4	12 (+ 1 Jewish MK)
Hadash	3**	2 (+1 Jewish MK)	3 (+1 Jewish MK)	3 (+1 Jewish MK)	
Balad	3	3	3	3	
Arab and Arab-Jewish parties	**8**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**12**
Labor	2	3	2***	–	1
Kadima	–	1	2****	–	–
Likud	2	1	1	–	1
Meretz	–	–	–	1	1
Yisrael Beitenu	–	–	1	1*****	1
Jewish and Zionist parties	**4**	**5**	**6**	**2**	**4**
Total	**12**	**14**	**16**	**12**	**16**

* Until the 2003 elections, Ra'am only (a merger between Mada and the Islamic Movement southern faction). From the 2006 elections onward: a joint list of Ra'am and Ta'al.

** In the 2003 elections: a joint list of Hadash and Ta'al. A Jewish candidate ran on the Hadash ticket (fourth place on the list). As the list won only three seats, the list had no Jewish representative in the Knesset for the first time since 1977, when Hadash was founded as a party representing the national Communist stream in Arab politics in Israel containing the Israeli Communist Party (Maki) and other left wing Arab-Jewish circles.

*** Two Labor MKs served for an incomplete term. One was a member of the Atzmaut ("Independence") faction, which split from Labor during the 18th Knesset.

**** One Kadima MK served for a partial term.

***** One MK on the joint Likud-Beitenu list originally belonged to Yisrael Beitenu.

How is this possible? The answer lies in Arab voting patterns. In the past two decades, the percentage of Arab voters voting for Jewish and Zionist parties declined significantly: from 52.3 percent in the 1992 elections to a record low of 18.1 percent in the 2009 elections. Moreover, in the 1996 and 1999 elections, voters had two votes (according to the Direct Election Law

for Prime Minister). In these elections, Arab voters, in line with the general voting public in Israel, preferred to cast one vote for an Arab party of their choice, and use the second vote to support one of the candidates for prime minister (and in fact, the greatest drop in Arab votes cast for Jewish and Zionist parties was recorded between the 1992 and 1996 elections). Many Arab voters may have believed at the time that by voting for Arab parties, there was a chance of creating an independent political force that might be a significant player in the Israeli political arena. The impact of October 2000 should also not be discounted in this context: ties between Arab voters and Zionist parties disappeared almost entirely (although the traditional mainstay of support in Arab society for Zionist parties continues to be the Druze towns of the Carmel and the Galilee). In practical terms, Arabs relinquished active participation in Israeli politics, since they believed that Arab parties would not be asked to join a government coalition and would therefore be excluded from decision making. The decline in Arab voting for Jewish and Zionist parties appears irreversible, especially following the establishment of the Joint List.

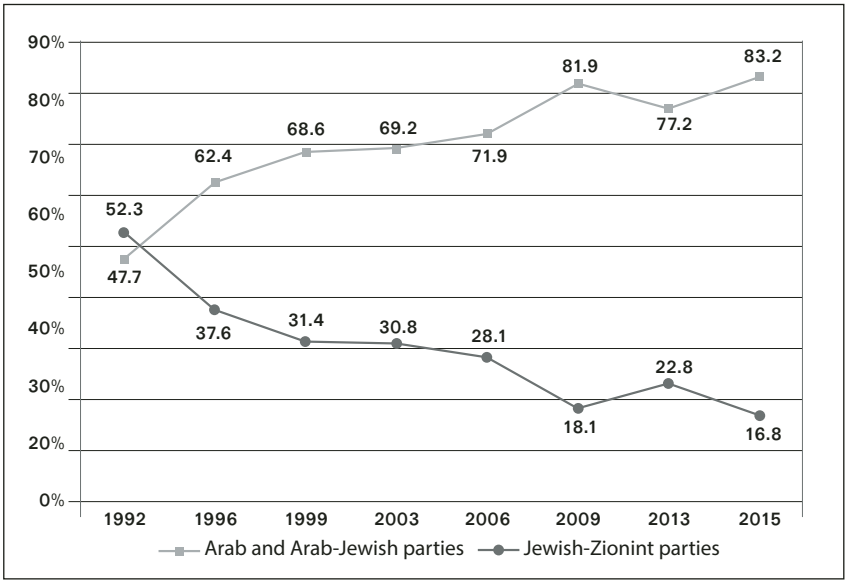

Figure 2. Distribution of voting in Arab and Druze towns, 1992-2015[17]

The recent election campaign (2015) may indicate a turning point in the political behavior of the Arab public (table 7). While the elections in

the decade 2003-2013 were eclipsed by the events of October 2000, and voter turnout among the Arab public has shown a steady decline, the recent election results indicate that once again, for the majority of the Arab public, the Knesset has become a relevant arena of political influence. This change was spurred by the participation in the elections of the Joint List, which positioned itself as a political union representing the Arab public as a united collective in Israeli politics.

An analysis of the 2015 election restuls clearly indicates that the Joint List's participation in the elections had a direct impact on the rising voter turnout in the Arab public. Turnout increased in all Arab localities in which the Joint List received the vast majority of the votes (with the exception of Bedouin localities in the Negev). The most dramatic rise in voting and in support for the Joint List was recorded in the Triangle and Jerusalem areas. In both areas, voting for the Joint List restored the level of support for the Arab parties of 2009, although the turnout in these two areas increased by 12 percent in the 2015 elections. In the North, the increase in turnout from 2013 was more moderate (7 percent), although this area includes the Druze localities that primarily voted for Jewish-Zionist parties.[18]

Table 7. Voting patterns in Arab and Druze localities, 2009-2015 (percent)

Year	2009		2013		2015	
Region	Voter turnout	Voting for Arab parties	Voter turnout	Voting for Arab parties	Voter turnout	Voting for the Joint List
General	53.4	79.1	56.5	77.0	63.5	82.4
North	53.5	76.7	58.3	72.2	65.2	77.2
Triangle	59.1	94.3	57.6	85.3	69.1	94.0
Jerusalem	44.1	79.5	48.2	68.5	60.4	83.0
Negev	35.9	85.3	45.8	88.8	47.0	87.3

Significant Ideological Developments

The past two decades unfolded against the backdrop of far reaching changes in the national consciousness of Arabs in Israel. The tangible expression of these changes has been the efforts of Arab politicians and intellectuals to challenge the majority-minority paradigm in Israel that has taken root since 1948 and, in their view, preserved the inferior status of Arabs as citizens and as a national collective. The beginning of the historical change is typically

traced to the early 1990s and the initiation of diplomatic negotiations between Israel and its neighbors, especially the Oslo Accords signed by Israel and the Palestinians in September 1993. One prominent milestone that marks the maturation of a solid national consciousness is the publication of the four Future Vision documents between December 2006 and May 2007. Arab national consciousness was influenced by developments in the local arena, which stemmed from the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and by global developments relating to the emerging global discourse on the status of national and ethnic minorities in European nation states.

Transformations at the Local Level: The Impact of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

The peace process had contradictory effects on the Arabs in Israel. Initially it seemed that the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO in the Oslo Accords to some extent eased the identity dilemma that had accompanied the Arab citizens since 1948,[19] namely, a choice between a civil Israeli identity focus and a national Palestinian identity focus. However, in time, the Arabs in Israel sensed that the Accords had trapped them, using a term coined by Majid al-Haj, in a state of "double periphery."[20] Not only were they excluded from the emerging settlement between Israel and the Palestinians (the national status of Israel's Arab citizens never was an issue in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations, and did not feature in the list of topics deferred to a later stage of the final settlement discussions), but there was also no progress on the issue of the status of Arab citizens. Despite the mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO and the progress in their negotiations, the Jewish majority did not consider Arab citizens to be Israeli citizens with equal rights or as potential partners in a government coalition any more than before. As a result, the longstanding hopes that had linked peace and equality were dashed. The Arab citizens remained at the margins of Israeli society and politics.

The combined outcome of these developments prompted a process that Elie Rekhess has called "the localization of the national struggle." The Arabs in Israel gradually abandoned their traditional efforts to realize the national aspirations of their Palestinian brethren in the Palestinian territories, and instead, redirected all their resources to the territories within the Green Line and mobilized their forces on behalf of a campaign for their civil and national rights in Israel.[21] As part of this redirection, Arab intellectuals and politicians began to rethink the status of the Arab minority in Israel. In

contrast to the past, they now focused on the relationship patterns between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority that had petrified since 1948. This reexamination was designed to challenge the current pattern of relations – which, as many in the Arab public believed, perpetuated their inferior civil and national status – and to propose alternative models for majority-minority relations in Israel (see below for more on these models).

Transformations at the Global Level: The Effects of the International Discourse on Minority Rights

Localization of the national struggle was also influenced by a concurrent process on the global level, specifically the political and scholarly debate over the status of ethnic and national minorities in nation states worldwide. Minority rights had been a topic of global interest since the 1960s and 1970s, yet interest heightened significantly in the early 1990s following changes in the European political map. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 and the disintegration of Yugoslavia as a result of the Balkan Wars (especially in the first half of the 1990s) led to the creation of more than 20 new nation states in Europe, each containing multiple national and ethnic minorities. This political turning point introduced several key concepts into the academic and public discourse relating to the nature of these minorities, including national minority, ethnic minority, homeland minority, and indigenous minority. Initially there was no consensus in academic research or in political-public discourse on how to define a "national minority," and a gradual process of two decades was required before these terms entered into common use.[22] In time, national minorities became known as "indigenous minorities" or "homeland minorities," to emphasize the singularity of indigenous groups that developed as minority communities in their homelands as a result of changing political circumstances, in contrast to minorities that were created by emigration to other countries.

The literature on indigenous people living as minority communities in their homelands worldwide offers several insights that are relevant to the Arab minority in Israel, likewise a homeland minority. First, indigenous nations stress their deep connection to the land they live on – the land of their ancestors. In their view, their connection to the land is stronger than the connection of any other population group living in the same territory. Second, indigenous nations tend to challenge the legitimacy and the implications of efforts to forcefully integrate them into the state. Third, indigenous nations

tend to adopt a "discourse of rights" when they raise their demands to their state of residence. They base their demands on moral principles and political practices, which are not necessarily derived from the laws of the state in which they currently live; these are known as "indigenous rights." It has been argued that indigenous rights are merely human rights to which indigenous nations are entitled a priori, but are deprived them due to historical and political circumstances.[23]

The insights that emerged from the research discourse on indigenous nations worldwide had a far reaching impact on the Arabs' self-perception as an indigenous minority in Israel. According to a study by As'ad Ghanem and Mohanad Mustafa, one of the most significant developments to occur among the Arabs in Israel in the past two decades has been the shift from a "discourse of co-existence" – a discourse that seeks to emphasize the commonalities between the majority and the minority, and was motivated by the minority's desire to adapt to life in the state – to a "discourse of rights," where the Arab minority began to demand explicitly and openly its rights from the state and from the Jewish majority.[24] In fact, the "discourse of rights" evolved into a critical motif in Arab politics in Israel in the past two decades. Although a discourse of rights was adopted as early as the 1970s and 1980s and the struggle for civil rights became interlaced with the struggle for national rights, current arguments now stress that the rights claimed by the Arab citizens are due to them by virtue of their indigenous status. Scholars such as Amal Jamal and Nadim Rouhana use the term "basic rights" or "natural rights" to describe the rights that derive from the Arabs' self-conception as an indigenous nation in Israel, and are grounded in their connection to the land on which they have lived from time immemorial, before the State of Israel was established.[25]

In summary, developments at both the local and global levels left their imprint on the national Arab discourse in Israel, which advanced in two parallel ideological directions: one, reconfiguration of national consciousness in a manner that incorporates the new insights mentioned above; two, a challenge to the "Jewish and democratic state" formula and development of alternative models of majority-minority relations in Israel. The following sections elaborate on the developments in each direction.

Restructuring National Consciousness

The term "national minority" is not new to the national discourse of Arabs in Israel.[26] Developments of the past two decades have, however, accelerated the internal debate in Arab society on the rights due to the Arab citizens, not only as citizens of the state, but also as members of an indigenous national minority, entitled as such to collective rights. The term "collective rights" generally implies the totality of such rights: the right of self-administration in the areas of religion, culture, and language; the right to elect representative institutions that represent the Arab minority as a national collective before state authorities; substantive equality for the use of the Arabic language in the public sphere within the state; and equality in the allocation of resources, including land and budgets and other resources, proportionate to Arabs' share in the population.[27] Although the state has granted several rights of a collective nature to its Arab citizens, such as recognition of Arabic as an official state language, recognition of the autonomous status of the religious tribunals of all religious sects, and respect for the rights of members of different religions to their days of rest and holidays, the state has nonetheless not anchored these rights in recognition of Arab citizens as members of a distinct national collective. On the contrary: state agencies typically treat the Arab population as a minority that is divided by sectarian or religious lines (see below for a comparative discussion on Israeli government policy in the past two decades regarding the status of the state's Arab population).[28]

The demand to recognize the Arab minority as a national minority, based on the belief that the members of this minority are the original inhabitants of this territory, has become especially popular in the national-political discourse of the Arabs in Israel in the last two decades. This demand is presented as a counter argument to Jewish claims to Israel based on the vision of the Zionist movement. Arab public figures and scholars, identified mainly with the national stream in Arab society, have stressed the authentic status of Israel's Arabs as indigenous inhabitants who were defeated in a war, similar to indigenous populations in other parts of the world (e.g., the Aboriginals of Australia).[29] One development in the national discourse of the Arabs in Israel was an emphasis on the indigenous status of the Arab citizens, coupled with an emphasis on the argument that the State of Israel is the outcome of a colonialist process. Ghanem and Mustafa attributed this change to the effects of the collapse of the Oslo Accords and the events of October 2000, after which the Arab citizens abandoned their efforts to integrate

into the state by emphasizing the civic element of their identity, and sought an alternative to define their relationship with the state. Consequently, the Arab citizens increasingly stressed the Nakba's impact on their destiny and their status as indigenous residents struggling against a colonialist authority that encroached upon their land.[30] Emphasizing the indigenous nature of the Arab minority implicitly reinforced the understanding that the state is the product of a colonialist process, while in turn, highlighting the colonialist nature underlying the establishment of the state reinforced the Arabs' self-conception as an indigenous group.

Cultivation of the memory of the Nakba and its effects on the Arabs in Israel stands at the center of a major transformation, evident on the surface since the mid-1980s and especially from 1998 onward, when state agencies celebrated 50 years of statehood. Rekhess called this process "the re-opening of the 1948 files,"[31] but Arab scholars and intellectuals emphasized that this was no "re-opening" of "1948 files," since, from the perspective of the Arab public, these "files" had never been closed, and the memory of the Nakba had persisted in full force.[32] Cultivation of the Nakba memory assumed several forms, the most prominent of which was the memory of the "Nakba and what remained" as a seminal historic event, unique to the Arab minority in Israel – that part of the Palestinian nation that survived the tribulations of the 1948 war and remained in its land. This motif looms large at all the annual rallies to commemorate Nakba Day, held every year on May 15.[33] Extensive initiatives have also emerged to revive and preserve the national heritage of the pre-state period, particularly the Arab towns and villages that were destroyed and abandoned during the 1948 war. In this context, newly established non-profit organizations are actively preserving local rural heritage and maintaining contact with the original inhabitants of the villages razed in the war who now live in adjacent Arab towns and villages. The major organization that serves as an umbrella organization for these non-profits and also functions as a registered non-profit organization itself is the Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Internally Displaced in Israel (ADRID), which was established in 1995.[34]

Another major arena of activism related to what is known as the "re-opening of the 1948 files" is the struggle over land, led by a range of ex-parliamentary leadership organizations and registered non-profit organizations. Land is the most sensitive and emotionally charged of all issues that concern the Arab public. In the contemporary public and academic discourse in Arab society

in Israel, the expropriation of land in the 1950s and 1960s is described in a manner that emphasizes the land's seizure from the Arabs, the country's original inhabitants and owners, and its transfer to Jewish inhabitants.[35] In its report, the Or Commission extensively discussed the significance of land issues for the country's Arab minority and the devastating effects of land confiscations, which became indelibly etched in the collective memory of the Arab minority:

> For the Arab citizens, land is the issue that is most sensitive, provocative, and unifying. On the one hand, land constitutes a precious, vital material resource, especially in Arab society that is originally agrarian, and on the other hand it is a symbolic national value that represents the Arabs' possession of the country and their struggle for rights and status in the state.…Confiscation activities were clearly and officially tethered to the interests of the Jewish majority.…In the collective consciousness of Arab society, the massive appropriations of the 1950s and 1960s were an act of dispossession.[36]

The National Committee for the Protection of Arab Lands, which was established several months before Land Day in 1976, was the major organization to sponsor land-related activities until its dissolution in 1993.[37] After the Committee discontinued its operations, responsibility for land-related issues moved to Arab civil society organizations such as the Arab Center for Alternative Planning (ACAP).[38] In August 2011, the Follow-Up Committee announced its intention to establish several popular committees to handle land and housing issues in all Arab towns and villages in Israel, as well as a committee to steer the activities of all these popular committees at a national level.[39]

Thus, these developments combined to leave their imprint on the collective consciousness of the Arab minority. Findings of periodic surveys conducted by Prof. Sammy Smooha of the University of Haifa (table 8) indicate that the national Palestinian element of identity among the Arabs in Israel has grown considerably in the past two decades, while the element of Israeli identity has largely declined.

Table 8. Changes in the self-defined identity among Arabs in Israel, 1995-2012 (percent of Arab population)[40]

Identity \ Year of survey	1995	2003	2012
Israeli, Israeli-Arab, Arab in Israel	53.6	53.0	32.6
Palestinian in Israel, Palestinian-Arab in Israel	36.1	41.2	45.0
Palestinian, Palestinian-Arab	10.3	5.6	21.5
NA	–	0.2	0.9

The dominance of the Palestinian element of identity emerged clearly in a 2012 survey. Comparing Palestinian and Israeli identities, 67.8 percent of the respondents defined themselves as being exclusively or mainly "Palestinian-Arab," while only 11.3 percent defined themselves as exclusively or mainly "Israeli." One fifth of the respondents (19.6 percent) selected a more balanced self-definition of "equally Palestinian-Arab and Israeli."[41]

Alternative Models to Israel's Definition as a "Jewish and Democratic" State

In the early 1990s, the ideological critical debate in Arab society surged over the definition of Israel as a "Jewish and democratic" state. Arab intellectuals, politicians, and public figures pointed increasingly to what they believed was an inherent contradiction in this formulation, and aimed to undermine the axiom, widely accepted by the country's Jewish population, and challenge the belief that Israel's definition as a "Jewish and democratic" state is legitimate.[42] Criticism was directed against the Jewish Zionist nature of the state with growing frequency and vehemence, particularly each time Palestinians and Israelis conducted another round of the negotiations that, in recent years, included Israel's demand that the Palestinians recognize Israel as a Jewish state.[43] In November 2007, for example, on the eve of the Annapolis Conference, the Follow-Up Committee publicly announced its opposition to Israel's definition as a Jewish state and stipulation of this parameter as a condition in the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.[44]

Criticism of Israel's definition as a Jewish state is based on both practical and principled reasons. At the practical level, the criticism is supported by the discrimination against the Arab citizens of the state, which is considered the practical expression of the state's definition as a Jewish nation state, headed by preference in the allocation of state resources to citizens who

belong to the Jewish national group. Non-acceptance of the Jewish state principle stems from concerns that such acceptance would open the door to greater discrimination against the state's Arab citizens.[45] The ideological argument rests on the events of 1947-1949 and the belief that the historic injustice caused by the 1948 war to the Palestinians, who are inherently connected to the state's Arab citizens, was a direct result of the establishment of a Jewish state in Israel at the expense of the country's Arab inhabitants. Therefore, endorsement of the Jewish state concept might be interpreted as a retrospective justification of the Zionist movement's historical vision.[46]

In the mid 1990s, Arab intellectuals and politicians began to develop alternative models to replace the "Jewish and democratic" formula, motivated by the difficulty in accepting the definition and its ramifications. Another motive was the sense that the interests of Israel's Arab citizens were neglected while a final settlement for the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was being developed, and that successive governments neglected to address the hardships experienced by the Arab public in Israel.[47] In other words, while the Palestinians in the territories were making progress toward realizing their right to self-determination, the Arab minority in Israel had made no headway toward self-determination based on recognition of its collective rights as a national minority. The alternative models sought to normalize the status of Israel's Arab minority by giving expression to its collective rights. Three alternative models were proposed: (a) cultural and institutional autonomy; (b) redefinition of Israel as a "state of all its citizens"; and (c) bi-national state.

The Autonomy Model

The debate over institutional autonomy gained momentum in the 1990s, concurrent with progress in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations and indications that the parties might reach a final settlement agreement. After the crisis of October 2000, circles identified with the national stream raised several proposals to establish autonomous representative national institutions. One proposal was to establish an Arab parliament as a substitute for the Knesset, which could represent the Arab public as a national collective before state agencies. The proposal was rejected by Hadash party members for its implied separatist orientation, which they believed might serve the interests of the extreme Jewish right and provide grounds for continued government discrimination and inequity.[48] Another type of institutional autonomy was

proposed by the northern faction of the Islamic Movement. Faction leader Sheikh Ra'ed Salah developed the idea of establishing a "self-sustaining community" (*al-mujtama' al-'isami*), a community able to provide for its needs using its own resources in a broad range of fields, including agriculture, commerce, education, health, welfare, economics, sports, and religion. Such a community would no longer be dependent on favors from the state, would no longer be vulnerable to socio-economic sanctions imposed by the Jewish majority, and would allow the Muslim community in Israel to administer their lives in an autonomous, sovereign manner, in the spirit of Islam. The obstacle to implementation, however, came from Arab society itself: the idea was not welcomed by Christians, Druze, or non-observant Muslims.[49]

One direction in which a deep debate developed, and occasionally generated pragmatic suggestions, was cultural autonomy. The idea to grant cultural autonomy to Arabs in Israel was first developed by Azmi Bishara in the late 1990s, as part of his vision to transform Israel into a "state of all its citizens" (elaborated below). Bishara envisioned a type of cultural autonomy that would allow the Arab citizens to cultivate their Palestinian national identity within an Israeli political entity (the State of Israel within the 1967 ceasefire border), but outside Israeli culture. In such a framework, Bishara believed, the Arab population should be given control over its educational and religious institutions, and operation of independent media channels in Arabic.[50]

The most practical suggestion proposed within the debate on cultural autonomy, and one that became accepted and frequently cited by Arab scholars and politicians from the late 1990s onward, was to establish an independent administration for Israel's Arab education system, which would be autonomous in determining curricula, appointing teachers, and so forth. In July 2010, the Follow-Up Committee on Arab Education in Israel, a sub-committee of the Supreme Follow-Up Committee, announced the establishment of an Arab Pedagogical Council. Proponents of this initiative stressed that the Council's establishment was an expression of the Arab minority's right, as an indigenous minority, to preserve its heritage and national identity and independently determine educational policies and contents. Additional justification for the Council's establishment was that the status of Arab education in Israel should be on an equal footing with the status of the public-religious and Haredi education systems that enjoy curricular autonomy. Interested parties stressed that the establishment of

an autonomous Arab education system is a mark of integration rather than separatism, expressing the collective identity of the Arab minority while ensuring interaction with the state, emphasizing commonalities, and aiming to create an inclusive civic culture in Israel.[51]

A State of All its Citizens

The idea of defining Israel as a "state of all its citizens" is most strongly identified with Azmi Bishara, who founded the NDA in the mid 1990s and contributed significantly to the introduction of this idea into Arab political discourse in Israel at the time.[52] Bishara argued that the fact that Zionism was the state's master ideology transformed Israel into a "state of the Jews" or "a state of the Jewish people," or in other words, a state of all Jews worldwide. As a result, not only is Israel defined as a state of only some of its citizens (Jewish but not Arab); it is also defined as a state of Jews who are not its citizens (realizing the vision of "a national home for the Jewish people"). This situation placed Arab citizens in an impossible situation, especially in view of their self-perception as the original inhabitants of the country. To resolve this anomaly, Bishara coined the term "a state of all its citizens" (or "the citizens' state"), in contrast to the Zionist nature of the state. The term "a state of all citizens" has a dual meaning: first, state borders rather than borderless national (Jewish) affiliations dictate the boundaries of its citizenship; second, all citizens within state borders should enjoy full equality of rights, with no institutional discrimination.

