



חברה משותפת  
مجتمع مشترك  
Shared Society

גבעת חביבה  
جبعات حبيبه  
Givat Haviva



The Second Annual Givat Haviva Conference:  
**Developing a Shared Society in Israel**  
May 28, 2014

Summary, Conclusions & Policy Recommendations

## **Acknowledgements**

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Robert Bosch **Stiftung**

**Naomi and Nehemiah  
Cohen Foundation**



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*For more than a decade, Givat Haviva has been an innovative and pioneering partner in its work to build understanding between Arabs and Jews, promote equality in Israeli society, and help lay the groundwork for public support of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”*

**Honorable Daniel B. Shapiro,  
Ambassador of the United States of America to the State of Israel**



# Executive Summary

## Policy Recommendations for Developing a Shared Society in Israel

### Background

On May 28, 2014 Givat Haviva brought together prominent leaders, representatives and activists from civil society, government, private sector, academia and the donor community for the **Second Annual Givat Haviva Conference: Developing a Shared Society in Israel**. The proceedings engaged participants in developing recommendations for charting a roadmap to build a shared society in Israel, summarized below.

### Public Opinion Poll: Troubling Results Demonstrating a Need for Action

In preparation for the event, Givat Haviva conducted a **public opinion poll** in collaboration with the Smith Institute examining the attitudes of the Jewish population towards the Arab population in Israel. The results of the survey clearly demonstrate an escalation of tensions between Jews and Arabs and a deviation from the democratic principles on which the State of Israel was founded.

### Key Recommendations – Education for a Shared Society

- 1. Adoption of the "Public Committee Report for Defining State Policy for a Shared Society between Jews and Arabs in Israel" (2009).** We call on the Ministry of Education and the Government of Israel to adopt and implement the recommendations outlined in the report.
- 2. Build tools to educate for a shared society.** Education for a shared society requires the provision of pedagogical and programmatic tools that educators can use in areas such as bilingualism, citizenship and democratic values.
- 3. Increase Jewish-Arab encounters and collaboration in schools.** In the face of a divided education system, there is a need to create more opportunities for Jewish and Arab students to meet on a regular basis and work together towards common goals, while engaging in a constructive discourse on civic issues.
- 4. Creation of joint educational frameworks:** The impact of shared society education efforts can be enhanced through the development and integration of informal and experiential frameworks such as camps and joint study programs, as well as formal structures such as bilingual schools.

## Key Recommendations – Economic Inclusion

- 1. Promote inclusive employment:** Develop strategies to increase integration of three key populations in the Arab sector into the workforce: women, youth (18-22), older adults (age 50+).
- 2. Transfer of capital to Arab Sector:** Encourage the transfer of capital from the private
- 3. sector and government to develop industries in the Arab sector that contribute to the development of the Israeli economy while enabling economic progress in locations of Arab residence.**
- 4. Prioritize infrastructure development in Arab population centers.** The development of infrastructure in Arab towns and cities can support economic development in the Arab sector in general, and the integration of Arab women in the workforce in particular.

## Development of Collective Vision & Roadmap for a Shared Society in 2020

The Givat Haviva Second Annual Shared Society Conference calls on the Israeli Government to establish a forum charged with forging a collective vision for a shared society in Israel, targeting the year 2020. Such a forum should engage stakeholders from the government, civil society and business sectors in developing a long term vision and road map to creating a civic and economic partnership that will cultivate social stability and economic progress in Israel.



*In order to create a national program for building a shared society we need opportunities that will enable the various sectors to come together and lay the basis for mutual commitment and action.”*

Yaniv Sagee, Executive Director, Givat Haviva





# Conference Proceedings

## Opening Plenary Session

The conference opened with a plenary session addressing the broad issues relating to the challenges and opportunities of cultivating a shared, democratic society among Jews and Arabs in Israel.

### Opening:

Riad Kabha, Director of Jewish-Arab Center for Peace, Givat Haviva

Yaniv Sagee, Executive Director, Givat Haviva

### Speakers:

**Conference Co-Chair:** Prof. Gabriella Shalev, Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations and President of the