Bishara stressed that the concept of "a state of all citizens" is not designed to establish an "Israeli nation of citizens" that is devoid of any frameworks of national identification. On the contrary, the concept included a demand to grant collective rights and cultural autonomy to the state's Arab citizens by virtue of their belonging to an Arab national minority in Israel. He offered two justifications for his concept. First, cultural autonomy does not imply separatism; on the contrary, it is the only way to allow Arab society to genuinely integrate in Israel while preserving its national identity. Second, cultural autonomy will allow Arab society to increase its internal cohesion, organize itself as a consolidated national minority, and surmount the effects of narrower religious and sectarian groupings that might cause internal divisions.

Bishara himself did not believe that the "state of all citizens" is a feasible, implementable concept; he acknowledged that the state would not easily

relinquish its Zionist nature. Nonetheless, he argued that the demand for equality embedded in this concept and the attitude expressed toward the state's Zionist nature character are presented as a demand embodied within Israeli citizenship. Bishara's approach was adopted by the supporters of the national stream. In recent years they proposed the slogan "a state of all its citizens" as a counter-formula to "a Jewish democratic state," and especially to Israel's demand to recognize it as a Jewish state. Nationalists repeatedly contended that the Zionist character of the state is inherently discriminatory, and that the proposed concept of "a state of all its citizens" is intended as a viable alternative to Israel's definition as a Jewish state,[53] an inherently non-democratic possibility.

Although the concept of a "state of all citizens" became the topic of deep ideological debates among the members of the national stream, it did not gain currency among the other political and ideological streams in Arab society. Criticism focused mainly on semantics, based on the argument that the idea failed to give sufficient expression to the Arab citizens' singularity as a national collective.[54] Ahmad Tibi, for example, argued that this model's shortcoming is its excessive focus on Arab citizens' individual rights and its neglect of their rights as a national collective. Tibi grounds his criticism on the argument that the majority of the Arab public in Israel effectively rejects the practical implications of the "state of all its citizens" concept, which implies elimination of the national and cultural singularity of the Arab minority in Israel and the establishment of a uniform civil Israeli framework. Instead, Tibi coined the slogan "a state of all its nationalities," reasoning that only such a formula could ensure the individual and collective rights of Arabs in Israel. He emphasized that their demand for civil equality in Israel would be honored by virtue of their status as a national minority.[55]

A Bi-national State

For more than a decade, the Arab political and intellectual elite have become embroiled in a serious debate on the question, what alternative to Israel's definition as a Jewish state would allow the Arab minority to optimally realize its right of self-determination as a national collective in Israel? The debate over this question also involved a secondary question: How can this alternative model become part of the final settlement between Israel and the Palestinians? Debating the status of the Arab citizens of Israel within a final settlement agreement between Israel and the Palestinians led to the

formulation of two principled positions. On the one hand, supporters of the national stream developed proposals for a bi-national arrangement, either as part of a two-state solution (Israel within the Green Line border as a bi-national state, alongside a Palestinian state) or within a single bi-national state extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River. Some state that the NDA uses the "state of all its citizens" slogan to call for implementation of the bi-national model first within the Green Line borders, leaving the door open to its future implementation over the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine.[56] On the other hand, supporters of the Arab-Jewish Communist stream have remained loyal to the traditional "two states for two peoples" platform, i.e., a Palestinian state alongside Israel. As a result, although the DFPE rejects Israel's definition as a Jewish state, it also rejects the potential transformation of Israel into a bi-national state.[57]

The current debate over the bi-national option, which emerged in the late 1990s, is closely related to developments in the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The understanding that the Arab minority's interests would not be a topic of discussion in the final settlement negotiations, and the emerging political settlement involving the 1967 territories, spurred Arab intellectuals who identified with the national stream to propose various bi-national arrangements as an alternative to the existing format of majority-minority relations in Israel.[58] As the years passed, the bi-national idea gained traction among Arab academics and intellectuals. The extent to which this idea has become assimilated into Arab public discourse in Israel is evidenced by the fact that the Future Vision documents (in the view of both Arab and Jewish analysts) proposed to implement a bi-national model within the 1967 ceasefire borders.[59]

In recent years, bi-national advocates have tended to promote the solution of a single bi-national state extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, in line with two emerging conclusions: one, the feeling that the Israeli-Palestinian peace process has reached an impasse, and a final settlement in the form of a division of the territory into two states is no longer feasible, given the de facto bi-national nature of the area from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River; two, the consolidation of a consensus among members of the national stream that a final settlement that limits the solution of the Palestinian problem to the 1967 territories only, in the form of a "two-states-for-two-peoples" format, and fails to resolve the fundamental issues created in 1948, including recognition of the Arab minority in Israel

as a national minority (alongside a resolution of the Palestinian refugee problem), will not lead to genuine conciliation or an end to the conflict.[60] For the proponents of the bi-national option, these insights enhanced the appeal of the bi-national arrangement within a single state. As a result, a fierce debate has waged between supporters of the one-state (bi-national) solution and the proponents of the traditional two-state solution.

Supporters of the bi-national option offered several practical and principled justifications for their arguments. At the practical level, their main contention is that the division of the territory from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River into two states has become entirely unfeasible in the current political and demographic circumstances. Another key argument was that historical experience from elsewhere in the world facing ethnic-based disputes between dominant and subordinate groups shows that the only just solution for the current complicated situation is the establishment of a bi-national government. South Africa is frequently noted as an example.

In addition, bi-national advocates contended that the familiar version of the two-state solution ("two states for two nations") fails to offer a fundamental solution for the national aspirations of Israel's Arab citizens, and even puts an end to the right of return of refugees from the original villages, most of which are located in the territory under Israeli sovereignty. The bi-national supporters' second claim includes arguments revolving on historic justice and morality and contends that a bi-national state is the most just and moral solution to the conflict between Jews and Arabs in the territory of what was Mandatory Palestine. This position is derived directly from the "discourse of rights," grounded in the understanding that indigenous populations' right of self-determination is an "indigenous right" that draws its legitimacy from the principles of justice and ethics of the indigenous populations themselves rather than from any political arrangement. As such, this right precedes any right of other non-indigenous national collectives in the country. Two conclusions emerge: The single bi-national state solution is a just solution, as it allows all parts of the Palestinian nation to ultimately realize their natural right of self-determination as indigenous people in this land (including sovereign existence in a given territory); it is also a moral solution, as it does not disregard the right of self-determination of the Jewish community that currently lives in Israel.[61]

DFPE members are the staunchest critics of the bi-national idea, while members of the Islamic stream voice implicit or explicit support for the

two-state solution. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the bi-national model, as presented by its advocates, won significant support among the Arab public. While public opinion polls show that support for a "two states for two nations" solution has declined in recent years (from 88.8 percent in 2003 to 68.7 percent in 2012), a stable majority of the Arab public continues to support this solution.[62] Moreover, findings of a field study conducted in the summer of 2012 among Arab citizens of Israel and Palestinian residents of the territories indicate a deep social chasm dividing these two groups, reflected in various and sometimes contradictory conceptions of their own historical narrative. One of the major conclusions of the study was that each society seeks to maintain independence of the other.[63]

The Future Vision documents: A Milestone in the National Evolution of the Arabs in Israel

The four position papers published between December 2006 and May 2007, which became known collectively as the Future Vision documents, are a significant milestone in the maturation of the national consciousness of Israel's Arab minority.[64] These documents were not the first attempt to outline a national agenda for Arab society backed by a broad consensus. The Future Vision documents were preceded by a document published in December 1996 following the Equality Convention – The General Convention of the Arab Public in Israel, held in Nazareth that year, and by an internal document of the Follow-Up Committee dated July 2001, which proposed a reform of the Committee's structure. The first (1996) document called on the government to institute a policy of equality with regard to the country's Arab citizens, and enhance their civic integration based on recognition of their singularity as a national minority.[65] The second (2001) document urged the Arabs in Israel to organize as a national minority that elects its own national representative institutions.[66] The significant contribution of the Future Vision documents was its development of a series of documents that, for the first time, defined the collective needs and aspirations of Israel's Arab citizens and formulated their position on what they viewed as the current vs. the desired character of the state.

Of the group of documents published in 2006-2007, the two documents that attracted the most public attention were "The Future Vision," published in December 2006 by the National Committee for the Heads of Arab Local Councils in Israel, and "The Haifa Declaration," published in May 2007 by

Mada al-Carmel – Arab Center for Applied Social Research. Both documents challenged Israel's foundational Zionist narrative and its status as a Jewish nation state, and defended the Palestinian narrative concerning the 1948 events and the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Israel from the Palestinians' perspective. The Future Vision document argued that Israel is an ethnocracy that guarantees the majority's hegemony and the minority's marginalization by placing democracy at the service of the state's Jewish character. The first and focal chapter of the document, concerning the Arab citizens and their relations with the state, featured an explicit demand to recognize the Arab population as a national minority entitled to collective rights, including the right to national representative institutions. This chapter also included a proposal to change Israel's system of government to a consociational democracy, which is a type of bi-national regime.[67]

According to the Haifa Declaration, likewise based on the Palestinian narrative, the Zionist movement conducted its colonial enterprise in Palestine and was responsible for the hardships suffered by the Palestinian people in 1948, including massacres, population expulsions, and destruction of villages. In this document, the Nakba was depicted as a formative event that transformed the Palestinians in Israel into "citizens without the genuine constituents of citizenship, especially equality." Nonetheless, the Haifa Declaration addressed the need for an historical reconciliation between the parties, which would obligate the Arabs to recognize the "Israeli Jewish people's" right of self-determination. (The Haifa Declaration was the only one of the four documents that contained explicit reference to the self-determination of Israel's Jewish majority: "This historic reconciliation requires us, Palestinians and Arabs, to recognize the right of the Israeli Jewish people to self-determination and to life in peace, dignity, and security with the Palestinian and other peoples of the region."[68]) The vision expressed in the Haifa Declaration concerned the establishment of a democratic state based on equality between the two national groups. Such equality demands modification of the definition of Israel, from a "Jewish state" to a "democratic state"; revocation of citizenship laws based on ethnic affiliation (that is, Israel's Law of Return, which grants automatic citizenship to Jewish immigrants); recognition of Arabic and Hebrew as official languages of equal standing; and full veto rights of the Arab citizens on issues relating to their status, their rights, and the guarantee of their cultural autonomy. In its summary,

the authors argued, "It is these principles that can guarantee our right to self-determination as a homeland minority."

The remaining two documents – "An Equal Constitution for All," published by Mossawa Center, and "The Democratic Constitution," published by Adalah – sought to outline the status of the Arab minority within a future constitution for Israel, emphasizing the collective rights to which the Arab minority is entitled, being a national minority. Both documents were drafted and published in response to public initiatives that addressed the state's constitutional future, such as the Kinneret Convention (October 2001), the "Constitution by Consensus" (published by the Israel Democracy Institute in July 2005), and the "Constitution for Israel" initiative of the Knesset Constitution Law and Justice Committee, which were prompted by the October 2000 events. According to Arab legalists, while these initiatives addressed the status of the Arab citizens in Israel's future constitution, they ignored the collective rights to which they were entitled as members of a national minority.[69]

The Future Vision documents were yet another effort to promote the idea of a bi-national state within the Green Line borders. The significance of these documents lay in the public platform that these proposals created. They prompted an avid public and academic debate, and their publication constituted a milestone in the national history of the Arab minority. Overall, the Future Vision documents were received favorably by the Arab public. The documents were lauded by Arab academics and public figures, including several contributing authors, who stressed their representative nature. As'ad Ghanem, one of the major contributors to the Future Vision documents, argued that the documents realistically reflected the demands of Israel's Arab citizens and their desire for integration, equality, and justice within, rather than outside, the State of Israel. Shawki Khatib, who served as chair of both the National Committee and the Follow-Up Committee when the documents were published, urged the Jewish majority to consider the documents an invitation to a candid, courageous dialogue that requires a large degree of tolerance and ideological pluralism. Notably, public opinion polls in recent years have shown that a solid majority in the Arab public (between 88 percent and 95 percent, according to Smooha's surveys) identify with the ideas that these documents represent.[70]

Nonetheless, voices in the Arab public have also criticized the documents for several reasons. MK Ahmad Tibi argued that the Future Vision was drafted

by academics and private individuals and was not published on behalf of the Arab parties, and therefore should not be considered a representative document. Spokespersons who identify with the national stream believed that the documents actually reflected increased Israelization and greater acceptance of rules of the game of Israeli politics. Criticism from the opposite direction came from journalist and commentator Nazir Majalli who argued that the demand for autonomy was steeped in separatist tones that were inconsistent with the current situation of the Arabs in Israel, and merely played into the hands of the Jewish extreme right.

The Israeli public assumed a largely aggressive and defensive tone in response to what was taken to be the separatist intentions of the documents' authors. Although some Jewish academics affiliated with the political left showed sympathy for the civic (but not national) demands expressed in these documents, the majority of Jewish responses interpreted the Future Vision documents as no less than a "declaration of war" against the Jewish majority. They attacked what they called the documents' "aggressive, arrogant, and brazen" language.[71] Criticism by the Jewish public focused on three main issues: (a) *the narrative*: Here criticism centered on the definition of Zionism as a colonialist enterprise born of imperialism, which completely ignored the Jewish people's historic roots in Israel and the centuries of Jewish yearning for Zion; (b) *delegitimization of the concept of a Jewish state*: The major argument raised by Jewish commentators was that he documents undermined Israel's legitimate existence as a Jewish nation state, and furthermore denied the right of self-determination of the Jewish people worldwide, not only those Jews currently living in Israel; (c) *the proposal to establish a consociational democracy*: Jewish critics noted that the historical experience of the bi-national model in divided societies in Europe generally ended in failure and was frequently accompanied by mutual acts of violence. Critics doubted the success of a consociational democracy model with two societies so polarized and alienated as the Jews and Arabs in Israel.

In summary, the Future Vision documents represented a new stage in the national evolution of the Arab minority in Israel. They marked a transition from a passive and responsive approach to proactive political action. Although the documents were not initiated by the Arab parties represented in the Knesset and therefore were not considered a political platform that would be determined by an Arab public vote, the initiative marked a change in national consciousness that reflected the growing self-confidence of the

Arab public. For the first time, representatives of the Arab public not only drafted a national political platform that concerned Arab society, but they also expressed a demand to reconfigure the Arab public's relationship with the state, which included a demand to introduce changes in the state's character.

Arab Civil Society Organizations and National Mobilization

In the past two decades, the number of Arab NGOs in Israel has increased considerably.[72] According to statistics of the Israeli Center for Third Sector Research, the proportion of Arab NGOs registered in Israel increased from 3.5 percent in 1998 (approximately 1,000 Arab NGOs) to 5.5 percent in 2004 (2,200 NGOs).[73] As of the end of 2007, of the 3,000 registered Arab NGOs, 1,517 were classified as active organizations in six main categories: culture and leisure, education and research, welfare, religion, civic and social change, and housing and development (table 9).

Table 9. Active Arab NGOs in Israel (2007)[74]

Field of operations	No.	Percent
Culture and leisure	476	31
Education and research	295	19
Welfare	224	15
Religion	183	12
Civic and social change	130	9
Housing and development	90	6
Health	47	3
Other (environmental protection, commemoration)	72	5
Total	**1,517**	**100**

Research studies point to a correlation between the national mobilization in Arab society in Israel and the growth of Arab civil society operations in the past two decades. Shany Payes noted the connection between the expansion of Israeli-Arab involvement in national protest activities in the 1980s and 1990s, and the rising number of Arab NGOs. Many members of the Arab public concluded that public campaigns conducted through ex-parliamentary organizations might impose pressure more effectively on state agencies to institute favorable changes in the conditions of the Arab public, compared to campaigns conducted in the Knesset.[75] Amal Jamal explained that the numerical growth of Arab civil society organizations represents a new

model of political activism that is absent in the Knesset, and as a result, is not contingent on recognition of the Zionist nature of the state (in contrast to political parties, for which such recognition is obligated by law). Jamal also pointed to a connection between Arab citizens' growing indifference to parliamentary politics in the past decade (reflected in the decline in voter turnout in Knesset elections, as described above), and the growth in the number of Arab civil society organizations established in this period. According to Jamal, several of these organizations were established by Arab citizens who despaired of the political system and sought to kickstart a favorable change in the conditions of the Arab population through channels outside the Knesset.[76] Oded Haklai argues that the Arab civil society organizations are not only campaigning for civic equality, but also for Arab society's national empowerment. Alongside the efforts by Arab NGOs to reform state agencies and improve their treatment of the Arab population, these organizations are cultivating national awareness.[77]

Moreover, research has suggested a connection between disadvantage and discrimination of ethnic groups on the one hand, and these groups' proclivity for political activism. According to Haklai, a sense of discrimination and exclusion is sufficient incentive for political civil society activism – even more than any objective expressions of prejudice. He contends that the representatives of the Arab organizations in Israel that focus on social change believe that a strong Arab civil society is necessary to confront the implications of the Jewish nature of the state, which they view as the basis for the inferior status of Arab society.[78]

The organizational patterns of Arab NGOs in the past decade support the conclusions of the studies cited above. A comparison of NGO activity between 1998 and 2004 indicates that Arab civil society transformed considerably in the span of a few short years. In this period, the proportion of Arab NGOs focusing on religious matters dropped from 25 to 15 percent, while the proportion of Arab NGOs engaged in three other areas (culture and leisure, education and research, and welfare) increased considerably (table 10).

Table 10. The changing composition of Arab civil society in Israel, 1998-2004[79]

	NGOs (end 1998 figures)		NGOs (end 2004 figures)		NGOs (established 1998-2004)	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Culture and leisure	221	22	683	31	462	39
Education and research	98	10	337	15	239	20
Welfare	116	11	308	14	192	16
Religion	250	25	340	16	90	8
Civic and social change	98	10	135	6	37	3
Housing and development	138	14	196	9	58	5
Health	14	1	52	2	38	3
Other	74	7	148	7	74	6
Total	**1,009**		**2,199**		**1,190**	

These changes are not incidental, and are instead additional evidence of Arab society's national and civil mobilization over the past two decades. An in-depth review of the operations of the NGOs engaged in the first two fields (culture and leisure, and education and research) shows that they focus on raising collective awareness and fostering a sense of national identity of the Arabs in Israel, while NGOs operating in the third field (welfare) represent efforts to rectify state agencies' failure to alleviate the hardships of the Arab population. Azmi Bishara's argument that preservation of the Arab-Palestinian culture of Israel's Arab citizens is a necessary condition for shaping their national consciousness is relevant in this context.[80] And indeed, the bulk of NGOs are engaged in culture and education and research.

A typical example of an NGO that works in culture and leisure and promotes national values in Arab society is the Arab Culture Association, established in 1998 in Nazareth. According to the Association's website, its goals are "to strengthen and consolidate the national and cultural identity of the Palestinians in Israel based on human and democratic elements, given our belief that every national minority should define itself in a manner that is appropriate for its contemporary challenges and vicissitudes."[81] The Association is identified with the NDA party; its founders include Jamal Zahalka, who has served as an MK representing the NDA in the Knesset

since 2003, and Azmi Bishara, who was an MK for the NDA between 1996 and 2007 and thus when the Association was established. The Association operates a range of projects designed to reinforce national awareness in the Arab population, especially among the younger generation. Its most prominent activities include the Arabic language project, the young leadership and student scholarship project, the "Identity & Belonging" project that includes summer camps and field trips to become familiar with the homeland, and a project that monitors the curricula used in the Arab education system.

In another class of NGOs are organizations aimed to provide a comprehensive solution to the inferior status of Arab citizens in Israel. These NGOs operate primarily in three areas: education and research, civil and social change, and housing and development. These NGOs do not restrict themselves to tactical activities that offer local assistance to alleviate everyday hardships, but instead operate at a national level and resolve Arab society's hardships through strategic action. The organizations provide tools that help members of the Arab minority deal with the Jewish hegemony in Israel, and promote equality in a range of areas including law, housing, planning, and culture.[82] In the field of education and research, prominent NGOs include Mada al-Carmel in Haifa (established in 2000), the Ibn Khaldun Arab Association for Research and Development located in Tamra (established in 2002), and Dirasat – Arab Center for Law and Policy, located in Nazareth (established in 2006). Notable NGOs in the field of civil and social change include the Adalah Center in Shefaram (established in 1996) and the Mossawa Center in Haifa (established in 2000). In the field of housing and development, noteworthy is the Arab Center for Alternative Planning, located in Eilaboun and established in 2000.

The main thrust of these organizational efforts is to have a formative effect on the collective consciousness of Israel's Arab citizens as a national minority, emphasizing the rights to which they are entitled as an indigenous population. This aim is reflected in the official goals of these NGOs, which seek to analyze critically the civic and social status of Israel's Arabs and generate genuine change. The organizations that operate in the fields of academic research and social change function as intellectual incubators for Arab scholars and intellectuals, some of whom are senior lecturers at universities and academic institutions in Israel. In recent years, these NGOs have contributed immensely to the emergence of a new research discourse on the Arabs in Israel from an endogenous perspective of Arab society.

Alongside its formative impact on the collective consciousness of the Arabs in Israel, this research discourse has also reinforced these organizations' status as knowledge agents: individuals seeking information on national, political, and social processes in Arab society cannot ignore the studies and reports published by these organizations, or the ongoing projects that they regularly initiate.[83]

One of the clear indications of the growing impact of these civil society organizations on the public agenda of Arab society in Israel is the organizations' growing role in determining the national agenda. The fact that the four Future Vision documents published between December 2006 and May 2007 were drafted and sponsored by four ex-parliamentary organizations – all registered non-profit associations – is sufficient to indicate the major formative role played by Arab civil society organizations in recent years in the development of the national consciousness of the Arab minority in Israel.

Thus the question arises: Are the civil society organizations gradually replacing the Arab parties in the Knesset in determining a national agenda for Arab society? In other words, have these organizations become a genuine alternative to political parties? Opinions on this question are divided. Amal Jamal believes that the political and social elites in the Arab public are investing more extensive efforts in civil society activities than in political activism in order to achieve the collective goals of the Arab population. He ascribes this change to the sector's disappointment with its political leadership and realization that institutionalized parliamentary politics has failed to satisfy their economic, political, and personal needs.[84] In contrast, Yousef Jabareen believes that the civil society organizations cannot be a political alternative for the parties. Instead, he considers these organizations as the civil leadership of Arab society, while the parties fill the role of its political leadership. In contrast to the Arab parties, the civil society organizations are not required to represent all the interests of the Arab public and are not subject to public scrutiny. Therefore, Jabareen believes that the role of the Arab civil society organizations is to empower civil society, and complement the operations performed by the parties in the Arab public.[85]

Chapter 3

Arab Society: Social and Economic Indicators

Fertility Rates, Population Growth, and Age Groups

As a result of its high fertility rates, Israel's Arab population is much younger than its Jewish population. According to 2010 figures, 0-14 year olds accounted for a much larger proportion of the Arab population than the Jewish population (37 and 26 percent, respectively). As a result, the median age of the Arab population is 21, while the median age of the Jewish population is slightly over 31 (table 11).

These figures have important socio-economic and political significance. From a socio-economic perspective, the civilian labor force (individuals age 15 and over) accounts for a smaller share of the total Arab population, compared to the relative size of the labor force in the Jewish population. As a result, Arab breadwinners carry a much heavier burden compared to Jewish breadwinners. In terms of political ramifications, the Arab population has a smaller percentage of individuals age 18 and over who are eligible to vote in parliamentary elections (56 percent, compared to 70 percent in the Jewish population; 2010 figures),[1] as a result of which the Arab population's electoral power (15 percent of all eligible voters in Israel) is smaller than its share of the country's total citizen population (17.5 percent).[2]

However, the past decade has seen a consistent decline in the total fertility rate and the rate of natural growth of the Arab population, while the opposite trend is evident in the Jewish population, reflected in a slight increase in these two indicators. The gap between the two populations is therefore closing: while the annual natural growth rate in the Arab population in 2000 was almost three times that of the Jewish population (3.2 and 1.2 percent, respectively), the annual natural growth rate in the Arab population was only 1.6 times that of the Jewish population in 2010 (2.4 and 1.5 percent, respectively).

According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics and National Insurance Institute reports, the decline in fertility and natural population growth in the Arab population is a steady trend that has persisted for more than two decades.[3] The main reason is the Arab society's change in lifestyle: its growing tendency to adopt a modern lifestyle is reflected in increased education levels (the rate of individuals eligible for a matriculation certificate who continue academic studies in the Arab population has grown steadily in recent years), and greater participation of Arab women in the labor market. These changes affect the structure of Arab families, and as a result of these changes, the median age of the general Arab population has risen by 1.5 years in the past decade (a similar increase was recorded in the Jewish population). At the same time, religious groups within the Arab population show considerable differences. The median age among Christian Arabs is significantly higher than the median age in all other religious groups, and is similar to the median age of the Jewish population. In contrast, the Muslim population, and especially the Negev Bedouin population, is significantly younger (table 11).

Table 11. Selected demographic indicators by religion and population groups: 2000 vs. 2010[4]

Index	Year	Population group					
		Muslims		Christians	Druze	Arab population	Jewish population
		Total	Negev Bedouin				
Total fertility rate[5]	2000	4.7	9.8	2.6	3.1	4.4	2.7
	2010	3.8	5.8	2.2	2.5	3.5	3.0
Natural growth[6]	2000	3.5%	5.4%	1.7%	2.4%	3.2%	1.2%
	2010	2.5%	3.8%	1.1%	1.7%	2.4%	1.5%
Median age	2000	18.6	12.5	26.9	21.7	19.6	29.8
	2010	20.0	14.9	30.7	25.2	21.1	31.4
0-14 age group	2000	42.9%	56.6%	29.5%	36.0%	41.0%	25.9%
	2010	39.3%	50.4%	24.5%	30.8%	37.5%	25.9%

A society's level of development and modernization is measured by two main indicators: healthcare and education. These indicators are frequently used by government policy supporters and their critics as a litmus test for government policy on issues relating to Israel's Arab population. Supporters highlight government policy achievements in improving healthcare and education levels in Arab society compared to 1948,[7] while critics of government

policy castigate the government for not taking sufficient action to develop Arab towns, which consequently perpetuates the gaps between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Their basis of comparison is the Jewish population (rather than development levels in neighboring Arab states).[8]

Healthcare

Life expectancy of the Arab population has risen over the years. In the past decade, Arab male life expectancy increased from 74.6 years (2000) to 76.6 years (2010), and life expectancy of Arab females increased from 77.9 to 81.3 years (figure 3). Rising life expectancy is explained by improved sanitary and healthcare services, changes in nutrition, and the growing education levels that have increased awareness in Arab society of the importance of healthcare and proper nutrition.

Rising life expectancy is characteristic of the entire population of Israel, and the gap between Arabs and Jews (three years) has remained steady, for both gender groups. However, Arab life expectancy figures show a 10-year lag behind the Jewish population. In 2010, life expectancy of Arab men and women reached life expectancy levels of the Jewish population in 2000.

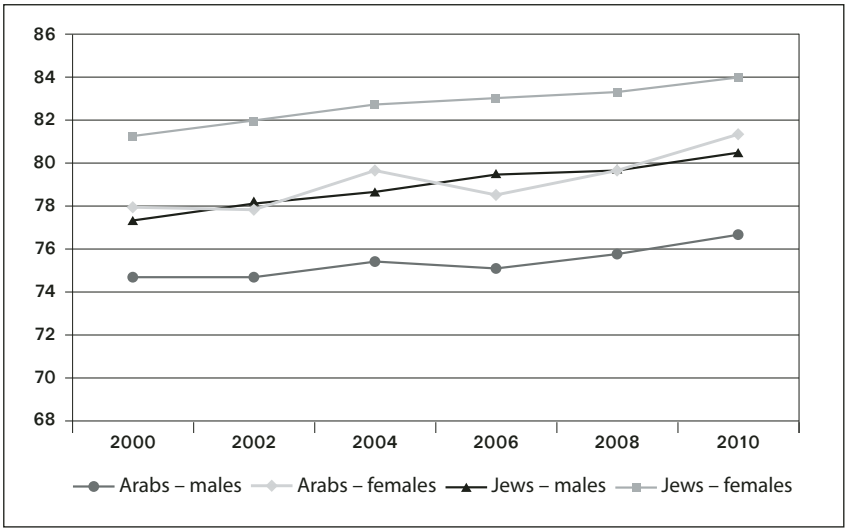

Figure 3. Life expectancy by population group and gender (selected years)[9]

According to a November 2013 Ministry of Health report, the average life expectancy in major towns in Israel (population over 50,000) between 2005 and 2009 was 80.8 years — the two towns at the bottom of this list

were Arab towns: Nazareth and Rahat (77.9 and 77.1 years, respectively).[10] Nonetheless, Amnon Rubinstein believes that the real difference in healthcare services is not between the Arab and Jewish populations, but between affluent and impoverished populations. Rubinstein stated that significant differences also exist within the Arab population, between Christians and Muslims. Life expectancy in the Christian community is very high (81.3 years for women and 77.6 years for men), is close to the average in the Jewish population, and is significantly higher than life expectancy in the Muslim community. The life expectancy gap between the Muslim and Christian communities is three years.[11]

Another important healthcare indicator is the infant mortality rate, which is calculated as the number of deaths of infants less than one year old per 1,000 live births. According to a 2010 Ministry of Health report, infant mortality has declined steadily in all population groups in Israel in the past three decades, and differences between the Jewish and Arab populations are diminishing over time. Still, the infant mortality rate in the Arab population is almost twice as high as in the Jewish population (table 12). In 2008, infant mortality in the Arab population was 6.5 per 1,000 live births, compared to a rate of 2.9 in the Jewish population. Within the Arab population, the highest infant mortality rates are found among the Muslims and the Druze; infant mortality rates in the Christian population have significantly declined over the years and have even fallen below the infant mortality rate in the Jewish population.[12]

Table 12. Infant mortality per 1,000 live births by population group and religion (selected years)[13]

		1978	2008	Rate of decline (%)
Arab population	Muslims	28.7	6.8	76
	Druze	24.4	5.5	77
	Christians	17.4	1.6	91
Jewish population		13.8	2.9	79

The differences in infant mortality rates in the Jewish and Arab populations stem from a combination of the standard of healthcare services, which is lower in Arab towns than in Jewish towns, and healthcare behaviors, which are the product of each group's lifestyle. According to a report sponsored by the Ministry of Health, the two main causes of infant mortality are premature

births and congenital defects. The prevalence of such cases in Arab society is significantly greater than in Jewish society due to the large number of intra-family marriages, a common phenomenon in certain groups in Arab society. For example, the high rate of infant mortality among the Negev Bedouin stems both from a lack of accessible medical services (especially in the Bedouin area), and the high rate of intra-family marriages in this society. Consanguineous marriage significantly increases the probability of congenital defects, which are a major cause of infant mortality.[14]

Education

Education levels in the Arab population have risen steadily in the past decade (table 13). On several indicators, gaps between the Arab and Jewish education systems have closed. According to 2011 statistics, the median educational attainment in the Arab and Jewish populations is now equal (12 years of schooling). In addition, the high school dropout rate in grades 9-11 in the Arab education system (when dropout rates typically peak) has declined significantly, and more rapidly than the decline in the dropout rate in the Jewish education system. Furthermore, eligibility for a matriculation certificate rose considerably in the Arab education system. However, despite the improvement in academic achievements, significant differences between the two education systems prevail. The dropout rate in the Arab system is twice as high as the dropout rate in the Jewish system, and eligibility for a matriculation certificate in the Arab education system is lower than in the Jewish education system.

Table 13. Indicators of improvements in the education system (Arab and Jewish education systems, selected years)[15]

Indicator	Year	Arab education system	Jewish education system
Median number of school years	2000	11.1	12.5
	2011	12.0	12.0
Eligibility for a matriculation certificate (% of all grade 12 pupils)	2000	41.8	52.1
	2011	49.9	58.5
Dropout rate (grades 9-11)	2000	11.9	5.8
	2011	6.6	3.3
Met minimum university entrance requirements (% of all grade 12 pupils)	2000	25.4	44.1
	2011	36.0	49.7

Indicators show significant differences between Muslim, Druze, and Christian pupils (table 14). Education level among Christians is significantly higher than average achievement figures for both the Arab and the Jewish education systems. Christian pupils show the highest rates of eligibility for matriculation certificates and fulfillment of university admission requirements, which is explained by the fact that many Christian pupils attend sectarian private schools, where standards of teaching and education are higher than in public schools. In the Arab education system, differences in standards of private sectarian schools and public schools are prominent, and therefore, affluent parents prefer to send their children to private schools.[16]

Table 14. Indicators of improvement in the Arab education system, by religion (selected years)[17]

Indicator	Year	Muslims (%)	Christians (%)	Druze (%)
Eligibility for matriculation certificate (% of all grade 12 pupils)	2000	39.2	63.5	38.7
	2011	47.8	63.8	54.9
Achievement of minimum university entrance requirements (% of all grade 12 pupils)	2000	22.1	51.8	22.5
	2011	33.8	56.0	36.4

As a result, educational achievement rates in the Christian population are significantly higher compared to the Muslim and Druze populations. Statistics for 2010 indicate that high school and higher education levels in the Christian population are twice as high as in the Muslim and Druze populations, and 2.2 times as high as in the Negev Bedouin population. Nonetheless, the proportion of individuals with a higher education in the Christian population is lower than in the Jewish population (table 15).

Arab researchers explain that many Arab students prefer to acquire their academic education in Jordan or the Palestinian Authority. The Israeli psychometric exam, which constitutes the main admission criterion of Israeli universities and colleges, is one of the primary explanations for this preference. Arabs have argued that the psychometric exam is culturally biased and reduces the chances of Arab high school graduates gaining admission to Israeli universities and colleges.[18]

Table 15. Educational attainment by population group and religion, 2010[19]

Educational attainment	Muslims		Christians (%)	Druze (%)	Jews (%)
	Total (%)	Negev Bedouin (%)			
0-8 years of education	27.7	38.9	17.7	22.6	7.6
9-12 years of education (with and without matriculation certificate)	53.3	45.4	47.1	57.5	43.3
13 years of education or more (post-secondary and tertiary education)	19.0	15.7	35.2	19.9	49.1

The Labor Force

Arab and Jewish populations also differ in their rates of participation in the civil workforce.[20] Workforce participation in the Arab population is significantly lower than in the Jewish population, and statistics indicate a stable trend, spanning several years. Figures for 2012 indicate that workforce participation is 67 percent in the Jewish population but only 47 percent in the Arab population. The true differences are revealed when comparisons are based on gender: Workforce participation of Arab women is almost one third of the corresponding rate for Jewish women (table 16).

Table 16. Civil workforce participation by population group and gender, 2012[21]

Population group	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Arabs	46.7	66.1	27.1
Jews	66.9	69.7	64.3

Studies have identified internal and external factors that impede the integration of Arab women in the labor market. The difference between workforce participation rates of Arab men and women stems from the traditional division of roles in Arab households, which are typically larger than Jewish households and in which men are sole breadwinners, while women are homemakers in charge of raising the children. In addition to these internal factors related to culture and tradition, Arab women's integration in the workforce is also impeded by external factors, such as lack of daycare centers or public transportation infrastructure connecting Arab villages to

work hubs. The result is that Arab households face a much heavier burden of breadwinning than Jewish households, due to the high dependency rate[22] in Arab households and the fact that Arab households typically have a single breadwinner.[23]

Unemployment

In the past decade, unemployment in the Arab population has generally been significantly higher than in the Jewish population. At the same time, since the mid-2000s, unemployment rates in the Arab and the Jewish populations have declined steadily. According to statistics for 2011, both groups have similar unemployment rates, reaching a two-decade record low. 2011 unemployment rates even fell below 1995 rates (6.2 percent and 6.3 percent for Arabs and Jews, respectively), when the Israeli economy flourished in response to progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (figure 4).[24]

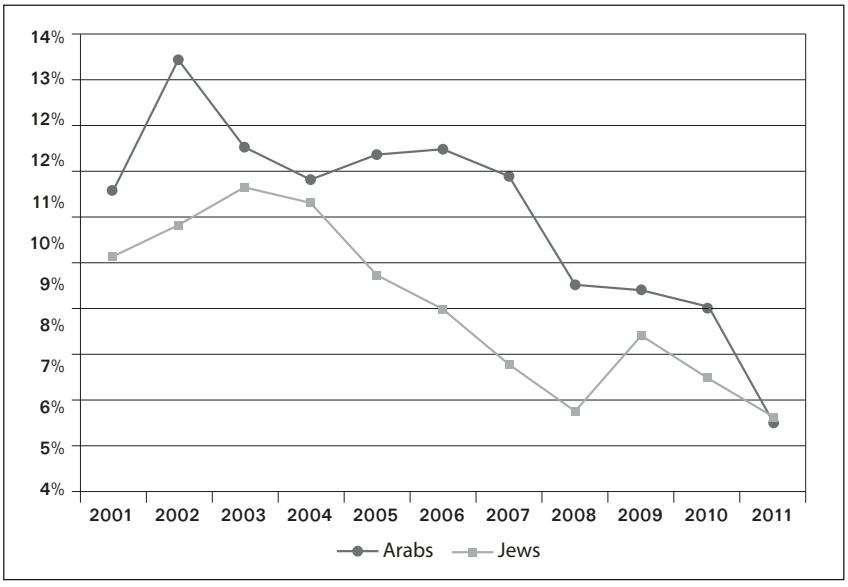

Figure 4. Unemployment rates by population group, 2001-2011[25]

Note that the decline in unemployment does not necessarily attest to an improvement in employment rates or that formal unemployment in the Arab population was alleviated. Arab economists and researchers estimate that informal unemployment in the Arab public is significantly greater than in the Jewish public. The term "informal unemployment" refers to job

seekers who have stopped looking for work and are therefore no longer classified as unemployed; in fact, they are no longer counted as part of the civil workforce. Figures from the Central Bureau of Statistics' Labor Survey for 2011 show that 39,000 job seekers gave up looking for work that year: 11,600 Jewish individuals stopped looking for work, while the number of non-Jewish (mainly Arab) job seekers who despaired of finding a job was almost three times that – 28,300[26] (or 0.4 and 5.5 percent of the respective populations).[27] Furthermore, many Arab job seekers encounter a two-pronged problem: on the one hand they suffer from a shortage of appropriate employment opportunities in their vicinity (this is especially true in peripheral settlements such as the Bedouin villages of the Negev) or employment opportunities that match their education and qualifications. On the other hand, they are subject to discrimination by Jewish employers.[28]

Poverty Rate

The poverty rate[29] (the percentage of the population below the poverty line) of the Arab population is significantly higher than the poverty rate of the total Jewish population. According to National Insurance Institute figures, both the poverty rate of the total Arab population and the poverty rate of Arab children have shown an increasing trend in recent years. In contrast, the poverty rates of the total Jewish population and of Jewish children show a slight decline (table 17).

Table 17. Poverty rates of total populations and children, by population group (selected years)[30]

Population group	Year	2004 (%)	2008 (%)	2012 (%)
Arabs	Children	59.2	62.1	67.9
	Total population	51.6	53.1	57.9
Jews	Children	23.9	23.6	22.9
	Total population	17.1	16.4	15.5

According to 2012 statistics, Arab families below the poverty line account for 36.6 percent of all families living in poverty in Israel, almost three times the share of Arab families in Israel's population (13.0 percent). Similar poverty rates are measured in the Arab population and in the Haredi population. Similar to Arab families, Haredi families below the poverty line account

for 11.8 percent of all families below the poverty line in Israel, almost three times their rate in the population (Haredi families account for 4.3 percent of the country's total families).[31]

Nonetheless, poverty in the Arab population is much more extensive than in any other population segment, as anti-poverty policy measures have a much more limited impact in the Arab population compared to their impact in the Jewish population. According to 2012 figures, the decline in poverty rates as a result of transfer payments (welfare benefits, pension payments, and so on) was a mere 5.8 percent among Arab families, compared to a decline of 36.5 percent among Jewish families. Transfer payments to the Haredi population led to a decline of 18.2 percent in the poverty rate, which also exceeds the decline in the Arab sector.[32] According to a study conducted by the National Insurance Institute, these differences are explained by the differences in the composition of the Arab and Jewish populations. The Jewish population, which has a greater share of individuals age 65 and over compared to the Arab population, are the main beneficiaries of old age and survivor benefits, which account for the largest share of the total benefits awarded by the National Insurance Institute. In contrast, the Arab population is younger and household size is larger, and therefore households are more strongly affected by government policies such as the cut in National Insurance child benefits.[33]

Especially high poverty rates are recorded in the Bedouin towns and villages of the Negev. Studies in recent years focusing on the Negev Bedouin consistently point to 70-75 percent poverty rates, with poverty rates among Negev Bedouin children reaching 80 percent or more.[34] In other words, three of every four members of the Negev Bedouin population live below the poverty line. As the proportion of children in this population is especially high, four of every five Bedouin children live in poverty.

Chapter 4

Government Policy

Research Approaches to Government Policy

The study of government policy toward Israel's Arab population is a controversial field, open to interpretations that are grounded in the political worldviews of analysts and pundits. This situation stems from the unique circumstances surrounding the development of Israel's majority-minority relations after the 1948 war, which strongly influenced the self-perceptions of these groups (the Jewish majority and the Arab minority), and had a formative impact on government policy toward the Arab population that remained within state borders. A comparative review of the changes in Israeli government policy toward the Arab minority since statehood is beyond the scope of this review, and focus here is on the past two decades. At the same time, the contemporary public and academic discourse on government policy is largely influenced by the polemics that have developed on this topic since 1948. Below are the main points of the debate between the supporters and detractors of government policy on Israel's Arab population, a debate that continues to the present day.[1]

Government policy supporters consider the issue from a standpoint of modernization theory, which is anchored in the assumption that human society experiences historical evolutionary progress and development toward a better future. The supporters, typically belonging to or identified with Israel's political or security establishment, tend to emphasize the modernization that Arab towns have experienced under Israeli rule and the government contribution to the development of Arab society, certainly compared to the initial condition in 1948. The common assumption of government policy supporters is that government policy toward the Arab minority has been reasonable and appropriate, when taking into consideration the political and security-related background to the majority-minority relations in Israel, and

in view of the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries (and especially between Israel and the Palestinians). In their opinion, this conclusion remains true even in comparison to the conditions of national minorities in other countries where political and national majority-minority tensions ensue. The supporters do, however, recognize that government policy toward the Arab population is not faultless, and they urge that these faults be corrected.

The detractors are harsh judges of government policy. To explain the rationale underlying the government's policy toward the Arab minority, they base their arguments on the model of supervision and control developed by Ian Lustik,[2] and play down the potential influence of external political circumstances on government policy. In recent years, and especially after the events of October 2000, scathing criticism has increased and assumed anti-Zionist, post-Zionist overtones in the efforts to trace government policy toward Israel's Arab population – then and now – to what are seen as the immoral beginnings of the State of Israel. Detractors stress that the Arabs in Israel are a homeland minority, and thus are entitled to a unique status, in contrast to minority communities that develop as a result of migration. The detractors equate the Arab minority in Israel with indigenous groups in other places in the world that are also struggling to achieve equal rights after longstanding discrimination by state agencies. According to these critics, government policy, which serves Israel's foundational rationale as the Jewish nation state, is no longer justified today – even if such policy had some justification in the first decades of statehood – as it causes injustice to the Arab minority. Such a policy, they argue, is inconsistent with the democratic principles that the state is obliged to uphold under the Declaration of Independence.

How can government policy toward the Arab minority be characterized? Smooha identified four main models to be used to analyze policymaking in states with ethnic, religious, or national divisions between the majority and the minority.[3]

a. *State-building or consensus-building*: According to this model, policymaking is designed to develop a common identity based on a single language, culture, and nationality. This model may be implemented through assimilation and a melting pot strategy. France and the United States are distinct examples of this model.
b. *Consociational democracy*: According to this model, sectarian divisions are maintained and distinct cultures and identities are recognized, based on

a division of power between social groups and a politics of compromise. Switzerland and Belgium are examples of this model.

c. *Unequal pluralism*: This model is typically identified with the principle of power. Ethnic divisions remain, but instead of compromise and co-existence, the majority rules state institutions, imposes its culture, allocates resources, and tends to disregard minority needs.
d. *Marginalization*: This is an extreme model, designed to exclude the minority from majority settings.

The fundamental contradiction between the principles of a majoritarian nation state (a state that serves the interests of the majority, which also determines the national identity of the state) and the principles of liberal democracy was already noted in the Or Commission Report.[4] In fact, the detractors of government policy agree that government policy toward the Arab citizens typically moves within the range extending from the unequal pluralistic model (c) to the marginalization model (d). They argue that the democracy practiced in Israel makes it impossible to create fundamental equality for its Arab citizens, as it gives the majority the power to impose its will on the minority in the name of the democratic principle of majority rule (in a process that transforms this principle into a "tyranny of the majority"). In contrast, the supporters believe that even if government efforts to reduce the socio-economic differences between majority and minority are inadequate, government policy does in fact respect diversity and seeks to gradually integrate the Arab population into Israeli society. The supporters' position is based on their conviction that all Israeli governments have been committed to an ethos of liberalism and equality and the democratic principles on which Israel was founded.[5]

Government Policy toward the Arab Population 1992-2015: A Comparative Overview

In the 1990s, a substantial change occurred in the governmental approach to the country's Arab population, and attention to its hardships appeared to be on the rise. One aspect of this change was that the official basic policy guidelines of most of the governments in this period included, in great detail, the urgent concerns of the country's Arab and Druze citizens (table 18). These governments also acknowledged the existence of persistent inequality and the need to reduce the gaps between the population groups. Another aspect of this change was tangible allocations of government

ministry budgets. The Rabin-Peres government (1992-1996) was marked by a period of affirmative action toward the Arab population. Another indication of the growing significance of the "Arab issue" in government policymaking is that Arab population affairs were handled by increasingly senior level government officials, whereas formerly most of the advisors for Arab affairs in the Prime Minister's Office and other government ministries were junior officials. In the past two decades, however, matters relating to the Arab population have been handled at the ministerial level (ministerial committees), and the development of the Arab population is defined as an issue that the Prime Minister's Office seeks to promote.

Table 18. Comparison of Israeli government policies on the Arab population 1992-2015[6]

Government	Main points of government policy on the Arab and Druze citizens
Rabin-Peres government (1992-1996)	Significant change compared to policies of previous government administrations. This change was reflected in a very broad and detailed platform, which referred to "Arabs and Druze," in contrast to "the minorities," a term used by previous governments. The government acknowledged the discrepancies between Jewish and Arab towns in a variety of areas, including education, welfare, industry, agriculture, housing, youth, and healthcare services, and declared that it would take steps to close these gaps. The government expressly acknowledged the need to resolve a series of urgent problems, including: the unrecognized Arab settlements, inequality in budget allocations to Arab and Druze local governments, the Negev Bedouin, and the housing problem in Arab and Druze towns. Therefore, the government committed to expedite plans to enlarge existing Arab and Druze towns. In the matter of Muslim endowment funds (*waqf*), the government did not content itself with the general, vague statements made by previous governments, and instead committed to take effective action by establishing a special committee on the Muslim endowment to regulate its administration by members of the Muslim sect.

Government	Main points of government policy on the Arab and Druze citizens
Netanyahu government (1996-1999)	Semantically, the government regressed and reverted to use of the by-then obsolete term "minorities." This government's policy was also characterized by a patronizing attitude, reflected in statements such as "it would make special efforts to promote the members of the minorities who tied their destiny with the Jewish people and the State of Israel and served in the state's security forces." The government declared its intention to take action to increase budgets of local Arab governments in need of improving their basic infrastructures, in order to close the gaps between them and other towns. In contrast to the policy of the Rabin-Peres government, this government policy made no reference to the urgent problems on the agenda of the Arab population.
Barak government (1999-2001)	In general, this government acknowledged the need to take action "to correct past distortions in the allocation of resources and public services" in order to reduce the unequal treatment given to Arabs and Druze in Israel. Similar to the Rabin-Peres government, the Barak government explicitly acknowledged the existence of "disturbing issues such as the recognition of unrecognized Arab villages; expropriation of lands for public needs; the Negev Bedouin issue; the need to expedite approval of framework plans; the need to determine boundaries of disputed zones; solutions to housing problems for young couples and needy individuals; and reinstatement of the displaced residents of Ikrit and Biram."
Sharon governments (2001-2006)	The platforms of the two Sharon governments were similar to that of the Barak government, but in contrast to the Barak government and the first Sharon government, the second Sharon government (2003-2006) did not explicitly define the urgent problems on the agenda of the Arabs in Israel, and merely declared that it "would study the problems that concern Israeli-Arabs and take steps to resolve the issues."
Olmert government (2006-2009)	This government returned markedly to its intention to institute equality toward the Arabs, integrate them in civil society, and "immediately implement a policy of equality in access to education, infrastructure, and healthcare and welfare services."
Netanyahu governments (2009-2015)	The governments' policy emphasized their intention to preserve Jewish heritage and the Jewish character of the state. Members of the Arab public were considered "members of other religions"; the government would "respect the religions and traditions of all the other religions in Israel according to the values of the Declaration of Independence."

A semantic regression is evident in the policies of recent governments, which treat the Arab population as an assemblage of sects and religions, "members of other religions," or have even reverted to use of the obsolete term "minorities." This position contrasts sharply with the self-perception of Israel's Arabs, who consider themselves a full-fledged national minority, and also contrasts with the policy on the Arab population of several of the governments of the 1990s.

Nonetheless, recent governments have clearly adopted a pragmatic approach, which is reflected in their efforts to redress the hardships of the Arab population in effective, practical terms (table 19). The most notable manifestation of this trend is the multi-annual development programs for Arab towns. In the past decade, a series of programs have been developed that focus on the advancement of the Arab towns, including the Bedouin towns of the Galilee and the Negev, and Druze and Circassian villages, and a five-year plan for 12 of the country's major Arab towns whose population accounted for one third of the total Arab population in Israel. The programs defined a development budget and targets for Arab towns in the following areas: infrastructure and sewage, road infrastructure, public buildings, employment development, reduced gaps in education, and solutions to the budgetary problems in the Arab local governments. The official aim of these plans is to bring the level of development in the Arab towns to the national level of development.

The pragmatic approach of successive governments also found its expression in the establishment in February 2007 of the Authority for Economic Development in the Arab, Druze, and Circassian Sector under the Prime Minister's Office, designed to promote integration of the Arab population in the country's economy. Pragmatism likewise underlies efforts to resolve one of the most emotionally charged issues dividing state authorities and the Arab population: regulation of the status of the Bedouin settlements in the Negev.[7] The government officially acknowledged the discrimination experienced by the Arab population for many years, and expressed its desire (for example, at the Prime Minister's Convention in Haifa in July 2008) to rectify the situation.

Official statistics, however, show that actual budget distribution in recent years has been typically below original budget allocations, and development plan implementation typically lags behind original schedules. For example, a 2005 report of Sikkuy, the Association for the Advancement of Civic

Table 19. Major government resolutions on development of Arab towns, 2000-2012[8]

Government resolution (date)	Title	Implementation period	Earmarked budget (NIS millions)
2467 (October 20, 2000)	Multi-annual program to develop the Arab settlement ("the 4-billion plan")	2001-2004	3,947
1881 (September 25, 2003)	Development plan for existing Bedouin settlements in the Negev	2003-2008	1,085
1403 (January 27, 2004)	Development plan for the Bedouin settlements in the North	2004-2005	172
3956 (July 22, 2005)	Development plan for the new Bedouin settlements in the Negev (Abu Basma settlements)	2005-2008	388
1539 (March 21, 2010)	Five-year economic development plan for the settlements of the minorities sector	2010-2014	800
2861 (February 13, 2011)	Multi-annual plan to develop and empower the Druze and Circassian settlements	2011-2014	665
3211 (May 15, 2011)	Multi-annual plan to develop and empower the Bedouin settlements of the North	2011-2015	338
3708 (September 11, 2011)	Program to promote economic growth and development of the Bedouin population in the Negev	2012-2016	1,263
4193 (January 29, 2012)	Increasing participation in the labor force and employment rates in the Arab population	2012-2016	730
4432 (March 18, 2012)	Development plan for the minorities sector (continuation and extension of the March 2010 five-year plan)	2012-2016	250

Equality, reviewing execution of the "4-billion Plan" – the five-year plan for 2000-2004, considered one of the most comprehensive development plans drafted by the government for the Arab towns – found that only 70 percent of the original budget was implemented.[9] Another example concerns the 2010-2014 five-year plan approved by the government in March 2010, whose implementation was assigned to the Authority for Economic Development in the Arab, Druze, and Circassian Sector. According to the State Comptroller's Report, by late 2012, after the halfway mark for plan execution, only 16.5 percent (one sixth) of the original budget for housing, one of the major items in this plan, was effectively executed.[10]

It is undeniable that governmental development plans for the Arab population are underbudgeted and inadequate to address this population's needs. According to a report drafted by Mossawa, the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, which studied the 2012 government budget, only NIS 1 billion (6 percent) of the NIS 17 billion of the government's development budget that was earmarked for development plans for the Arab population had been approved by the government in 2010-2012 (table 19). According to calculations presented in the report, an additional NIS 6 billion was needed in 2013 (1.6 percent of the state budget approved that year of NIS 366 billion) for the development budget items pertaining to the Arab population.[11]

As a result, the cumulative impression of these foundering efforts have fueled Arab public leaders' concerns that government administrations never intended to implement affirmative action, and only sought to appease the Arab public's soaring rage in view of the significant socio-economic gaps between Jews and Arabs in Israel (as discussed in chapter 1).[12]

Obstacles in Implementing Government Policy

What are the barriers that impede execution of government resolutions and policies to promote equality for the Arab population in Israel? Four main obstacles can be identified:

a. *The Jewish character of the state*: Most professionals in the field concur that the Jewish-Zionist nature of the state poses an obstacle to full equality for the state's Arab citizens. Critics argue that inequality between Jews and Arabs in Israel can no longer be attributed to the different starting points of modernization and development in Arab and Jewish towns, or to external political circumstances. Instead, the Jewish-Zionist nature of the state, which is reflected in prioritization of the interests of the Jewish

majority over all other considerations, is the source of the inferior status of the Arabs in Israel.[13]

b. *Security constraints*: It seems that the longstanding treatment of Arab interests in Israel as a security issue has left an enduring imprint. Because of the enormous proportions that security considerations have traditionally assumed in government policies, with roots back to the military administration (1948-1966), Arab consciousness is pervaded by a deep mistrust of the government's intention to achieve equality. The sector's misgivings were reinforced by the repercussions of the events of October 2000, when the government assigned the task of developing policy proposals regarding the Arab population to the National Security Council. This measure prompted sharp criticism among the Arab public, as it was considered confirmation that state authorities considered the Arab citizens to be a security threat.[14]

c. *Bureaucratic constraints*: It is sometimes the case that ministerial-level resolutions to allocate resources for the Arab population filter down incompletely to the junior official or executive level, only to dissipate. The Or Commission addressed this phenomenon in its report: "Even [though] there was willingness on the authorities' part to initiate action to reduce discrimination, and planning authorities were activated to prepare multi-annual development plans for the Arab sector…the practical execution of these plans and recommendations was no more than negligible in many cases. Numerous good intentions were eroded in the rigid bureaucratic processes."[15] Rekhess and Navot have explained that bureaucratic officials may become an obstacle if they have no interest, knowledge, ability, or willingness to implement the government's anti-discrimination policy, even if the government decides on it.[16]

d. *Fragmentation of the political system*: The decline in the power of the major political parties following the implementation of the Direct Elections for Prime Minister Law led, after 1996, to increased political fragmentation. The political system became more strongly divided along sectarian lines, and political parties focused more intensely on specific topics or representation of specific interest groups. Most of the energy and resources of political parties were directed to coalition commitments. As a result, the Arab issue was relegated to the sidelines.[17]

Notably, state agencies are not the only source of obstacles that impede execution of government plans. The precarious financial situation of the local Arab governments also affects their ability to maintain and operate infrastructure projects that are under construction, and also constrains their access to government budgets based on matching funds. One of the reasons for the financial instability of the local Arab governments is mismanagement of local affairs, which largely stems from a poor organizational culture and local power struggles that divide the population on clan or sectarian lines.[18] At the same time, Arab residents' willingness to cooperate with the development efforts in their towns is dampened by their misgivings of the true intentions of state authorities.[19]

Laws and Legislative Initiatives Involving the Arab Population

Arab citizens' mistrust of the government's intentions is not without grounds. In recent years, various legislative initiatives have been perceived by the Arab public and its leaders as attempts to entrench the Jewish character of Israel through legislation, at the expense of the state's democratic character. One example is the amendment to the Citizenship Law, approved by the government in October 2010, which determined that non-Jews (and only non-Jews) who apply for Israeli citizenship must make a pledge of allegiance to the State of Israel defined as a Jewish, democratic state.[20] Another example is the approval of the "Nakba Law," which prohibits public organizations or organizations that receive government funding to organize or finance activities that depict Israel's Independence Day or the establishment of the State of Israel as a day of mourning. Other bills in areas such as employment, housing, official state languages, and the nature of the state – some of which have been adopted by the government – are also interpreted as efforts to entrench the state's Jewish character in a manner that is prejudicial to the rights of Arab citizens. Notable examples of such legislative initiatives include a bill concerning prioritization of IDF veterans in access to civil service jobs; a bill that permits small communities to reject admission to applicants that are incompatible with the town's "social fabric" ("the Admission Committees Law"), which was approved in March 2011; bills seeking to define Hebrew as Israel's sole official language and Arabic as a secondary official language only (similar in status to Russian and English); and bills seeking to explicitly define Israel as a Jewish state or "the nation state of the Jewish people" in a Basic Law.[21]

Such initiatives were received with rancor by the Arab public and its leaders and laid ground for Arab citizens' growing distrust of the government (according to public opinion polls, mistrust toward the government is higher in the Arab population than in the Jewish population – 70 and 50 percent, respectively). Smooha attributed the high level of Arab citizens' distrust of the government to their perception that the right wing government represents the state's Jewish citizens more than it does the Arab citizens.[22] Ahmad Tibi famously recalled that the State of Israel is "Jewish and democratic" in terms of being "democratic for the Jews, and Jewish for the Arabs."[23] Tibi repeated this aphorism on several occasions in recent years at forums that he believed represented the full force of deep-seated discrimination against the Arab citizens in legislative procedures, including the Knesset Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee in December 2009, during a hearing on the Admissions Committee Law,[24] and when he responded to the government's approval of the amendment to the Citizenship Law in October 2010.[25] Tibi's aim was to highlight the contrast between Israel's definition as a democratic state and its character as a Jewish state, and to stress that the state prefers its Jewish character at the expense of democratic considerations whenever it is forced to choose between the two.[26]

Chapter 5

Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel

Academic scholars and public figures engaged in the relations between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens concur that the Jewish-Arab divide is deep and has a significant impact on developments in Israeli society in general. In addition, it is clear that the issue of Jewish-Arab relations has become more pronounced and serious in the past decade, largely in the wake of the events of October 2000. In several respects, the case of the Arabs in Israel is similar to that of minorities in other bi-ethnic societies that have cultural and political ties with neighboring countries, such as the Tamils in Sri Lanka, the Catholics in Northern Ireland, and the Turks in Cyprus.[1] Deep cleavages of the type that exists in Israel have led several countries to civil war or government collapse.

In the case of Israel, several underlying factors exacerbate majority-minority relations: (a) The tension between the Arab minority's self-perception as an "indigenous minority" that views the Jewish majority as largely a "migrant majority," and the self-perception of the Jewish majority, which similarly considers itself an indigenous population that returned to the land of its forefathers after 2000 years in exile;[2] (b) The sharp upheaval experienced by the Arabs once they became a minority after the 1948 war. This reversal in status seared an indelible trauma in the Arab minority's collective memory, succinctly represented in the slogan "Your day of independence – our day of catastrophe";[3] (c) The impasse in the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. The Arab minority supports the drive to establish an independent Palestinian state, and largely believes that Israeli policy is the main obstacle in realizing this goal. The Jewish majority considers the Arab minority's undeniable identification with the Palestinians on final settlement issues a threat to the state's strategic interests; (d) The nature of the state, which is a function of its definition as a Jewish state, grants collective rights only to the Jewish national group and not to the Arab national group. Moreover,

the Arab public believes that government policy does not fully implement the principle of civic equality between Jews and Arabs.

Approaches to the Study of Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel

The Politicization Thesis

Two main analytical approaches dominate the literature on the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel: "politicization" versus "radicalization."[4] According to the politicization thesis, which was developed by Sammy Smooha,[5] the Arabs and Jews in Israel are simultaneously influenced by positive and negative forces that balance each other to prevent confrontations between the two parties. The politicization thesis does not ignore the impact of the negative forces that alienate the two parties, but contends that the positive forces that affect both parties mitigate the negative effects, and as a result, confrontations between the country's majority and minority groups do not inevitably lead to conflict, crisis, or violence, as anticipated by the radicalization thesis (see below). Smooha contends that the Jews and Arabs have surpassed a threshold of adjustment and are mutually resigned to each other's existence. The Jewish majority has become resigned to a sizable Arab minority, while the Arabs have resigned themselves to their being a minority in the State of Israel. The historical trends in Jewish-Arab relations, including the deterioration triggered by the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the subsequent rise to power of the right wing Likud party in 1996, reinforced by the events of October 2000, never undermined the "Jewish and democratic state" setting in which these relations take place to the point of provoking a civil war. Smooha listed several factors that contribute to the stability of the current situation: a sustained demographic balance between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority; the Jewish majority's determination to maintain the character of the state as a Jewish, democratic state; the numerous benefits that accrue to Arab citizens as a result of their life in a modern, democratic state, and the absence of a superior political alternative (whether in the form of annexation to the Palestinian Authority or physical translation to PA territories); and especially, what Smooha described as the "balance of threat" between the state and the Arab population. Both parties are well aware of the heavy toll that they might be forced to pay in a state of conflict, and therefore do their best to maintain the peace.[6]

Smooha argues that politicization is fueled by two fundamental developments in Arab society. The first process, which has become known as "Israelization," increasingly ties the Arabs to the state and the Jews in numerous areas of life by emphasizing the civic dimension of their identity.[7] The second process, democratization of Israeli society and government, reinforces Arab citizens' political consciousness and facilitates their organization as an interest group, expressions of protest, and vigorous campaigns for equality and improved status without encountering violent oppression on the part of the establishment or the Jewish majority.[8] The Arabs accept Israel's existence, not only because they have no choice, but also because they have gradually adjusted to life in Israel and its benefits, including high standards of economic development, good welfare services, and democracy.[9]

According to the politicization thesis, the Jewish public is likewise influenced by trends that do not necessarily have an adverse impact on its relations with the Arabs. Based on public opinion surveys, Smooha argued that Jewish citizens are more aware than ever of the discrimination that afflicts the Arabs, and express greater willingness to grant Arabs civic equality. The Jewish majority has come to distinguish between the Palestinians on the two sides of the Green Line, and consequently has resigned itself to the existence of an Arab minority inside Israel as an integral part of Israeli society. State agencies are also more aware than ever of the need to implement a policy of equality toward Arab citizens.[10]

One finding that supports the politicization thesis is the fact that nationalist violence involving Jewish and Arab citizens has declined since 1948 and is currently very low.[11] Considering the circumstances surrounding the persistent violent conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, which still awaits final resolution, a violent relationship between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in Israel might have been expected, but this is not the case. The Arabs in Israel never turned to a full-blown civil rebellion. According to the politicization thesis, the sporadic outbursts of violence on Land Day (March 30, 1976) and the events of October 2000 were relatively minor incidents compared to other global incidents in which national conflicts between majority and minority groups erupted into violence (such as the case of the Basques in Spain and the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka).[12]

The Radicalization Thesis

According to the radicalization thesis, Arab and Jewish citizens are involved in an historic process of mutual alienation, estrangement, and potential confrontation. Therefore, a violent dispute between the parties is sure to occur, and the only question is when.[13] The radicalization thesis contends that since 1967, the collective identity of Arab citizens has been transformed by Palestinization and Islamization. These processes, which began to ripen in the late 1980s during the first intifada and more intensely so after the Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO in the early 1990s, led to the emergence of a new generation, the "Stand Tall" generation. In contrast to earlier generations that submissively accepted the dictates of the Israeli government without challenge, this new generation is more sophisticated and aware of its public power and civic rights.[14] The Stand Tall generation demands that the state be more "democratic" and less "Jewish," and at the same time, calls to end the occupation of the territories and sign a peace treaty based on the conditions posed by the Palestinian Authority. These developments have alienated the Arab minority from Jewish society. The positions of the vast majority (81 percent) of the country's Arabs, who are Muslims, are represented by the two factions of the Islamic Movement. Both factions reject Jewish hegemony over land that is sacred to Islam as a matter of principle, even if they practically and tactically accept the Arabs' minority status in a Jewish nation state. Furthermore, certain circles that identify with the national stream in Arab society are no longer willing to accept the Arab minority's status in the Jewish state, as they consider themselves part of the regional Arab majority. At the social level, the Arab citizens are frustrated by the process of modernization that raised their expectations yet denied them the opportunities and possibilities to realize these expectations. At the Palestinian level, they are enraged by the Israeli occupation and the oppression, humiliation, and killing of their brethren in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. According to Rabah Halabi, the combined outcome of these developments is that the two nation groups in Israel are on an inevitable collision course, especially in view of the contention that the Arab minority will no longer agree to its status as a disenfranchised minority as in the past.[15]

The first decade of the new century was eclipsed by two significant milestones that support the radicalization thesis: the events of October 2000, which erupted concurrently with the second intifada, and publication

of the Future Vision documents in late 2006 and early 2007. While many members of the Jewish public viewed the October 2000 events as a genuine threat to state security, the Future Vision documents were considered an ideological effort to undermine the state's fundamental justification as a Jewish nation state. Growing extremism has also affected Israel's Jews, who have gradually drifted to the political right (and the extreme right) in the past two decades. Dan Schueftan concluded that the mainstream of the Jewish public has gradually realized that Israel's Arabs constitute a threat, if not the enemy. According to Scheuftan, increasing sections of the Jewish population have become disenchanted with a "conciliatory solution" to the national aspirations of the Arab citizens, and instead, demand that the state adopt more aggressive solutions.[16] Yitzhak Reiter states that the Jewish majority believes that it is paying a high price for peace and demands compensation in the form of increased emphasis of the Jewish character of the state and its Zionist symbols.[17] According to Smooha, the government has also failed to properly do whatever is expected of it to mitigate the conflict between the majority and minority, and as a Jewish nation state, it favors the Jewish majority instead of maintaining a neutral stance. The state maintains a policy of neglect and discrimination, and has created no organized educational activities to promote tolerance or co-existence between both groups.[18] By doing so, the state's actions support the radicalization thesis.

The Crisis Thesis

Along with the two main approaches described above, other theses have been developed to analyze majority-minority relations in Israel. Most notable of these are the thesis of "double periphery"– a term coined by Majid al-Haj in the late 1980s,[19] and the crisis thesis developed by As'ad Ghanem in the 1990s.[20] Both theses share a common assumption that the Arab minority's atypical development was the reason it failed to adjust and adapt to Israeli society, notwithstanding the national differences between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority (as the politicization thesis claims), or failed to develop a comprehensive Palestinian national identity distinct from the remainder of the Palestinian people, in a manner that would allow it to respond optimally to the Jewish majority and the Jewish character of the state (as the radicalization thesis contends). In contrast, the double periphery and crisis evolution theses both argue that the Arabs' civic and

national identity is incomplete because they developed "partial" identities that cannot be reconciled into a single, integral identity.

Ghanem, who expanded the above debate by developing the crisis thesis, argues that Israel's Arabs experience a crisis on three levels: (a) internally – disagreement in Arab society over the national agenda of the Arab minority, as a national minority within a Jewish nation state. In other words, no consensus has developed on the desired mode of organization for the Arab minority as a national minority, in order to realize its aspirations for collective rights; (b) in its relationship with the Jewish majority and the state, i.e., the Arabs have resigned themselves to their marginal status in Israeli society and the discrimination they face as citizens. Their resignation is a function of the Zionist character of the state, which gives national preference to the Jewish majority and prevents genuine equality among its citizens; (c) at the general Palestinian level – the Arab minority remains at the margins of the national Palestinian movement, and is frequently left out of issues that engage the Palestinian leadership. Evidence of their marginalization is the fact that the PLO did not raise the interests of the Arab minority in Israel as an issue in the Oslo process.

Consequently, the Arab minority remains at the margins of Israeli society and at the margins of the Palestinian national movement, and therefore, Ghanem claims, progress in the Israeli-Palestinian peace progress will not benefit the Arab minority since it will lead to the realization of the national aspirations of the Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, but not to the realization of the Arab minority's own national aspirations. Such progress will similarly do nothing to strengthen the civic status of the Arab minority, since the status quo inside Israel will be unaffected. Ultimately, to resolve its crisis, the Arab minority should develop a "future vision" for its status as a distinct nation group in the Jewish nation state, although the chances for a genuine change in the character of the state or the granting of autonomy to the Arab minority in specific areas do not appear promising. Therefore, Ghanem concludes, the only solution that will allow the Arab minority to resolve its crisis is a bi-national arrangement between Israel and the Palestinians that applies to the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine (see above, the debate over the bi-national option).

Recent Trends in Jewish-Arab Relations

Public opinion polls, and especially longitudinal surveys, are a conventional method for measuring public sentiments. Surveys that have a relatively large sample and are based on face-to-face interviews are considered relatively scientific and reliable, even though this method, like all surveys, is not entirely free of bias. Below are the main trends that have emerged in Jewish-Arab relations in Israel in the past decade, based on the Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel, a survey that has been conducted regularly without interruption since 2003, by Prof. Sammy Smooha of the University of Haifa.[21]

Positive Trends

One of the consistent findings of these surveys is that Jews and Arab both accept the principle of co-existence. According to Smooha's definition, Arab-Jewish co-existence implies that Arabs and Jews accept the State of Israel within the Green Line borders as their country, accept democracy as the system to regulate and modify their relations, and accept the principles of equal rights to all and allegiance to the state. According to this definition of co-existence, the Arabs accept Israel's legitimacy as a political entity, but are not committed to accept its Jewish-Zionist character, while the Jews accept a Palestinian state to be established alongside Israel in principle, yet within the Green Line borders are not committed to recognize the national status of the Arabs or implement a bi-national model. Smooha argues that both the Arabs and the Jews accept the basic framework of co-existence between the parties, and that this acceptance moderates the deep ideological divide that separates the parties. Survey findings from recent years indicate that two thirds of the Arab public agree that "Israel as a state has a right to exist," and a similar proportion of the Jews agree that a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should follow the "two states for two peoples" format. Furthermore, two thirds of the Jewish and Arab publics agree that "it is good for the Arab and Jewish citizens to live together in Israel." Another finding that supports the co-existence conjecture is that 70 percent of the Arabs and 80 percent of the Jews concur that both parties should use only legal and democratic means to conduct their relationship.

According to survey results from recent years, a solid majority of the Jewish public 72-79 percent) agree that Arab citizens have a right to live in Israel as a minority that enjoys full civic (but not national) rights. Most

of the Jewish public (60-76 percent) also agree that the state should allow the Arab citizens to independently administer their religious, educational, and cultural institutions. Other indicators that support co-existence are: The majority of both groups (90 percent of the Jews and 80 percent of the Arabs) agree with the idea that Jews and Arab should also maintain social ties based on a voluntary basis (in contrast to mandatory work ties). More than 80 percent of both Arabs and Jews believe that there is no reason to avoid contact with members of the other group. For the Arabs, as a minority forced to come into contact with the majority on a daily basis, such ties are a daily necessity, but for the Jewish public, most of whom do not typically come into contact with Arab citizens on an everyday basis, these findings underscore the Jewish public's high level of awareness of the need for unmediated ties between the two groups.

Negative Aspects of Jewish-Arab Relations

The reciprocal attitudes of Jews and Arabs are largely fueled by their mutual threat perceptions. Such perceptions can be traced to October 2000, which left somewhat of a traumatic stamp on each group's collective consciousness. Other significant events in recent years, both in and outside Israel that had a similarly negative impact on Jewish-Arab relations, include the Second Lebanon War (summer 2006), publication of the Future Vision documents (2006-2007), mutual acts of violence in Acre (October 2008), IDF campaigns in the Gaza Strip in December 2008-January 2009 (Operation Cast Lead), November 2012 (Operation Pillar of Defense), and July-August 2014 (Operation Protective Edge), and the Gaza flotilla incident in May 2010. These events, and especially the parties' contrasting interpretations of the circumstances leading up to the events and their outcomes, exacerbated mutual apprehension, leading each side to enumerate the threats posed by the other side.

For the Jewish sector, the Arabs represent the following threats: (a) a demographic threat. According to some sections in the Jewish population, the high natural growth rate of the Arabs in Israel threatens Israel's ability to maintain a Jewish majority over time (although, as shown above, demographic trends do not support these fears); (b) the attempt to "open the 1948 files"; that is, demand the right of return and relocation of "internal refugees" and other Palestinian refugees to their original towns that were destroyed in the 1948 war and on whose sites new Jewish towns were established. These

efforts are seen by the Jewish public as an attempt to reverse the wheels of history, and as proof that the Arab public never reconciled itself to the existence of the State of Israel; (c) abolition of the Jewish and Zionist character of the state, opposition to recognition of Israel as a Jewish state, and definition of Israel as the "product of colonialist action" (as noted in the Future Vision documents); (d) Arabs' identification with state enemies in the PA (and especially with the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip); and (e) the perception of Arabs as ingrates who fail to appreciate their Israeli citizenship or the standard of living in a democratic welfare state, compared to the conditions of their brethren in the PA and other Arab countries.

These feelings are expressed in the survey findings. While the Jewish public continues to be concerned that the Arabs are a threat to Israel because of their high birth rate, such concerns have diminished steadily over the years, from 70 percent in 2003 to 51.5 percent in 2012. The fear that the Arabs aspire to change Israel's Jewish character is stronger, and in recent years has remained stable, with 70 percent of the respondents in agreement with this statement. A solid majority of the Jewish population (an average of 75 percent in recent years) agree with the statement that "Arab citizens who define themselves as 'Arab-Palestinians in Israel' cannot be loyal to the State of Israel or to its laws." It is therefore understandable that in recent years, two thirds of the Jewish public consistently believe that the Arab citizens pose a threat to the state because they might initiate a popular uprising. Similarly, more than 80 percent of the Jewish population believe that the Arab citizens are a threat to Israel because of their support for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

Other indicators of Jewish alienation from the Arabs include the finding that two thirds of the Jewish population continue to feel alienated from the Arab minority. A similar proportion state that they avoid entering Arab towns. One half of the Jewish population is not willing to befriend Arabs. Approximately 70 percent of the Jewish population agree with the statement that it is preferable to preserve the state's Jewish character than to respect its democratic character whenever a decision between the two is necessary.

The main concern of Arabs is a fear of delegitimization of the Arab public, which might lead to a reduction in Arab civil rights. These concerns have several sources. One is the series of legislative initiatives adopted by the 18th Knesset, including the amendment to the Budget Law (the "Nakba Law"), the Admissions Committee Law, and the amendment to the Citizenship

Law, which makes Israeli citizenship to non-Jews conditional on a pledge of allegiance to Israel as a Jewish, democratic state. Another source of these fears is the demand raised by Israel in the negotiations with the Palestinians to recognize Israel as a Jewish state – Arab leaders view this demand as the state's attempt to entrench in legislation the discrimination against Arabs, as citizens and as a national collective. One major concern involves possible transfer or territorial exchange as part of a final settlement between Israel and the PA, or initiatives to encourage emigration of Arab citizens. Such ideas are interpreted by the Arab public as efforts to realize the concept of a "pure" Jewish state. The Arab citizens have witnessed how the idea of population transfers, which was once outside the boundaries of legitimate public Jewish discourse, regained popularity in recent years, and supporters of this idea no longer feel any need to be apologetic about their position.[22] The Arab public fears that legitimization of talk will lead to legitimization of action.

The Arab public also fears several other threats, including: the rising power of the right wing camp in the Knesset and the public legitimacy of conducting witch hunts and silencing the voices of Arab MKs such as MK Hanin Zouabi of the NDA (who was castigated for her participation in the Gaza flotilla in May 2010), or the threat of illegalization hanging over the Northern Faction of the Islamic Movement; a negative image of Arabs in the Hebrew-language press; verbal and physical abuse by Jewish citizens against Arab citizens in the form of racial slurs,[23] and disregard of the land and housing hardships of the Arab sector, which is occasionally viewed as willful apathy.

These feelings are reflected in the survey findings of recent years. Approximately 60 percent of the Arab public fears annexation of the Triangle area to the future Palestinian state despite the opposition of Triangle residents; a similar proportion fears a mass transfer of Arab citizens. A higher proportion, close to 80 percent of the Arab public, fears mass expropriation of Arab-owned lands. Other indicators reveal Arab responses to the public delegitimization of their status as state citizens. A growing proportion of the Arab public is not willing to grant legitimacy to the State of Israel in its current format. For example, the proportion of the Arab public that agreed with the statement "The Jews are a nation that is entitled to a state" declined from 75.5 percent in 2003 to 58.5 percent in 2012, while the proportion of the Arab public that agreed with the statement "Israel within the Green Line borders has

a right to exist as a state in which Jews and Arabs live together" declined considerably from 81.1 percent in 2003 to 58.0 percent in 2012. An even smaller proportion of the Arab public agreed with the statement "Israel within the Green Line borders has a right to exist as Jewish, democratic state in which Jews and Arabs live together," with support declining from 65.5 percent in 2003 to a mere 47.4 percent in 2012.

The Arab public's frustration and despair of their ability to create a change in its status through accepted methods has soared. Support for illegal demonstrations increased significantly from 9.9 percent in 2003 to 26.2 percent in 2009, as did support for the use of any and all means, including violence, to promote the interests of the Arab public (from 5.4 percent in 2003 to 16.6 percent in 2012). These figures, however, should not be interpreted literally, but rather as indicators of the growing sense of many in the Arab public who believe that the chance of generating a change in their status through conventional means is fading. Indeed, in this period, the proportion of Arabs who believed that their interests can be promoted through persuasion and political action in the Knesset dropped from 81.4 percent in 2003 to only 65.6 percent in 2012.

Another major source of the mutual alienation between Jews and Arabs is the deep ideological chasm dividing the collective memories of these two national groups. Opposing ideas of historical justice and morality related to the circumstances surrounding the 1948 war and the events of 1947-1949 in general have led to polarized positions: The Arabs blame the Jews for the Nakba while focusing on its results and ignoring its causes, whereas the Jews emphasize the causes that led to the Nakba yet prefer to ignore its outcomes for the Arabs. These counter narratives, in which each party is a victim and the other party is the aggressor, further entrench each party in its respective ideological position.[24] A majority of both Arabs and Jews (between 60 percent and 70 percent in recent years) blames the other side for the intransigent conflict between Jews and Palestinians in Israel.

The combined result of these findings is a decline in the mutual trust between the two groups. Findings of recent surveys show that a steady proportion of 55 percent of each group agree with the statement that the other party cannot be trusted, and 40 percent agree that the majority of the other group has a tendency to violent behavior.

In conclusion, the relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel is characterized by a contradiction between two parallel approaches. On the

one hand, the ideological gap between the positions of the Jewish majority and Arab minority is growing. This ideological chasm speaks to the void separating the respective narratives: in contrast to the Jewish majority's emphasis on the fact that Israel is a "Jewish state" that was established on the basis of the Jewish nation's historical right to the land, the Arab minority considers Zionism to be a colonial movement that unjustly acquired a holding in Mandatory Palestine, the homeland of the Arab minority. On the other hand, from a pragmatic perspective, these two societies express their willingness to engage in co-existence, and each national group tends to accept the demands of the other national group to its rights to the land. Smooha explains that the majority of Arab citizens have resigned themselves to the existence of Israel and its Jewish features, that is, a country in which the majority is Jewish and the dominant language and culture are Hebrew. Nonetheless, they do not accept the Zionist character of the state, which implies that Israel belongs to all the Jews in the world, seeks to ensure a Jewish majority by legislation, and grants privileges to its Jewish citizens through intentional government policy. Such resignation with a "Jewish state" on part of the Arab public is conditional upon Israel being a democracy in which the Arab citizens enjoy full equality of rights. Smooha posits that such resignation is not evidence that the Arab citizens justify the Jewish character of the state, but rather is an expression of their sober realism and rational adjustment to the reality of life in a "Jewish state."[25]

Conclusion and Recommendations

The past two decades have witnessed far reaching political and ideological developments in the Arab public, with beginnings generally traced to the early 1990s. A series of concurrent domestic developments in Israel (liberalization of legislation and an era of economic growth), Israeli-Palestinian relations (signing of the Oslo Accords and establishing the foundations for a final settlement agreement), and the international arena (growing interest in the status of national minorities) prompted Arab politicians and intellectuals in Israel to reflect more intensely upon the national and civic rights of the Arab national minority living in what is defined as a "Jewish and democratic" state. As a result, a new national discourse emerged, whose clear manifestation was the Future Vision documents published in 2006 and 2007.

Increasing ideological confidence has resulted not only from the formulation of the Future Vision documents and the emergence of alternatives to Israel's "Jewish and democratic" state model. Growing self-confidence also stems from the fact that the Arab minority is now, in the early years of the twenty-first century, a numerically large minority in Israel. From a small group of 156,000 in late 1948, who were considered the remnants of the Arab population living in Mandatory Palestine before the war that year, the number of Arab citizens has grown 8.5 fold and is currently 1.3 million (excluding the Arab residents of East Jerusalem). This group is no longer an enfeebled minority, but rather a vibrant society in which various political and ideological streams represent diverse political outlooks and strategies. Its political parties, civil society organizations (most of which are registered as non-profit organizations), and popular non-parliamentary organizations all contribute to the national and civic mobilization of the Arab minority. This trend is reflected in the "discourse of rights" adopted by the Arab minority, a framework for the increasingly insistent demands that the state grant it the rights to which it is entitled.

The Arab minority's adoption of a discourse of rights, along with the increasing scope of this minority's demands from the state, stems from more than growing self-confidence. These changes are an attempt to bridge the growing gap between the broad political pluralism in Israel and national mobilization of Arab society – greater than ever before – and the fact that these developments have borne no practical political results. This chasm exacerbates the frustration caused by their lack of political influence; the status of the Arab citizens in Israel's political game continues to be marginal. As a result, the Arab minority's discourse of rights developed in a new direction. While up until two decades ago the discourse referred to rights due to the Arabs primarily as citizens of the state, based on the assumption that progress in the peace process with the Palestinians would affect the Arab minority's struggle for equal rights, the contemporary discourse of rights focuses on the rights due to the Arab citizens primarily as members of an indigenous national minority, almost independent of the rights due to them as citizens. According to this new perspective, these rights are embedded in the Arabs' connection to their land, a connection that predates the State of Israel, and are therefore inalienable. The growing intensity of the demand for these rights – from rights due to the Arabs as citizens to rights due to them as an indigenous population – and the attempt to develop practical alternatives to the "Jewish and democratic" definition of the state that would lead to the realization of the minority's right to some degree of self-determination, are yet additional layers in the development of the national discourse of the Arab minority in Israel. That is, the more marginal the status of the Arabs in Israeli politics, the more intense the discourse of rights has become. Their demands are couched in language that grows ever more aggressive, in an attempt to compensate for their marginalization in Israeli politics.

In recent years, state agencies have become increasingly aware that the resolution of Arab citizens' concerns is an acute issue that demands an urgent response. One indication of this awareness is the growing number of government-approved development plans for Arab towns, and increasing government attention to urgent issues such as regulation of the municipal status of the Negev Bedouin settlements. Nonetheless, there remains a gap between awareness and execution, and budget execution is typically lower than original plans. Furthermore, the conditions in Arab towns, tenuous in any case, make them more vulnerable to budget cuts than other towns. As a result, public faith in the Knesset and the government is significantly lower

in the Arab than in the Jewish population.[1] This fact is also reflected in the Arab population's low turnout in parliamentary elections, notwithstanding the increased turnout in the 2015 elections. At the same time, the vacuum created by inadequate state agencies is highly temporary. Local organizations, mainly non-profit organizations involved in welfare, health, and education, including organizations operated by the Islamic Movement, rush in to provide the essential services to individuals where the government has failed to do so.

Arab citizens' sense of political marginalization in Israel is also fueled by the state's designation of the Arab minority as "minorities," "non-Jews," or "members of various faiths." The archaic overtones of these labels can be traced to early statehood, which has become seared in the collective memory of the Arab minority as a period of rigid state control and supervision over the Arab population. The contemporary use of these terms revives this emotionally charged collective memory. The Arab minority interprets the use of these terms as implications that go beyond semantic significance; these terms are considered to reflect not only willful institutional disregard of the consolidation of the Arab minority's collective identity – a process that has come to maturity in the last two decades – but also state agencies' efforts to rewind the wheels of history to a situation in which the Arab minority was debilitated and lacked a collective consciousness. This terminology sets the Jewish population at the center of the debate as a well-developed collective, in contrast to an amorphous group of "minorities," unconsolidated by definition, and reinforces the Arab minority's realization that Israel is first and foremost a "Jewish state" that recognizes only the Jewish national collective. Therefore, even if at the practical level state agencies work on development plans to promote social and economic conditions in Arab towns, the combination of disparaging terminology and the inadequate implementation of these plans undermines the Arab minority's trust in state agencies, and feeds their conviction that these agencies are not genuinely motivated to change the status of the Arab minority. Against this backdrop it is easy to understand why the political discourse in Arab society has become more assertive than ever.

Nonetheless, it appears that the majority of the Arab public ("the silent majority") does not wish to engage in a confrontation with the Jewish majority on the emotionally charged core issues that are at the heart of the ideological chasm dividing the country's Jews and Arabs. Their growing demands and increasingly forceful nationalist tone are intended to promote the rights of

the Arab minority while accepting the existing political system. On the eve of the 19th Knesset elections, Wadea Awawdy, a prominent journalist and commentator, argued that the Arab public wishes to overcome the "dead end of citizenship" and avoid direct ideological confrontation with the Jewish majority on issues that are of critical importance to the latter, such as the state's definition as a "Jewish state." Awawdy explained: "The public is searching for a formulation that will make it possible to manage rather than settle the dispute, and achieve progress in terms of civil rights – in an intelligent, calculated, incremental manner, after the collapse of the "all or nothing" formula."[2] This argument finds expression in public opinion polls that show that the vast majority of the Arab public has come to terms with the state's definition as "Jewish and democratic" and with the dominant status of the Jewish majority. The Arabs do, however, seek to ensure that the democratic element of this equation is maintained.

Addressing the practical implications of this formula is not the exclusive task of the Arab minority: it is the responsibility of the state agencies and the Jewish majority. Appropriate government action could make a significant contribution to reducing the chasm, and would allow the Arab minority to live better in a state defined as "Jewish and democratic." Israel's existence as a Jewish nation state that is also democratic for all its citizens is the shared challenge of all citizens, both Jewish and Arab. In this context, in August 2013, Minister of Justice Tzipi Livni called on Prof. Ruth Gavison to prepare a legislative draft of the formulation of a Jewish and democratic state.[3]

The research presented here invites key conceptual recommendations.[4] This section is not intended to offer detailed plans for resolving specific issues, such as concerns related to budgets, infrastructure, education, or education. A discussion of key issues and how to achieve equality for the Arab minority in Israel appear in the Or Commission Report.

In the chapter summarizing its report, the Or Commission stated that policy on the Arab sector is a "domestic issue of greatest importance and sensitivity, which is on the state's agenda." The Commission urged the prime minister to become personally involved in the state's agenda regarding the Arab sector, and further determined that the main target of government action should be directed to securing genuine equality for the state's Arab citizens, which is justified as follows: "The state's role in this matter is not limited to material concerns alone. Government agencies must find ways

to enable Arab citizens to express their culture and identity in public life in an appropriate and dignified manner."[5]

One recommendation, a direct derivative of the Commission's statement, is official state recognition of the cultural and national uniqueness of the Arab-Palestinian minority in Israel, and provision of the requisite state legitimization of its unique identity and needs. The significance of such acts is reinforced against the backdrop of Livni's initiative to develop a legislative definition of the term "Jewish and democratic state," as this definition speaks to the essential nature of the State of Israel and its self-perception. State recognition of the unique identity of the Arab minority will bolster and legitimize Israel's conception as a Jewish nation state, as these two concepts are simply two sides of the same coin: By recognizing the collective identity of its (rather large) minority, the state incorporates the implications of such collective identity into its structure, institutions, and standards of conduct. At the same time, recognition of the minority as a national group reinforces the validity of majority's status as a national group and increases its legitimization by the minority.

Moreover, assuming an arrangement based on the "two states for two nations" formulation, Israel will be forced, sooner or later, to address the rights of its Arab minority. When a Palestinian state is founded alongside Israel, which defines itself as a Jewish nation state, a debate on and resolution of the civic-national status of the Palestinian Arabs who are Israeli citizens will be inescapable. These issues call for comprehensive, in-depth deliberation that involves a shared discourse of Jews and Arabs, to study the potential range of political options and arrangements, and their implications. This is necessary in order to effectively address these sensitive, complex issues, and to reach as broad an agreement as possible regarding the manner in which these issues should be implemented.[6]

Recognizing the rights due to the Palestinian Arabs in Israel as a national minority undoubtedly entails a difficult, complicated Israeli debate. Whoever is conscious of the issues of legitimacy that Israel faces as a result of its continued administration of the West Bank should be equally conscious of Israel's issues of legitimacy stemming from issues relating to equality for its Arab citizens. Both issues are intertwined. If and when Israel reaches a settlement on the Palestinian state issue in the West Bank and Gaza, it will almost certainly find itself facing the second issue, that of the Palestinian-

Arab minority inside Israel. Israel should, therefore, be prepared to provide answers to these questions today.

A second recommendation, which largely stems from the first, concerns the public legitimacy of the Arab minority within Israel's Jewish society. The experience of the Rabin-Peres government illustrated the power of government recognition of the minority and its concerns. Some believe that the main transformation in that period, considered the "Golden Era" of Israel's Arab population, occurred more strongly in terms of increased awareness than in tangible terms. If this is true, the significance of the perceptual level should be acknowledged, since recognition of the minority's rights may create a positive momentum that is sustainable over time. It is therefore important to enhance the belief among both the majority and the minority that Arab rights and identity are key issues in the Israeli political discourse, and that requires practical implementation on a range of areas. Clearly this issue is related to both communities' perceptions of each other, which have assumed undeniable racist overtones as of late. In Israeli reality, there is added importance in conducting – among both Jews and Arabs, and especially members of the younger generation – comprehensive, long term educational efforts on the role of the other in general, and other nationalities in particular, which should be accompanied by public denunciation of all forms of racism. Unfortunately, mutual acceptance and recognition remains a remote goal; this is certainly true in view of the majority's failure to accept the minority, which is arguably acute and manifest in a series of legislative initiatives of a highly questionable nature. Such educational efforts should be accompanied by establishing a high level Jewish-Arab forum, whose members would be leaders of the Arab and Jewish publics, including government ministers and the prime minister himself. Such a forum might convene several times a year to discuss the needs of the Arab minority and how to resolve them. Establishing such a mechanism could kickstart important progress at the conceptual level, even before tangible results are evident.

The understanding of the entire Israeli public that the representative parties of the Arab public have a legitimate place in the Knesset should also be reinforced. In line with MK Ahmad Tibi's statement, "Criticism of a policy does not imply criticism of the state,"[7] criticism of the conduct or statements of MKs representing these parties should not be confused with a denial of these parties' legitimate role in Israel's parliamentary system. In other words, however intense the Jewish public's criticism of the actions

of these parties' MKs, who are occasionally considered as having crossed the line, such criticism should not be conflated with denial of those parties' political legitimacy. For more than two decades, Israel's parliamentary politics has included parties that represent the national and the Islamic streams – two streams that previously refrained from or opposed such political participation. This fact only reinforces the democratic nature of Israel, and its status as a Jewish nation state that upholds equality for all its citizens.

Notes

Notes to Introduction

1 Asher Arian, Nir Atmor, and Yael Hadar, *Auditing Israeli Democracy 2007: Cohesion in a Divided Society* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2007), pp. 55-60 [Hebrew].

2 Elie Rekhess and Arik Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st edition (Neve Ilan: The Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2009) [Hebrew]; Yitzhak Reiter and Orna Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd edition (Neve Ilan: The Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2013) [Hebrew]. See also: Arik Rudnitzky, *The Bedouin Population in the Negev: Social, Demographic and Economic Factors* (Neve Ilan: Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2012), pp. 1-66.

3 Aziz Haidar, ed., *Arab Society in Israel: Populations, Society, Economy (1)* (The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2005) [Hebrew]; Adel Manna, ed., *Arab Society in Israel: Populations, Society, Economy (2)* (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2008) [Hebrew]; Rassem Khamaisi, ed., *Arab Society In Israel: Populations, Society, Economy (3)* (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2009) [Hebrew]; Rassem Khamaisi, ed., *Arab Society In Israel: Populations, Society, Economy (4)* (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2011) [Hebrew]; Ramsees Gharrah, ed., *Arab Society in Israel: Population, Society, Economy (5)* (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 2012) [Hebrew]; Ramsees Gharrah, ed., *Arab Society in Israel: Population, Society, Economy (6)* (Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, 2013) [Hebrew].

Notes to Chapter 1, Israel's Arab Population: Background Data and Information

1 The vast majority of Arab residents of East Jerusalem have permanent resident status, which was granted to them after 1967. Permanent resident status is completely different from citizenship status: the main right that permanent status residents enjoy is the right to work and live in Israel without requiring any special permits. Permanent residents are also entitled to social rights (social and healthcare insurance). Permanent residents may vote in local municipal elections but are not entitled to vote in general parliamentary (Knesset) elections. See Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, p. 1. Source of data: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2014*, no. 65 (Jerusalem: Central Bureau

of Statistics, 2014), tables 2.1, 2.15. The population of Arab residents of East Jerusalem was calculated on the basis of statistics published by the CBS on local governments in Israel, updated to the end of 2013 (http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader) and according to the *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem 2015*, no. 29 (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies and Jerusalem Municipality, 2015), tables C-1, C-9.

2 Official population statistics of the Bedouin in Israel do not include the tribes that live in villages whose municipal status is not recognized by state agencies (and are therefore known as "unrecognized villages"). See Rudnitzky, *The Bedouin Population in the Negev*.

3 The CBS defines "mixed cities" as cities in which the Arab population does not exceed 10 percent of the population. The seven cities mentioned above and Jerusalem fall under this definition. Notably, demographic intermingling of Jews and Arabs is also typical of other cities in Israel, such as Karmiel and Beer Sheva, where Arabs account for 2.6 (1,200) and 2.0 percent (4,000), respectively, as of the end of 2013. For additional information, see: Amnon Beeri-Sulitzeanu and Uri Gopher, *Mixed Cities and Regions: The Future Face of Israel* (Neve Ilan: The Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2009).

4 Data adapted from: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2014*, table 2.17.

5 Data adapted from *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2014*, no. 65 (Jerusalem: CBS, 2015), tables 2.15, 2.17; *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem 2015,* ibid. Muslim and Christian residents of East Jerusalem were excluded in calculating the statistics for this memorandum.

6 The index comprises the following measures: (1) average per capita income (including retirement benefits); (2) vehicle ownership; (3) new car ownership; (4) eligibility for matriculation certificate; (5) students; (6) job seekers; (7) employed earning minimum wage or lower; (8) employed earning more than twice the minimum wage; (9) median age; (10) dependency ratio; (11) households with more than four children; (12) receive unemployment benefits; (13) receive minimum income benefits; and (14) receive old age benefits and minimum income benefits. See Natalia Tsibel and Luisa Burck, *Characterization and Classification of Geographical Units by the Socio-Economic Level of the Population 2008*, publication no. 1530 (Jerusalem: CBS, June 2013).

7 Five of six towns whose populations are exclusively Haredi (Modiin IlIit, Beitar Illit, Emmanuel, Elad, and Rechasim) are classified in the bottom two socioeconomic clusters according to the Central Bureau of Statistics. The sixth Haredi town (Kiryat Yaarim) is classified in the third cluster from the bottom. See note 6.

8 Momi Dahan et al., *Why is Poverty Widespread in Israel?* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2007), pp. 67-86 [Hebrew].

9 Shimon Shamir, *The Arabs in Israel – Two Years after the Or Commission Report* (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2006), p. 7.

10 See also the extensive discussion in chapter 1 of the first part of the Or Commission Report, entitled "Escalation in the Arab Sector on the Backdrop of the Outbreak of the Riots" in *State Commission of Inquiry into the Clashes between the Security Forces and Israeli Citizens in October 2000: A Report*, Volume I (Jerusalem: Government Publishing House, September 2003), pp. 25-91 [Hebrew; hereafter: *Or Commission Report*].

Notes to Chapter 2, Political and Ideological Transformation

1 See Rabah Halabi, *Citizens with Equal Obligations: Druze Identity in the Jewish State* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2006) [Hebrew]; Kais M. Firro, *The Druzes in the Jewish State: A Brief History* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Kais M. Firro, "Reshaping Druze Particularism in Israel," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 30, no. 3 (2001): 40-53.

2 See Salman Falah, *A History of the Druze in Israel* (Jerusalem: Prime Minister's Office, Office of the Advisor on Arab and Druze Affairs, 1974) [Hebrew]; Shimon Avivi, *Copper Plate: Israeli Policy towards the Druze 1948-1967* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 2007) [Hebrew].

3 This section is based on the following studies: Yitzhak Reiter and Reuben Aharoni, *The Political Life of Arabs in Israel* (Beit Berl: Institute for Israeli-Arab Studies, 1992) [Hebrew]; As'ad Ghanem, "Political Parties and Ideological Streams among the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel," *State and Society* 1 (2001): 89-114 [Hebrew]; Honaida Ghanim, *Reinventing the Nation: Palestinian Intellectuals in Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2009), pp. 114-59 [Hebrew]; Benyamin Neuberger, *Arab Society in Israel: Parties and Elections, Leadership, the Media*, Vol. 3, unit 7: "One Man, One Vote – Parties and Elections" (Raanana: Open University of Israel, 2010), pp. 13-32 [Hebrew]; As'ad Ghanem and Mohanad Mustafa, *The Palestinians in Israel: The Politics of the Indigenous Minority in the Ethnic State* (Ramallah: Madar – The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, 2009), pp. 143-92 [Arabic]; As'ad Ghanem, *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

4 A typical illustration of the worldview of the Arab-Israeli stream is a book written by Walid Sadik Hajj-Yahia who served as Knesset member for Meretz between 1992 and 1999: Walid Sadik, *Exile at Homeland – From Taibeh to the Knesset* (Taibeh: author published, 2012) [Hebrew].

5 Elie Rekhess, "Islamization of Arab Identity in Israel: The Islamic Movement, 1972-1996," in *Muslim Minorities in Non-Muslim Majority Countries: The Islamic Movement in Israel as a Test Case*, eds. Elie Rekhess and Arik Rudnitzky (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2013), pp. 53-66.

6 For example, according to the "Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel" survey for 2012, 61.8 percent of Arab respondents agreed with the statement that the Islamic Movement faithfully represents the Arabs in Israel. Similarly, 61.9 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement that the Arab parties faithfully represent the

Arab minority in Israel. See Sammy Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012* (Jerusalem and Haifa: Israel Democracy Institute and University of Haifa, 2013), p. 105 [Hebrew].

7 Nohad Ali, "Changes in the Identity and Attitudes of the Supporters and Opponents of the Islamic Movement in Israel, " in *Arab Society in Israel (3): Populations, Society, Economy*, p. 315.

8 Elie Rekhess and Arik Rudnitzky, "Introduction," in *Muslim Minorities in Non-Muslim Majority Countries: The Islamic Movement in Israel as a Test Case*, eds. Elie Rekhess and Arik Rudnitzky (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2013), pp. 9-11.

9 For further reading, see Roni Shaked, *On the Edge: Palestinians in Israel – National Radicalism* (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2012) [Hebrew].

10 Source: Arik Rudnitzky, "An Analysis of the 20th Knesset Election Results in the Arab Sector," *Bayan: Arabs in Israel*, Issue no. 5, Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, June 2013.

11 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 5, pp. 12-16.

12 Uzi Rabi and Arik Rudnitzky, eds., *The Status of Arabic Language in Israel* (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, May 15, 2011).

13 Source: Rudnitzky, *Arab Politics in Israel and the 19th Knesset Elections*. Figures do not include the Arab vote in mixed cities.

14 Karin Tamar Schafferman, "Participation, Abstention and Boycott: Trends in Arab Voter Turnout in Israeli Elections," *Parliament*, April 21, 2009, http://en.idi.org.il/analysis/articles/participation-abstention-and-boycott-trends-in-arab-voter-turnout-in-israeli-elections/.

15 See Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 6, pp. 17-21.

16 Source: Rudnitzky, *Arab Politics in Israel and the 19th Knesset Elections*; Rudnitzky, "An Analysis of the 20th Knesset Election Results in the Arab Sector."

17 Source: Reiter and Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd ed., chapter 8, pp. 40-41; Rudnitzky, *Arab Politics in Israel and the 19th Knesset Elections*; Rudnitzky, "An Analysis of the 20th Knesset Election Results in the Arab Sector." Figures do not include the Arab vote in mixed cities.

18 Rudnitzky, "An Analysis of the 20th Knesset Election Results in the Arab Sector."

19 This dilemma was the subject of previous research in Yohanan Peres and Nira Davis, "On the National Identity of Israeli-Arabs," *Hamizrah Hehadash* 18 (1968): 103-11 [Hebrew].

20 Majid al-Haj, "Identity and Orientation among the Arabs in Israel: A Situation of Double Periphery," *State, Government and International Relations* 41/42 (1997): 104-22 [Hebrew].

21 Elie Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," *Israel Studies* 7, no. 3 (2002): 1-44.

22 For example, the UN Declaration of December 1992 was entitled "Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities." However, the UN Declaration of September 2007 explicitly related to the rights of indigenous peoples, and was entitled "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." See Elie Rekhess, "The Evolvement of an Arab-Palestinian National Minority in Israel," *Israel Studies* 12, no. 3 (2007): 1-28.

23 Duncan Ivison, "Indigenous Rights," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition, ed. William A. Darity (Farmington Hills: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 614-17.

24 Ghanem and Mustafa, *The Palestinians in Israel*, pp. 23-24.

25 Nadim Rouhana, "History and Reconciliation: Right of Return in the Context of Past Injustices," *Abhath Filastiniyyah fi al-Mujtama' wal-Ta'rikh*, no. 1 (2006): 137-59 [Arabic]; Amal Jamal, "Collective Rights for Native Minorities – Theoretical and Normative Aspects," in *The Status of the Arab Minority in the Jewish Nation State*, eds. Elie Rekhess and Sara Ozacky-Lazar (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2005), pp. 27-44 [Hebrew]; Amal Jamal, "On the Origins of National Inequality in Israel," in *Society and Economy in Israel: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, eds. Avi Bareli, Daniel Gutwein, and Tuvia Friling (Sde Boker and Jerusalem: Ben-Gurion Research Institute and Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 2005), pp. 145-82 [Hebrew]. See also: Ghanim, *Reinventing the Nation*, pp. 147-48.

26 See Elie Rekhess, *The Arab Minority in Israel: Between Communism and Arab Nationalism, 1965-1991* (Tel Aviv University: Moshe Dayan Center and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1993), pp. 51-54.

27 On the demand of the Arab minority in Israel for collective rights, see the following essays: Yousef T. Jabareen, "On the Constitutional Status of the Arab Minority in Israel: Proposing a New Order," *State and Society* 7, no. 1 (2010): 105-40 [Hebrew]; Ilan Saban, "The Minority Rights of the Palestinian-Arabs In Israel: What Is, What Isn't, and What Is Taboo," *Iyunei Mishpat* 26, no. 1 (2002): 241-319 [Hebrew]; Azmi Bishara, *The Ruptured Political Discourse and Other Studies* (Ramallah: Muwatin –Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, 1998), pp. 103-8 [Arabic]. For a discussion on the question of equality and collective rights for Arabs in Israel, see Yitzhak Zamir, "Equality of Rights for Arabs in Israel," in *The Status of the Arab Minority in the Jewish Nation State*, pp. 59-83 [Hebrew].

28 This view is reflected in basic policy guidelines of recent governments. Specifically, the Arab population was defined as "minorities" in recent government guidelines, and MK Avishai Braverman (Labor) was appointed as "Minister of Minority Affairs" in the 32nd government (which was in power from 2009 to 2013). See also *Or Commission Report*, chapter 1, clause 10, p. 29.

29 Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," pp. 19-22.
30 As'ad Ghanem and Mohanad Mustafa, "The Palestinians in Israel: A Future Vision," *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyyah*, no. 77 (2009): 109-111 [Arabic].
31 Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," pp. 24-32.
32 Mustafa Kabaha, "Majority-Minority Relations in the Test of an Equal Coexistence," in *Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel*, ed. Yitzhak Reiter (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 2005), pp. 58-62 [Hebrew].
33 See Uzi Rabi and Arik Rudnitzky, eds., *Nakba Day and the Arabs in Israel* (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, July 11, 2011) [Hebrew].
34 Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle."
35 Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, *The Palestinians in Israel: Historical, Social and Political Background* (Haifa: Mada al-Carmel, 2004), p. 6 [Arabic]; Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle"; Reiter and Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd ed., chapter 5, pp. 3-5.
36 *Or Commission Report*, vol. 1, pp. 41-42.
37 Rekhess, *The Arab Minority in Israel: Between Communism and Arab Nationalism*, pp. 79-84; George Kurzum, *The Israeli Communist Party between Contradictions and Practice: 1948-1991* (Jerusalem: al-Sha'leh Publishers, 1993), pp. 238-41 [Arabic].
38 For a short survey on the Arab Center for Alternative Planning (ACAP) and its activities, see Enaya Bana-Jiryis, "Struggle against House Demolition – Fields of Action by the Arab Center for Alternative Planning," in *Planning and Human Rights: Civil Society and the State*, ed. Shuly Hartman (Jerusalem: Bimkom - Planners for Planning Rights, 2008), pp. 23-24 [Hebrew].
39 *Panorama*, August 19, 2011.
40 Figures for 1995 derived from Sammy Smooha, "The Israelization of the Collective Identity and Political Orientation of Israel's Palestinian Citizens," in *The Arabs in Israeli Politics: Dilemmas of Identity*, ed. Elie Rekhess (Tel Aviv University: Moshe Dayan Center, 1998), p. 43 [Hebrew]. Source of figures for 2003 and 2012: Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, p. 98.
41 Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, ibid.
42 Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," pp. 10-11.
43 For a comprehensive survey on Israel's claim in the negotiations with the Palestinians to be recognized as a Jewish state, see Tal Becker, *The Claim for Recognition of Israel as a Jewish State: A Reassessment* (Jerusalem: Metzilah Center, 2012) [Hebrew].

44 *Panorama*, November 23, 2007. See the Follow-Up Committee's statement dated November 18, 2007 entitled: "A collective and united position representing a joint and fundamental document of the country's Palestinian-Arab public and its leadership rejecting the notion of a Jewish state," website of the National Committee of the Heads of the Arab Local Councils in Israel, http://www.arab-lac.org/index.asp?i=359 (accessed December 7, 2011).

45 Azmi Bishara, "The Arab in Israel: A Study in Split Political Debate," in *Zionism – A Contemporary Debate: Academic and Ideological Perspectives*, eds. Pinchas Genosar and Avi Bareli (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev: Ben-Gurion Heritage Institute, 1996), pp. 312-39 [Hebrew]; Jamal, "On the Origins of National Inequality in Israel"; Nadim Rouhana, "'Jewish and Democratic'? The Price of National Self-Deception," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 2 (2006): 64-74.

46 Azmi Bishara, *A Jewish and Democratic State* (Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2011) [Arabic]; Nadim Rouhana, "Reconciliation in Prolonged National Conflicts: Force and Identity in the Israeli-Palestinian Case," *Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyyah*, no. 57 (2004): 62-76 [Arabic].

47 Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," pp. 2-10.

48 Ibid., pp. 14-17.

49 Nohad Ali, "The Concept of *al-mujtama' al-'isami* of the Islamic Movement," in *The Arab Minority in Israel and the 17th Knesset Elections*, ed. Elie Rekhess (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2007), pp. 100-10 [Hebrew].

50 Amal Jamal, "The Vision of a Civic Nation and the Challenge of the State of All Its Citizens – Readings in the Writings of Azmi Bishara," *Alpayim*, no. 30 (2006): 71-113 [Hebrew].

51 Yousef T. Jabareen and Ayman Agbaria, *Education on Hold: Government Policy and Civil Society Initiatives to Advance Arab Education in Israel* (Nazareth: Dirasat – Arab Center for Law and Policy, 2010), pp. 51-68 [Hebrew].

52 This section is based on Azmi Bishara, "The Democratic National Stream in the Country," *arabs48.com*, May 7, 2006 [Arabic], http://www.arabs48.com/?mod=articles&ID=36565 (accessed December 3, 2012); Jamal Zahalka, "The Vision of Balad," Balad Party's website, February 5, 2009 [Hebrew], http://baladblog2013.blogspot.co.il/2013/01/blog-post_5.html (accessed April 11, 2014).

53 Bishara, ibid. See also resolutions of Balad's sixth general conference, held in Shefaram, June 23-25, 2011, *Fasl al-Maqal*, July 1, 2011 [Arabic].

54 On the internal debate among political streams in the Arab society vis-à-vis the notion of "a state of all its citizens" and its applicability, see Dan Schueftan, "The New Identity of the Arab MKs," *Tchelet (Azure)* 13 (fall 2002): 26-31 [Hebrew].

55 *Haaretz*, February 10, 2005; *Haaretz*, March 14, 2006; *Maariv*, October 7, 2011. See also Yesha'ayahu Ben Porat, *Conversations with Ahmad Tibi* (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1999), p. 136 [Hebrew].

56 Awad Abd al-Fattah, Secretary General of Balad, expressed support of the idea to establish one bi-national state in Mandatory Palestine. See *Fasl al-Maqal*, May 24, 2013 [Arabic].

57 Nadim Rouhana, Mtanes Shihadeh, and Areej Sabbagh-Khoury, "Turning Points in Palestinian Politics in Israel: The 2009 Elections," in *Elections in Israel* 2009, eds. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2011), pp. 148-50.

58 Following are several examples of early essays (late 1990s) on the bi-national option. On the bi-national option within the Green Line, see Nadim Rouhana, "The Option of a Binational State within the Green Line," in *Seven Roads: Theoretical Options for the Status of the Arabs in Israel*, eds. Sara Ozacky-Lazar, As'ad Ghanem, and Ilan Pappé (Givat Haviva: Institute for Peace Research, 1999), pp. 243-68 [Hebrew]; As'ad Ghanem, "The Palestinian Minority in Israel: The Challenge of the Jewish State and its Implications," *Iyunim Bitkumat Israel*, no. 9 (1999), pp. 420-43 [Hebrew]. For a discussion on the option of one bi-national state from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, see As'ad Ghanem, "The Option of a Binational State on the Whole Area of Eretz Israel/ Palestine," in *Seven Roads: Theoretical Options for the Status of the Arabs in Israel*, pp. 271-303.

59 Sammy Smooha, "The Arab Vision of Turning Israel within the Green Line into a Binational Democracy," in *Between Vision and Reality: The Vision Papers of the Arabs in Israel, 2006-2007*, eds. Sarah Ozacky-Lazar and Mustafa Kabha (Jerusalem: Citizens' Accord Forum, 2008), pp. 126-39; Ghanem and Mustafa, "The Palestinians in Israel: Future Vision"; Nadim Rouhana, "Haifa Declaration and the Palestinians in Israel: Political Margins, Moral Center," in *The Future of the Palestinian Minority in Israel*, ed. Khalil Nakhleh (Ramallah: Madar – Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, 2008), pp. 76-103 [Arabic]; Elie Rekhess, *The Arab Minority in Israel: An Analysis of the Future Vision documents* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 2008); Asher Susser, "Partition and the Arab Palestinian Minority in Israel," *Israel Studies* 14, no. 2 (2009): 105-19.

60 See for example Amal Jamal, "Shared Sovereignty as a Last Resort: National Conflicts and Differentiating Solutions," *The Public Sphere (Hamerchav Hatziburi)*, no. 6 (summer 2012): 42-74 [Hebrew]; As'ad Ghanem, "The Bi-National State Solution," *Israel Studies* 14, no. 2 (2009), pp. 120-33.

61 Raif Zreik, "One State or Two States – Anatomy of Discourse," *The Public Sphere (Hamerchav Hatziburi)*, no. 6 (summer 2012): 120-41 [Hebrew]; Rouhana, "Haifa Declaration and the Palestinians in Israel: Political Margins, Moral Center"; As'ad Ghanem, "The One State as a Palestinian Rescue Project," *Majallat al-Adab*, no. 11-12 (2009): 5-7 [Arabic]; Jamal, "Shared Sovereignty as a Last Resort: National Conflicts and Differentiating Solutions"; Bashir Bashir, "The Binational State: Moral and Feasible Solution," *Filastin*, no. 10 (February 19, 2011): 18-19 [Arabic].

62 Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, p. 84.

63 Akiva Eldar, "Separated by Shared History: The Story of Israeli Arabs and Palestinians," *Haaretz*, September 11, 2012, http://www.haaretz.com/news/features/separated-by-shared-history-the-story-of-israeli-arabs-and-palestinians-1.464159 (accessed August 31, 2014).

64 The four documents are: *The Future Vision for the Palestinian Arabs in Israel*, published in December 2006 by the Nationwide Committee of the Heads of the Arab Local Councils in Israel; *An Equal Constitution for All*, drafted by Yousef Jabareen, a legalist, and published by Mossawa Center – the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel; *The Democratic Constitution*, published by Adalah – the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel; and *The Haifa Declaration*, published May 15, 2007 by the Haifa-based Mada al-Carmel Research Institute.

65 *The Equality Book: The General Convention of the Arab Public in Israel* (Nazareth: Supreme Follow-Up Committee of the Arab Public in Israel, National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Governments in Israel, December 13-14, 1996) [Arabic]. See link to this publication on the website of the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Governments in Israel, http://www.arab-lac.org/?i=213. Similar to the Future Vision document, *The Equality Book* sought to devise a comprehensive formulation of the desired relationship between the state and its Arab citizens, but in contrast to the Future Vision document, did not challenge the Zionist nature of the state and did not address the circumstances surrounding the state's establishment. The primary demand expressed in *The Equality Book* was the demand to transform Israel into a "state of all its citizens."

66 The document titled "Toward a Collective National Future for the Arab-Palestinian Public in Israel: Toward Behavior as a National Minority Based on Building our National and Representative Institutions." See Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," p. 23.

67 For a comprehensive discussion on the Future Vision documents and their implications, see: Rekhess, *The Arab Minority in Israel: An Analysis of the Future Vision documents*.

68 *Haifa Declaration*, p. 15.

69 Reiter and Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd ed., chapter 7, pp. 38-40.

70 Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, p. 125. See also Ghanem and Mustafa, "The Palestinians in Israel: A Future Vision," pp. 115-21.

71 Elie Rekhess and Arik Rudnitzky, eds., *The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel* (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, January 25, 2007), pp. 16-20 [Hebrew].

72 The term "Arab CSOs" refers to non-profit organizations that were established for the specific purpose of serving the Arab population and whose management and staff are primarily Arabs. Other non-profit organizations such as Sikkuy, the Abraham Fund Initiatives, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), and Physicians for Human Rights – Israel, are Jewish-Arab organizations.

73 Figures for 1988 are based on Yitzhak Gal Nur et al., *The Committee on Third Sector Operations in Israel and the Policy towards It: Final Report* (Ben-Gurion University in the Negev: Israeli Center for Third Sector Research, 2004), pp. 33, 48 [Hebrew]; figures for 2004 were taken from Nadav Even Chorev, *Arab NGOs for Civic and Social Change in Israel: Mapping the Field* (Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 2008), p. 12.

74 Source of figures: Amal Jamal, "The Counter-Hegemonic Role of Civil Society: Palestinian-Arab NGOs in Israel," *Citizenship Studies* 12, no. 3 (2008): 290.

75 Shany Payes, *Palestinian NGOs in Israel: The Politics of Civil Society* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005).

76 Jamal, "The Counter-Hegemonic Role of Civil Society: Palestinian-Arab NGOs in Israel," pp. 289-92.

77 Oded Haklai, "Palestinian NGOs in Israel: A Campaign for Civic Equality or 'Ethnic Civil Society'?" *Israel Studies* 9, no. 3 (2004): 157.

78 Oded Haklai, "State Mutability and Ethnic Civil Society: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, no. 5 (2009): 868-72.

79 Source of figures for 1988: Gal Nur et al., *The Committee on Third Sector Operations in Israel and the Policy towards It: Final Report*, p. 48; source of figures for 2004: Even Chorev, *Arab NGOs for Civic and Social Change in Israel: Mapping the Field.*

80 Bishara, *The Ruptured Political Discourse and Other Studies*, pp. 115-21.

81 See the Arab Culture Association's homepage, http://www.arabcultural-a.org.

82 Haklai, "Palestinian NGOs in Israel: A Campaign for Civic Equality or 'Ethnic Civil Society'?" pp. 159-60.

83 For example, in July 2011, Mada al-Carmel published an anthology of articles in academic format entitled *The Palestinians in Israel: Readings in History, Politics and Society*. The anthology was published in three languages (Arabic, English, and Hebrew) and contained a series of articles on the most fundamental issues in the history of Israel's Arab citizens from 1948 to the present: the Nakba, the military government, displaced persons, the 1956 massacre in Kafr Kassem, the Land Day in 1976, the Supreme Follow-Up Committee, the Negev Bedouin, and the Arabs' civil status in Israel. (Most of the articles were written by Arab researchers, while some were written by Jewish researchers.) In the introduction, the editors criticized the hegemonic role played by Israel's higher education system over the years in producing academic knowledge designed to justify the Zionist narrative, thereby sustaining the marginalization of the Arabs in Israel in the literature. In the concluding section of the introduction, the editors stated that, "This book presents a historiography of the Palestinian experience in Israel from a different perspective than the prevailing Israeli perspective, and uses a different discourse. The authors present the experience of the Palestinians in Israel by using a narrative that differs from the narrative that has been presented – for the most part – from the perspective of the dominant group." Areej Sabbagh-Khoury and Nadim N. Rouhana, "Research

on the Palestinians in Israel: Between the Academic and the Political," in *The Palestinians in Israel: Readings in History, Politics and Society*, eds. Nadim N. Rouhana and Areej Sabbagh-Khoury (Haifa: Mada al-Carmel – Arab Center for Applied Social Research, 2011), pp. 5-15.

84 Amal Jamal, "Sovereignty and Leadership: A Sociological Perspective on Arab Leadership in Israel," in *The Arab Minority in Israel and the 17th Knesset Elections*, pp. 40-48.

85 Yousef Jabareen, "Critical View on Arab NGOs as Political Alternative," in *The Arab Minority in Israel and the 17th Knesset Elections*, pp. 93-99.

Notes to Chapter 3, Arab Society: Social and Economic Indicators

1 *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2011*, table 2.19. These figures include the residents of East Jerusalem who do not appear in the Knesset Voters Registry.

2 Figures were taken from Arik Rudnitzky, ed., *Arab Politics in Israel and the 19th Knesset Elections*, issue no. 1 (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, December 20, 2012) [Hebrew].

3 Nurit Yaffe, ed., *The Arab Population in Israel 2008*, *Statisti-lite* no. 102 (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008); Miri Endeweld, ed., *Annual Survey 2011* (Jerusalem: National Insurance Institute of Israel – Research and Planning Administration), p. 138.

4 Source of data: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2002*, no. 53 (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002), tables 3.1, 3.11; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2001*, no. 52 (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), tables 2.5, 2.11; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2012*, tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.13; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2011*, tables 2.4, 2.10, 3.11, 3.14. Figures include Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem.

5 Fertility rate or total fertility refers to the average number of children that could be born to a woman over her lifetime. The fertility rate is obtained by calculating the ratio between the number of children born in a specific year and the population of women of fertility age (15-49) in that year.

6 Natural growth is the difference between the number of live births and the number of deaths in a given period. Natural growth measures population growth resulting from reproduction (rather than immigration).

7 Amnon Rubinstein, *Israeli Arabs and Jews: Dispelling the Myths, Narrowing the Gaps* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, December 2006).

8 See for example Yair Boimel, "61 Years of Supervised Abandonment – Cracking the Code of the Policy of the Israeli Establishment toward the Arab Citizens," in *An Abandoning State – A Supervising State: Social Policy in Israel 1985-2008* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2010), pp. 35-54. See also Ali Haider, ed., *The Sikkuy Report 2009: The Equality Index of Jewish and Arab Citizens in Israel*, no. 4 (Jerusalem and Haifa: Sikkuy – The Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality, 2010).

9 Source: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2012*, table 3.24.

10 Emma Averbuch and Shlomit Avni, *Inequality in Healthcare and Addressing It 2013* (Jerusalem: Ministry of Health – Strategic and Economic Planning Administration, 2013), pp. 10-12.
11 Amnon Rubinstein, "An Israeli Wonder: Life Expectancy," *Yisrael Hayom*, October 29, 2012.
12 Lee Sever et al., *The State of Healthcare in Israel* 2010 (Tel Hashomer, Ministry of Health, National Center of Disease Control, August 2011), pp. 57-69.
13 Source: Sever et al., ibid., pp. 58-59.
14 According to the Central Bureau of Statistics figures for 2007-2009, average infant mortality rate of the Bedouin population of the Negev was 1.5 times greater than the average infant mortality rate of the Arab population as a whole, and 3.75 times greater than the average infant mortality rate of the Jewish population. See also Rudnitzky, *The Bedouin Population in the Negev: Social, Demographic and Economic Factors*, pp. 50-54.
15 Source: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2001*, tables 8.1, 8, 19; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2002*, table 8.20*; Statistical Abstract of Israel 2012*, table 8.33; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2013*, tables 8.26, 8.71. Figures include Arab inhabitants of East Jerusalem.
16 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, p. 35.
17 *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2013*, table 8.26; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2002*, table 8.20.
18 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, p. 45. See also Mohanad Mustafa, *Psychometric Exam: Barrier to University for Arab Citizens in Israel* (Nazareth: Follow-Up Committee on Arab Education in Israel, and Dirasat – Arab Center for Law and Policy, 2009) [Arabic].
19 Gharrah, *Arab Society in Israel (6)*, tables D-1 and D-2, pp. 120-21; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2013*, table 8.71.
20 According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, civil workforce refers to individuals age 15 or older who are employed or unemployed, and excludes the following groups: school children and students, volunteers, temporary employees or individuals whose employment is limited in scope, homemakers, individuals who are unable to work, etc.
21 *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2013*, table 12.1.
22 Dependency ratio is the ratio between the number of children and elderly individuals in a population (dependents) and the number of individuals who are typically in the labor force (the productive population). In Israel, the dependency ratio is calculated for individuals up to age 19 or over age 65 (the dependent population) and individuals between ages 20 and 64 (the productive population). A lower dependency ratio implies that the productive population has a greater ability to cope with the economic burden of supporting the dependent population.

23 See Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 4, pp. 28-30; Judith King, Denise Naon, Abrham Wolde-Tsadick, and Jack Habib, *Employment of Arab Women Aged 18-64: Research Report* (Jerusalem: Myers – JDC – Brookdale Institute, Center for Research on Disabilities and Special Populations, 2009) [Hebrew]; Ibrahim Kittani, ed., *Arab Women Employment in Israel's Labor Market: Background, Barriers and Solutions* (Jerusalem: Abraham Fund Initiatives, 2007) [Hebrew].

24 See Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, pp. 24-27.

25 Source of figures: *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2012*, tables 12.10, 12.23; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2009*, no. 60 (Jerusalem: Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009), tables 12.10, 12.23; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2007*, no. 58 (Jerusalem: Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, 2007), tables 12.10, 12.23; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2005*, no. 56 (Jerusalem: Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005), tables 12.10, 12.23; *Statistical Abstract of Israel 2003*, no. 64 (Jerusalem: Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, 2003), tables 12.10, 12.23.

26 *Labor Force Surveys for 2011* (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, December 2012), table 5.6.

27 *Labor Force Surveys for 2011*, table 5.7.

28 See also Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, pp. 24-27.

29 Calculating the poverty line in Israel is based on the disposable financial income of households (income from labor and capital) and transfer payments (such as welfare payments), fewer direct taxes (income tax, National Insurance Institute, and healthcare insurance). The National Insurance Institute defines a household as poor if the disposable financial income is less than one half of the median income in that economy, adjusted for family size.

30 2004 figures were taken from Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 1, p. 29; 2008 figures were taken from: Netanela Barkali, Daniel Gottlieb, and Alexander Fruman, *Poverty and Social Gaps in 2009: Annual Report* (Jerusalem: National Insurance Institute – Research and Planning Administration, 2010), p. 28; 2012 figures were taken from: Miri Endeweld, Oren Heller, Netanela Barkali, and Daniel Gottlieb, *Poverty and Social Gaps in 2012: Annual Report* (Jerusalem: National Insurance Institute – Research and Planning Administration, 2013), p. 30.

31 Endeweld et al., *Poverty and Social Gaps in 2012: Annual Report*, p. 27.

32 Endeweld et al., *Poverty and Social Gaps in 2012: Annual Report*, p. 59.

33 Miri Endeweld, Alex Fruman, Netanela Barkali, and Daniel Gottlieb, *Poverty and Social Gaps in 2008: Annual Report* (Jerusalem: National Insurance Institute – Research and Planning Administration, 2009), p. 15.

34 Rudnitzky, *The Bedouin Population in the Negev: Social, Demographic and Economic Factors*, pp. 36-37.

Notes to Chapter 4, Government Policy

1 See Arik Rudnitzky, "The Contemporary Historiographical Debate in Israel on Government Policies on Arabs in Israel during the Military Administration Period (1948–1966)," *Israel Studies* 19, no. 1 (2014): 24-47.

2 Ian S. Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980).

3 Sammy Smooha, "Existing and Alternative Policy towards the Arabs in Israel," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 5, no. 1 (1982): 71-98.

4 *Or Commission Report*, volume 1, p. 26.

5 Reiter and Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd ed., chapter 3, pp. 3-4.

6 Source of data for the years 1992-2009: Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 3, pp. 32-33; source of data for 2013: http://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/heb/coalition2013_3.pdf (accessed August 16, 2013) [Hebrew].

7 See detailed data on government policy on the Arab population, on the Prime Minister's Office website: http://www.pm.gov.il/PMO/PM+Office/Departments/policyplanning/migzar.htm [Hebrew]. On the government policy regarding resolution of the status of the Bedouin settlements in the Negev, see Rudnitzky, *The Bedouin Population in the Negev: Social, Demographic and Economic Factors*, p. 14.

8 Source of data: Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 3, p. 35; PMO website: http://www.pmo.gov.il/English/GovernmentSecretariat/Pages/GovernmentResolutions.aspx (accessed January 23, 2015).

9 Michal Belikoff, "Government Decisions Pertaining to Arab Citizens, Development Plans for Arab Communities and Follow-up on Implementation, 1999-2005," in Ali Haider, ed., *The Sikkuy Report 2004 – 2005: Monitoring Civic Equality between Arab and Jewish Citizens of Israel* (Jerusalem and Haifa: Sikkuy – Association for the Advancement of Civic Equality, December 2005), pp. 9-56.

10 According to the State Comptroller's Report for 2012, of 4,240 housing units in this program that were designed to be constructed in areas re-zoned for multi-unit housing in Arab settlements, land for only 700 (16.5 percent) was eventually re-zoned. See *Comptroller's Report, Annual Report 63C for the Year 2012 and Accounts for the 2011 Financial Year* (Jerusalem: Keter, May 2013), pp. 335-57.

11 Eyad Sanunu, *The Budgetary Needs of Arab Society for the Year 2013: Toward Consolidation of the State Budget for the Years 2013-2014* (Haifa: Mossawa Center the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel, March 2013). The report is available at http://www.mossawacenter.org/my_Documents/pic001/933_taktserrr.pdf (accessed September 30, 2013).

12 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 3, p. 22.

13 See Bishara, "The Arab in Israel: A Study in Split Political Debate," and Jamal, "On the Origins of National Inequality in Israel."
14 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 3, pp. 22-23.
15 *Or Commission Report*, volume 1, p. 53.
16 Elie Rekhess and Doron Navot, "Equal Policy and Arab Politics in Israel: Pragmatic and Paradigmatic Barriers," in *Arabs in Israel: Barriers to Equality*, eds. Shlomo Hasson and Michael M. Karayanni (Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 2006), pp. 141-62 [Hebrew].
17 Ra'anan Cohen, *Strangers in Their Homeland: Arabs, Jews and the State of Israel* (Tel Aviv: Dyonon, Tel Aviv University, 2006) [Hebrew].
18 See Naief Abu Sharkeia, "Organizational Culture in Arab Local Governments and its Impact on Administration," in *Politics, Elections and Local Governance in the Arab and Druze Sector in Israel*, eds. Ephraim Lavie and Arik Rudnitzky (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2010), pp. 87-92 [Hebrew]; Doron Navot and Elie Rekhess, "Corruption, Democracy, and Patronage in Arab Local Governments," in *Politics, Elections and Local Governance in the Arab and Druze Sector in Israel*, pp. 93-112.
19 Rekhess and Rudnitzky, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 1st ed., chapter 3, pp. 35-36.
20 See Uzi Rabi and Arik Rudnitzky, eds., *The Proposed Pledge of Allegiance and the Arab Citizens of Israel* (Tel Aviv University: Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, October 28, 2010).
21 Reiter and Cohen, *Information Manual: The Arab Society in Israel*, 2nd ed., chapter 3, pp. 35-43.
22 Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, pp. 46-47.
23 As early as the late 1990s, Tibi explicitly argued that the fact that Israel is defined as a democracy that is a "Jewish state" implies democracy only for Jewish citizens and not for Arab citizens. See Ben Porat, *Conversations with Ahmad Tibi*, p. 97.
24 *Haaretz*, December 22, 2009.
25 Ahmad Tibi, "The Ethnic Cleansing Plan," *Ynetnews.com*, October 12, 2010, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3968038,00.html.
26 Public opinion polls conducted in 2003-2009 consistently indicate that a solid two thirds or more of the Jewish public believe that preservation of the state's Jewish character should be preferred over preservation of its democratic values whenever these principles clash. See Sammy Smooha, *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2003-2009* (Haifa: University of Haifa - The Jewish-Arab Center, 2010), p. 23.

Notes to Chapter 5, Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel

1 Oren Yiftachel, "The 'Ethnic Democracy' Model and Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel: Geographical, Historical and Political Aspects," in *The Jewish-Arab Cleavage: A Reader*, eds. Ruth Gavison and Dafna Hecker (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2000), pp. 107-24 [Hebrew].

2 *Or Commission Report*, Volume 1, pp. 26-29.

3 Cited in Rekhess, "The Arabs of Israel after Oslo: Localization of the National Struggle," p. 30.

4 See Smooha, *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2003-2009*, pp. 7-10.

5 Sammy Smooha, *The Orientation and Politicization of the Arab Minority in Israel* (Haifa: Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa, 1984).

6 Smooha, *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2003-2009*, p. 14.

7 On Smooha's view of "Israelization," see Smooha, "The Israelization of the Collective Identity and Political Orientation of Israel's Palestinian Citizens."

8 This thesis is described in detail in an essay by Oded Haklai. See Haklai, "State Mutability and Ethnic Civil Society: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel"; Oded Haklai, *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

9 See Sa'id Zaidani, "The Distress of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel," in *Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations*, pp. 89-96.

10 In a lecture on the occasion of two years after the publication of the Or Commission Report, Shimon Shamir, a member of the Or Commission, stated that the increasing awareness of the relations between Jewish and Arab citizens in Israel was beginning to find greater expression at the government level (the government and the Knesset) and on the public-community level (CSOs). See Shamir, *Two Years after the Or Commission Report*, pp. 8-9.

11 Aluf Hareven, "Toward the Year 2025: Is a Shared Civil Society of Jews and Arabs Feasible?" *The New East (Hamizrach Hechadash)*, no. 36 (1995): 23-35 [Hebrew].

12 Yitzhak Reiter expressed a similar approach, which he called "a not-bad situation considering the regional circumstances." He argued that taking into consideration the circumstances of the grave and persistent dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, the violence that erupted on Land Day 1976 and the events of October 2000 were rather minor incidents that were not intolerable for the state and Jewish society. See Yitzhak Reiter, "Introduction: Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel," in *Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations*, pp. 11-43.

13 See Dan Schueftan, *Palestinians in Israel: The Arab Minority and the Jewish State* (Or Yehuda: Kinneret, Zmora-Bitan, Dvir, 2011) [Hebrew], and Hillel Frisch, *Israel's Security and its Arab Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

14 Khawla Abu-Baker and Dan Rabinowitz, *The Stand Tall Generation* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2002) [Hebrew].

15 Rabah Halabi, "Toward an Inevitable clash," in *Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations*, pp. 190-97.
16 Dan Schueftan, "From the Illusion of 'Solution' to Damage Control," *Iyunim Bebitahon Leumi* 1*,* no.1 (2001): 128-63, 198-202.
17 Reiter, *Dilemmas in Arab-Jewish Relations*.
18 Sammy Smooha, *Arab-Jewish Relations Index 2004* (Haifa: University of Haifa - Jewish-Arab Center, Citizens' Accord Forum, and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2005) [Hebrew].
19 Al-Haj, *State, Government and International Relations*.
20 Nadim Rouhana and As'ad Ghanem, "The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 3 (1998): 321-46.
21 The findings described below are taken from Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, and Smooha, *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2003-2009*. Additional research institutes also conduct public opinion polls among the Arab public, and use methodical formats similar to Smooha's *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel*. The most prominent of these institutes are the Israel Democracy Index, which has been conducted regularly since 2003 by the Israel Democracy Institute, and periodic surveys of the Arab public conducted in the past decade by Mada al-Carmel of Haifa. Another comprehensive survey was conducted in early 2012 on behalf of the Jerusalem Institute of Israel Studies. A review of the findings of these surveys is beyond the scope of this memorandum. Here we highlight the main social trends and developments rather than the methodological differences or differences in findings between these surveys. For this purpose, the *Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel* is a representative example.
22 For example, in March 2002, Ephraim Sneh, then Minister of Transportation in the Labor government, proposed a plan that included "an exchange of territories and residents" as part of a permanent settlement between the State of Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Sneh proposed transferring towns and villages in the Triangle region (including the city of Uhm al-Fahm) to PA control, in exchange for annexation by Israel of concentrations of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. See *Jerusalem Post*, March 22, 2002.
23 The 2013 Report on Racism documents dozens of incidents involving racist statements and race-related violence by Jewish citizens against Arab citizens. The report is published by the Coalition against Racism in Israel, a coalition of NGOs that combats racism against Arab citizens of Israel. See http://www.fightracism.org/en/Article.asp?aid=398 (accessed February 9, 2015).
24 For more on the psychological effects of the Jewish-Arab conflict in Israel, see Daniel Bar-Tal, *Living with the Conflict: Socio-Psychological Analysis of the Jewish Society in Israel* (Jerusalem: Carmel Publishing House, 2007) [Hebrew].
25 Smooha, *Still Playing by the Rules: Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel 2012*, pp. 69-73.

Notes to Conclusion

1 Tamar Herman et al., *The Israeli Democracy Index 2011* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2011), pp. 69-70.
2 Wadea Awawdy, "The Crisis of the Arab Parties," *Hadith al-Nas*, November 2, 2012 [Arabic].
3 *Globes*, August 19, 2013 [Hebrew].
4 This section was drafted together with members of the INSS program, including the author of this memorandum.
5 *Or Commission Report*, Volume 2, pp. 766-67.
6 One possible starting point may be the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities published by the Council of Europe in 1995, which is available at http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm. See Alexander Yakobson, "National Minority in a Democratic Nation State," in *The Status of the Arab Minority in the Jewish Nation State*, pp. 19-26.
7 Tibi repeated this statement on several occasions in recent years. See, for example, the interview published in *Maariv*, April 7, 2007, and the Knesset plenary session no. 120, March 10, 2010.

Appendix: Annotated Bibliography

In recent years, academic interest in the Arab minority in Israel has expanded. Works by historians, sociologists, jurists, and political scientists have made a significant contribution to the research literature by focusing on this topic from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. These studies address the historical development of the Arab minority, the policies of successive Israeli governments to the Arab sector, the changing relations between Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens, and the Arab minority's connection to the Palestinian national movement, whose focus shifted in the last two decades to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, following the Oslo Accords.

Two main factors led to a new stage in the field and the literature. The first is the recent public access to archival documents primarily concerning government policy and the attitude of state agencies (including the defense establishment) to the Arab minority in the period after the founding of Israel in 1948. The documents made public created fertile ground for doctoral dissertations and studies that focused on the military administration period (1948-1966) and the 1970s, a period dominated by political activism led by Rakah (the New Communist List; a prominent milestone of this period was the Land Day events of March 1976).

The second factor relates to growing public and scholarly interest over the past decade in all aspects of the existence of a national Arab minority in a Jewish nation state. In this context, two catalysts played a special role in accelerating this trend: the publication of the Or Commission Report in September 2003, and the publication of the four Future Vision documents in 2006-2007. The broad public attention given to these texts prompted numerous scholars to examine what the Or Commission called the "root causes" (and especially the deprivation and discrimination) that created the grounds for the events of October 2000, or to offer new insights that emerged from the Future Vision documents relating to the development of the national consciousness of Israel's Arab minority.

Presented below are several key studies published on these topics in recent years. Due to space limitations, only works that meet the following criteria were included:

a. Contemporary works that refer primarily to the past two decades.
b. Works on the following core issues: national identity, government policy on the Arab minority, the status of the Arab minority, and Jewish-Arab relations.
c. Books that were used as the bases for subsequent studies, and have remained relevant for scholars in the field.
d. Books and anthologies in Arabic, Hebrew, or English. Individual articles and papers are not included.

Restricting the annotated bibliography to works that meet these criteria should not be interpreted as detracting from other works on education, economics, culture, and the media. The annotated bibliography is presented by language, in reverse chronological order.

Hebrew

1. Schueftan, Dan. *Palestinians in Israel: The Arab Minority and the Jewish State*. Or Yehuda: Kinneret, Zmora-Bitan, Dvir, 2011.

   This extensive book aims to prove a single thesis: The core of the dispute and confrontation between Israel's Jewish majority and the Arab minority is Israel's definition and character as the nation state of the Jewish people – a characterization that is fundamentally rejected by the Arab public and its leaders, and that for the Jewish majority is not subject to compromise. The first part of the book includes an historical analysis of the relationship between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority and state agencies from 1948 to the present. Schueftan harshly criticizes the Arab minority's political leadership, on which he places most of the responsibility for the schism between the country's Jewish majority and Arab minority. His conclusions are supported by the second part of the book, which includes detailed documentation of statements by Arab MKs from the past two decades, and by members of the civic society's elite, including academic scholars and intellectuals. The third part of the book introduces a socio-economic framework, through which the author argues that the prevalent economic hardships in the Arab population stem primarily from social and cultural choices rather than from national discrimination in the job market or in other economic junctions. Schueftan advises readers

to disabuse themselves of the "solution illusion" and initiate a process of "damage control," whereby Arab citizens come to terms with their minority status in a Jewish nation state while maintaining their national and cultural uniqueness, and direct themselves toward growth within the joint framework. Schueftan cautions that any attempt to revise the Jewish character of the State of Israel will lead to a stalemate and to a pointless confrontation between the parties.

2. Hasson, Shlomo. *Relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel: Future Scenarios*. College Park, MD: University of Maryland, Joseph and Alma Gildenhorn Institute for Israel Studies, 2012.
   This book analyzes Jewish-Arab relations, a topic of much significance for fashioning the future image of Israel. Hasson begins his book with an analysis of structural, political, socio-economic, and psycho-cultural factors that influence the relationship between the two groups. He then offers three possible scenarios for the future relations between Jews and Arabs: (a) confrontation: this scenario might develop if Israel becomes a "nationalizing state with an ethnocratic government," or if Israel is replaced by a bi-national state, or if Israel continues to be a Jewish nation state, but one that seeks to impose a uniform, homogeneous identity for all its citizens; (b) liminality: this scenario also holds the potential for confrontation between the majority and minority, as this potential is fed by the minority's sense of liminality. Another manifestation of this scenario is preservation of the current status quo (an "ethnic democracy") or its improvement ("improved ethnic democracy"); (c) conciliation: this scenario will be achieved if Israel becomes a democratic nation state that respects minority rights, or if it becomes a "state of all its citizens." Hasson studies each of these scenarios in light of a series of factors that affect their feasibility: the fundamental ideological positions of each group and the role of history in these ideologies; psychological trends related to the mutual relations between the two national groups; and changes in Israel's political map.

3. Rekhess, Elie and Arik Rudnitzky, Eds. *Muslim Minorities in Non-Muslim Majority Countries: The Test Case of the Islamic Movement in Israel*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2011.

The status of Muslim minorities in Western non-Muslim-majority countries (especially in Europe) is an issue that has come into sharper focus in recent years. Large Muslim minorities have emerged in such countries, sometimes accounting for 5-10 percent of the local population. This new situation has placed on the public agenda a host of questions relating to the conduct of an Islamic lifestyle based on the principles of Islamic law (*sharia*) under non-Islamic rule, subject to Western, secular state laws. Such dilemmas touch on questions concerning lifestyle and the civic status of Muslims in Israel (who account for 17 percent of the country's total population), especially against the growing power of the Islamic Movement and the religious component of Muslims' social and political identity in the past three decades. This anthology offers an analytical framework for comparing the status of Muslim minority communities in Western countries with the status of the Muslim community in Israel. The articles included in this book are based on a series of lectures given at a March 2010 conference on diverse aspects of the history, religion, and politics of Muslim minorities in Israel and the West. Authors are senior scholars from academia and the public sector, including Uriya Shavit, Leah Kinberg, Sagi Polka, Elie Rekhess, Nimrod Luz, Iyad Zahalka, Mohanad Mustafa, and Moredechai Keidar. This volume was also published in English.

4. Ghanim, Honaida. *Reinventing the Nation: Palestinian Intellectuals in Israel*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2009.
   This book, which is based on the author's doctoral dissertation in sociology, analyzes the contribution of Arab-Israeli intellectuals to the spiritual and national revival of Palestinian-Arab society, from the Nakba of 1948 to the present. Under the category of intellectuals, the author refers to pundits, poets, authors, clerics (Muslim and Christian), and academic scholars, some of whom eventually became politicians. The book reviews the effects of the 1948 war and the 1967 war on Arab intellectuals' perception of Arab society and its status as a minority community in Israel. A key concept that is discussed repeatedly in this book is liminality, or the sense of living on the edge of Israeli society and on the fringes of Palestinian society. A major section of this book is devoted to a typology of three Palestinian intellectual streams in Israel. One stream accepts the definition of Israel as a Jewish, democratic state, and does

not challenge this definition. Proponents of this stream view liminality as a privilege that allows Israeli Arabs to influence both Israeli Jews and Palestinians. The second stream totally ignores the State of Israel and the cultural existence of Israeli society, and focuses exclusively on Arab society. Exponents of this stream reject the legitimacy of the state altogether, restrict their interactions with it to the necessary minimum, and consider it a necessarily transient phenomenon. Supporters of this stream include members of the ex-parliamentary faction of the Islamic Movement as well as several authors and poets. The third stream, which the author calls "the subversive intelligentsia," operates from within the state's political structure with the goal of erasing its Zionist nature. They propose to supplant the existing political structure with the slogan "a state of all its citizens." The National Democratic Assembly, headed by Azmi Bishara, is the prominent representative of this stream.

5. Ocazky-Lazar, Sarah, and Mustafa Kabha, Eds. *Between Vision and Reality: The Vision Papers of the Arabs in Israel, 2006-2007*. Jerusalem: Citizens' Accord Forum, 2007.
   This anthology was sparked by the publication between December 2006 and May 2007 of the four Future Vision documents. The documents offer the Arab minority's view of its own future in the State of Israel, along with proposals for modifying the nature of the state and its government. In the introduction to this anthology, the editors note that the fact that the Future Vision documents were composed as independent position papers rather than as a single cohesive document triggered a myriad of opinions, interpretations, and commentaries at various conferences and debates in the months following their publication. The goal of this anthology is to summarize and document the debate surrounding the documents from various perspectives. It is divided into four sections: theoretical aspects, an inside view, Arab responses, and Jewish responses. Contributors include Jewish and Arab academic scholars and public figures, some of whom participated in the composition of the Future Vision documents and proceed to discuss their implications: Amal Jamal, Ilana Kaufman, Denis Sharvit, Raif Zreik, Ghaida Rinawai-Zouabi, Hassan Jabareen, As'ad Ghanem, Mohanad Mustafa, Mustafa Kabha, Mary Totri, Sammy Smooha, Yitzhak Reiter, Meron Benvenisti, and Yehuda Shenhav.

6. Hasson, Shlomo and Michael M. Karayyani, Eds. *Arabs in Israel: Barriers to Equality*. Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 2006. This collection of essays concerns two main issues: (a) barriers to equality and development of the Arabs in Israel; and (b) ways to mitigate the impact of these obstacles. The critical need to investigate these obstacles arose as a result of modernization of Arab society and social mobilization among the Arab citizens. The new generation grew up conscious of the principles of equality, democracy, and human rights, and at the same time, encountered the existing gaps between Jews and Arabs. Members of this generation heightened the criticism against the country's establishment and its welfare policy, and increased demands for civic equality and the collective rights of the Arab minority. The collection includes essays by Jewish and Arab researchers working in a broad range of fields, including law, sociology, psychology, political science, geography, and planning, who discuss four categories of barriers: (a) barriers originating in the country's legal and legislative systems; (b) barriers originating in the political system; (c) psychological barriers; and (d) social and economic barriers. Authors include Khaled Abu Asba, Sarab Abu Rabia-Quewder, Hassan Jabareen, Amiram Gonen, Amal Jamal, Chaim Gans, Netta Ziv, Rassem Khamaisi, Shlomo Hasson, Menahem Moutner, Yifat Maoz, Doron Navot, Ilan Saban, Michael Soffer, Danny Statman, Michael Karayanni, Eran Razin, Yitzhak Reiter, Elie Rekhess, and Yitzhak Schnell.

7. Rekhess, Elie and Sarah Ocazky-Lazar, Eds. *The Status of the Arab Minority in the Jewish Nation State*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation, 2005.
   The national status of the Arab citizens of Israel has gained widespread public and research attention in recent years. Over time, far reaching changes have occurred in and outside Israel in notions concerning the status of minorities, the nature of Israeli democracy, and the demands of the state raised by the Arab citizens. Israel's definition as a "Jewish and democratic state" poses a complex challenge for Arab citizens who are members of a Palestinian national minority living in a Jewish nation state. The state wishes to guarantee civic equality to all residents, and at the same time maintain its goal to be the nation state of the Jewish people worldwide. This collection of material wishes to contribute to this discourse at the theoretical level, as well as consider some practical aspects

of this issue. This is a collection of lectures given at a conference held in March 2004 given by Amal Jamal, Alexander Yakobson, Eli Bar-Navi, Sammy Smooha, Hassan Jabareen, Yitzhak Zamir, Muhammad Dahle, and Menahem Moutner. The first section of this volume focuses on the theoretical aspects of minority status, while the second part discusses the test case of the Muslim minority in France and the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The third section focuses on the status of Arabs in Israel (especially from a legal perspective), and the final section concludes with a panel discussion including Azmi Bishara, Isaac Herzog, and Moshe Arens, moderated by Elie Rekhess.

8. Abu Baker, Khawla and Danny Rabinowitz. *The Stand Tall Generation*. Jerusalem: Keter, 2002.
   This volume describes the emergence of a new worldview among Israel's Arab population in terms that are used by this group itself: a minority of "Palestinian citizens in Israel" demanding collective rights. More than any other previous event, the events of October 2000 propelled these developments to the forefront of the public discourse in Israel in general, and Arab society in particular. The flag bearers of the new understanding are the members of the Stand Tall generation: young people, mostly students, who were in their late 20s or early 30s during the al-Aqsa Intifada and refused to resign themselves to the Zionist nature of the state. Their position drew a stark contrast to both the "burned-out" generation of their fathers, who were born after Israel was founded and who had attempted to instigate change in the 1970s and 1980s, but despaired of truly integrating into Israeli society, and to the generation of their grandfathers, the "survivor generation," who were born before 1948 and experienced the trials and tribulations of the 1948 war and the military government administration period (which ended in 1966). They similarly reject the relationship with the Jewish majority that perpetuates the Arabs' inferior status in Israel. The authors of this volume analyze the sociological features of each of these three generations, and describe the historical-sociological thread that binds all three: the Stand Tall generation was raised on the heritage of the 1976 Land Day that was experienced by the "burned-out" generation, and grew up on the Nakba stories they heard from the members of the survivor generation. The Stand Tall generation, which participated in the events of October

2000, is unique in its mature political and national consciousness, which developed against the backdrop of two concurrent developments of the past two decades: (a) frustration caused by the campaign for civic rights in the State of Israel; and (b) maturation of the national Palestinian movement in the Palestinian territories and Palestinian refugee camps.

9. Gavison, Ruth and Daphna Hacker, Eds. *The Jewish-Arab Rift in Israel: A Reader*. Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2000.
This anthology includes essays on the Jewish-Arab rift, written by leading researchers and published in the decade preceding the events of October 2000, and serves as an introductory text to the topic. Several essays focus on specific topics such as education, distribution of resources, and political parties, which are then embedded within a general context. Others introduce and apply theoretical models of government to Israeli reality. The issues discussed in this volume include: the collective identity of the Arabs in Israel in the aftermath of the Oslo Accords; the mutual links binding the political streams of Islam in Israel and the Palestinian territories; a discussion of the nature of government in Israel and civic equality for the Arab citizens in a country defined as "Jewish and democratic"; and other issues. The authors, both Jews and Arabs, come from a range of disciplines, and they address the Jewish-Arab rift from different perspectives and moral positions. The authors: Majid al-Haj, Adel Mana, Elie Rekhess, Sammy Smooha, Ruth Gavison, Yitzhak Reiter, Aluf Hareven, Azmi Bishara, Yoav Peled, Oren Yiftachel, Arnon Soffer, Yehoshua Porat, and Benyamin Neuberger.

10. Ocazky-Lazar, Sarah, As'ad Ghanem, and Ilan Pappé, Eds. *Seven Ways: Theoretical Options for the Status of Arabs in Israel*. Givat Haviva: The Jewish-Arab Center for Peace, 1999.
This book is the outcome of a debate beginning in the 1990s on the current and future (desirable and feasible) status of the Arab citizens in the State of Israel. The debate took place mainly in Arab society and between Jewish and Arab intellectuals and academic scholars. The context for the debate: the final settlement agreement between Israel and the Palestinians that appeared to be taking shape. Each of the options introduced in the volume is analyzed according to two main criteria: its feasibility and its necessity as a condition for co-existence in Israel. All the

options are studied within the same historical and regional contexts, such as the history of the Jewish-Arab conflict; Israel's social and economic problems; Israel's relationship with the Arab world, the Jewish world, and the international community in general. The authors, Jewish and Arab academics, belong to a wide range of research disciplines and are associated with various ideological orientations: Sammy Smooha, Ilan Saban, Mohammad Amara, Rassem Khamaisi, Ilana Kaufman, Nadim Rouhana, and As'ad Ghanem. The options discussed in this volume are: (a) retention of the status quo (the "ethnic democracy" model); (b) maximum improvement within the limits of Zionism: the Jewish nation state grants extensive rights to the Arab minority; (c) the entrenchment option – a Jewish nation state that institutes a hardline policy on the matter of collective rights for the Arab minority; (d) the separation option, which is divided into three sub-options: (i) annexation (irredentism) of territories with a high concentration of Arabs to the future Palestinian state; (ii) semi-independent autonomy of these territories within Israel; (iii) actual transfer of Arab citizens outside state borders; (e) an Israeli state ("state of all its citizens") in which national affiliation plays no role; (f) a bi-national state within the Green Line borders (alongside a Palestinian state in the territories); (g) a bi-national state over the entire territory of Mandatory Palestine.

11. Rekhess, Elie. *The Arab Minority in Israel: Poised between Communism and Arab Nationality 1965-1991*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Center and Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 1993.
    After 1965, following the split from the Israel Communist Party (Maki), the New Communist List (Rakah) made a deep imprint on the political worldviews and behavioral patterns of Israel's Arab minority. This volume describes the establishment of Rakah, using three analytical axes: Jewish-Arab tension underpinning the party's foundation; the impact of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the vicissitudes that occurred; and the extreme fluctuations between a Communist orientation and Arab-Palestinian nationalism. Rekhess describes Rakah's growing popularity and dominance, and explains how it reached the height of its power in the late 1970s. He proceeds to analyze the factors responsible for undermining Rakah's monopoly, which he attributes to the rise of new national forces such as the Sons of the Village Movement, the Progressive List for Peace,

and the Islamic Movement on the one hand, and accelerated social and economic change on the other. This book not only offers a developmental account of Rakah, but also an overview of the political evolution of the Arabs in Israel in the period under discussion.

Arabic

12. Ghanem, As'ad and Mohanad Mustafa. *The Palestinians in Israel: The Politics of the Indigenous Minority in the Ethnic State*. Ramallah: Madar – The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, 2009.
    This volume focuses on the concepts that feature prominently in the political and national discourse of Israel's Arab minority, and the modes of struggle that this minority adopted in the past two decades to achieve its goals. The authors analyze the response of the state, and argue that by virtue of its definition as a "Jewish state," the state seeks to subvert the political and national consolidation of its Arab minority. The first section addresses the relations between the state and its Arab minority. In this section, the authors argue that although Israel flaunts its democratic nature, it effectively employs all means and measures to establish the hegemony of one ethnic group, the Jews, at the expense of the Arab minority, through a policy of Judaization. The Arab minority therefore struggles to free itself of this hegemony and change the minority-majority paradigm determined in 1948. The second section examines the national development of the Arab minority. In contrast to the prevalent approach in Israeli research discourse, which assumes that the national identity of the Arabs in Israel developed naturally as a minority group, these authors argue that their development was overshadowed by an acute identity crisis that stems from both (a) the minority's exclusion from the state's ethnic framework, which is reflected in the inequality between Arabs and Jews in the state; and (b) their affiliation with the Palestinian nation group to which they belong, and which is largely located in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In the third and final section of the book, the authors propose several potential scenarios of the Arab minority's future. Within this discussion, the authors review a series of proposals that have emerged in the past two decades relating to the status of the Arab minority in Israel's current political system, or in a possible future bi-national framework. The authors also address ideas suggested by the Islamic stream, such as the establishment of a self-sufficient society,

and by the national stream, largely designed to transform Israel into a "state of all its citizens."

13. Nakhleh, Khalil, Ed. *The Future of the Palestinian Minority in Israel*. Ramallah: Madar – The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies, 2008.
This collection of essays focuses on the contents and the significance of the Future Vision documents. The volume compiles the works of several Palestinian authors, most of whom are Israeli citizens, and some of whom were among the documents' authors. The collection's contribution is grounded in the fact that it offers the reader a critical analysis of the documents from an internal Palestinian perspective. The first three chapters address the documents themselves. The first chapter, by As'ad Ghanem, discusses the Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs of Israel document, which was published in December 2006. Ghanem, one of the key collaborators on this document, argues that Arab citizens' marginality stems from their marginal civic status in Israel and from their lack of influence on the Palestinian national movement. He states that the significance of the Future Vision document lies in the counter-narrative that it offers to the Zionist narrative. The second chapter, by Thabet Abu Ras, analyzes the Democratic Constitution document published by Adalah – The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel. Abu Ras contends that the fact that Israel has no constitution is not because the public debate on the constitution reached an impasse, but because the ethnic balance of power in the state prevents the consolidation of a constitution. This situation highlights the alternative constitution proposed by Adalah. The third chapter, which addresses the Haifa Declaration extensively, was composed by Nadim Rouhana, one of the key collaborators in drafting the Declaration. Rouhana describes in detail the internal debates of the group that worked for several years to draft the Haifa Declaration. He states that an historic reconciliation between the Jews and the Palestinians in Israel will be possible only after the right of return is realized and a bi-national entity is established, in the spirit of the vision reflected in the Haifa Declaration. The next two chapters offer a critical perspective of the contents and the significance of the documents. Raif Zreik analyzes the direct and indirect implications of the documents. Antoine Shalhat and Mufid Qassum discuss the Jewish public's responses to the documents. Khalil Nahlef edited the volume and composed the Introduction, which

situates the Future Vision documents on the historical continuum of the developing national consciousness of the Arab minority in Israel, and its attempts to realize its right to self-determination.

English

14. Frisch, Hillel. *Israel's Security and Its Arab Citizens*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
    This volume analyzes the relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in the State of Israel using theories from the fields of international relations and defense studies. Frisch aims to demonstrate that the relationship between the Jews and Arab in Israel, which is in any case emotionally charged by the ethnic rift between the two groups, is exacerbated by Israel's geopolitical position in the Middle East. Israel's policies based on its security concerns relating to its Arab neighbors have a devastating effect on the state's Arab citizens. Frisch believes that any dialogue involving the Jewish majority and the Arab minority is destined to fail due to the Jewish majority's insistence on preserving the Zionist nature of the state, and the Arab minority's efforts to transform Israel into a bi-national state. The author argues that such proposals are impractical, and he points to the failure of similar attempts in other parts of the world, such as Cyprus and Lebanon. Frisch believes that in contrast to the situation of other minorities embroiled in an ethnic-national conflict with the state's majority group, the situation of the Arab minority is relatively favorable. Nonetheless, as the author points out, tension remains between economic and legal liberalization that favors the Arabs' civic rights in Israel and the increasingly poor treatment they receive at the hands of state agencies, under the influence of external geo-strategic constraints. He believes that David Ben Gurion's view of the Arab minority as a fifth column has acquired a considerable groundswell today. This volume also describes the historical development of the Arab political system in Israel and the impact of the Palestinian national movement on the national identity of Israel's Arabs.

15. Haklai, Oded. *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
    Haklai studies the political mobilization among Israel's Arab citizens, especially from the late 1970s to the present, distinguishing three phases in

the development of the political activism of the Arab minority. In the first phase, primarily during the military government period (1948-1966), the Arab minority was debilitated and acquiescent due to the state agencies' hardline approach. In the second phase, in the 1970s and 1980s, political mobilization in Arab society followed Rakah's platform, which stressed a class struggle for equality. In the third phase, which began in the 1990s, and during which the key transformation occurred, new Arab parties and a series of ex-parliamentary civil society organizations emerged. These new organizations began to demand, with increasing forcefulness, that the state recognize the Arab minority as an "indigenous minority" and grant it extensive social and cultural autonomy. At the same time, they also posed the demand to replace the Zionist nature of the state, which favors the Jewish majority, with a bi-national model. Haklai grounds his analysis on political science theories concerning the relations between society and state, and concludes that the weakening state apparatus, growing fragmentation of Israeli politics, and improvements in their economic conditions in the 1980s and onward are the factors that facilitated national mobilization among the Arab minority. However, despite the internal fragmentation of state agencies, which reduced the control and supervision over the Arab minority, the grasp of these agencies is still strong enough to impede equal access to resources by Arab citizens.

16. Jamal, Amal. *Arab Minority Nationalism in Israel: The Politics of Indigeneity*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
    Research over the past two decades has been dominated by a growing interest in the world's indigenous minorities. The author discusses extensively the development of the national consciousness of indigenous minorities and minorities' relations with their respective states, offering the Arab minority as a test case. Jamal argues that a new type of political discourse emerged among the world's indigenous minorities in recent years, which he calls "the politics of indigeneity." This national-political discourse emphasizes the rights due to indigenous people by virtue of their status as the original inhabitants of the country before the founding of the state in which they currently live. In the literature on indigenous minorities, these rights are known as "indigenous rights"; that is, rights that indigenous people believe are due to them by virtue of their natural connection to the land, and that are not a function of the laws of the state

that was forced upon them. Jamal lays the theoretical foundations for his analysis in the first two chapters of his book, in which he explains why the study of the status of indigenous minorities is applicable to the case of the Arab minority in Israel. He proceeds to analyze the diverse expressions of the Arab minority's politics of indigeneity: cultivation of its collective memory and its connection to the pre-state historical homeland; emergence of a new generation of political leaders in the Arab population; the Future Vision documents as a milestone in the consolidation of a politics of indigeneity; the contribution of Arab civil society organizations to national mobilization, and their role in confronting state systems; and finally, an analysis of the political philosophy of Azmi Bishara, considered one of the most important thinkers who outlined the development of the national stream in Arab society in the past two decades. According to Jamal, it is not sufficient that the Arab minority enjoys collective rights or recognition of its status as an indigenous population as long as the division of political power in the state remains unequal. He argues that indigeneity confers a right to sovereignty, and therefore only a single-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can lead to a situation in which the Palestinians enjoy both collective and civic rights.

17. Pappé, Ilan. *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.
Pappé's book presents an historical narrative of the Arab minority in Israel – that part of the Palestinian nation that remained on its land after the 1948 war and became citizens of the state that was established at the time. Although this book offers nothing new over previous studies on the consolidation of the Arab minority in Israel, successive Israeli government policies on the Arab population, or the dynamics of the relations between the Jews and Arabs in Israel, its novelty, according to the author, lies in its presentation of this narrative from an historical perspective of over 60 years in a manner that eclipses the moral sensitivities of the Arab minority. Therefore, the main thesis of this book, which the author developed in his earlier books, is that the Zionist aspiration was to conduct ethnic cleansing of the Arab residents of Mandatory Palestine. Pappé contends that a discussion of the case of the Arab minority in Israel will allow us to understand how the incessant aspiration for ethnic

superiority fostered by the Zionist movement – and subsequently, by the State of Israel – led to the current reality of Israel's Arab citizens. The chapters of this book address different periods in the history of the Arab minority under Israeli rule, from the military government in the first two decades after statehood, to the most recent decade of the current century. Pappé offers an historical narrative that highlights the common denominator of successive Israeli government policies on the Arab minority. For example, although the notion of a population transfer was rejected in the first decade of statehood, the author argues that the practical expressions of this notion today are reflected in Avigdor Liberman's slogan "no allegiance, no citizenship," or proposals to annex Israeli territories containing Arab population concentrations to the future Palestinian state. The contribution of this book lies in its redirection of interest from the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the Palestinian territories to the situation of what he calls the "forgotten Palestinians" – the Arab citizens of Israel.

18. Peleg, Ilan and Dov Waxman. *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
The main contention of this book is that a comprehensive, sustainable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict depends not only on resolving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the territories in a "two states for two nations" format, but is also largely contingent on resolving the dispute within Israel between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority. Peleg and Waxman caution that if the relations between Israel's Arab and Jewish citizens continue to deteriorate, they will effectively threaten the integrity of the state and its democratic government, as well as any chance for peace in the Middle East. The authors review the attitudes of state agencies to the Arab minority from 1948 to the present. They believe that there is no inherent contradiction between Israel's definition as a "Jewish state" and its being a "state of all its citizens." They argue that Israel can be a place where Israelis and Palestinians can live as equal citizens, and in such an event, Israel can be defined as "the homeland of the Jewish people, a pluralistic democracy, and a state of all its citizens." Based on the experience of national minorities in other countries, and the basic assumption that no Israeli-Palestinian peace will ensue as long as the Arab minority in Israel continues to be a "raging, alienated

minority," the authors offer a series of practical proposals designed to protect both the rights of the Arab minority and the Jewish nature of the state. Their main proposals are: official recognition of Israel's Arab minority as a national minority; extensive recognition of the collective rights, including broad cultural autonomy, due to the Arabs as a national minority; increased political representation of the Arabs to guarantee fair representation according to their proportion in the population; and diligent action to improve socio-economic conditions in Arab towns.

19. Reiter, Yitzhak. *National Minority, Regional Majority: Palestinian Arabs versus Jews in Israel*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009. Reiter wishes to enrich the existing corpus of research on Jewish-Arab relations in Israel by offering a discussion of the topic from a broader perspective of the implications of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Arab-Israeli conflict in general. This aim is clear from the outset: the first two chapters of this work focus on the root causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the formative impact of the 1948 war on the collective memory of the Arab minority remaining in Israel. Reiter proceeds to examine government policy from the 1970s to the 1990s, a period that was foreshadowed by the intensification of a process known in research terminology as Palestinization. Reiter reviews the 1967 war and the Oslo process, which began in 1993, two milestones in the development of the Arab minority's national consciousness. Palestinization, which began after the Six Day War, heightened not only due to the renewed contact between the Arabs in Israel and their Palestinian brethren, but also due to the Arab citizens' experience of the government's land policy, reflected in the establishment of Jewish settlements in Palestinian territories, which reminded them of the land policy instituted against them in the military government period. As a result, Arab society reinstated the means of struggle that had generally been used before the Nakba of 1948. The Oslo process also contributed to growing Palestinization: the indigenous consciousness of the Arab minority was fueled by the fact that its interests were not discussed in the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, and it was therefore forced to fend for its status on its own. In the final chapters of the book, Reiter discusses the implications of the second intifada (which commenced in October 2000), the Second

Lebanon War (2006), and the publication of the Future Vision documents on the rift between the Jews and Arabs of Israel.

20. Payes, Shany. *Palestinian NGOs in Israel: The Politics of Civil Society*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005.
Payes' study analyzes the development of Arab NGOs in Israel in the past three decades, from the 1980s to the period of the second intifada. The author discusses the contribution of these organizations to the struggle for the rights of Israel's Arab citizens. Payes traces empowerment of Arab society through the emergence and growth of civil society organizations. Initially, local organizations were set up to fill the void in specific areas that were neglected by the state, such as welfare services, culture, education, and infrastructure. Over time, organizations were established to provide a more strategic, comprehensive solution to the inferior status and conditions of Israel's Arab citizens. Also during this period, small scale organizations that operated locally began to merge and operate at the national level. Payes concludes that the establishment of these organizations was an expression of protest against what the Arab citizens considered to be the root cause of the discrimination against them: Israel's definition as a "Jewish state." The activities of these organizations reflect a desire to change the relationship between the state and the Arab minority. The book is a comprehensive study of the contribution of Arab NGOs to internal transformations of Arab society, and the relationship between these organizations and the Jewish majority, the state, and international organizations. This is one of the first comprehensive studies of its kind on the growing dominance of the Arab third sector in Israel. In itself, this study attests to the growing academic interest in the study of Arab civil society, as well as the formative impact of these organizations on the character of Arab society.

21. Ghanem, As'ad. *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001.
In the first section of this book, Ghanem offers an historical review of the development of political trends in Arab society from 1948 to 2000 (when the author concluded the manuscript). The novelty of this book compared to previous studies on this topic lies in the author's proposed typology of the political and ideological streams of Arab society.

Ghanem distinguishes four streams, described in the second section of the book. One stream, which he calls the "Arab-Israeli stream," accepts the Arabs' minority status in a Jewish nation state and has no aspirations to change the definition of the state. The second stream is the Arab-Jewish Communist stream, which also accepts the Arabs' status as a national minority in Israel, but opposes the country's Zionist features that cause discrimination against the Arab minority. The third stream is the Islamic stream, which underscores the religious aspects of the Arab minority's collective identity and wishes to avoid any direct confrontation with state authorities on the national status of the Arab minority. The fourth stream is the national-secular stream, which stresses the fact that the Arab minority is an indigenous minority. This stream wishes to abolish the Zionist character of the state. In the third and final section of the book, Ghanem points to the hardships experienced by the Arab minority, which he believes stem from the state's ethnically based definition as a Jewish state, and from the Arab minority's isolation from the Palestinian nation. As a solution to the Arab minority's "predicament," and a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in general, Ghanem suggests adopting an Israeli-Palestinian bi-national arrangement.

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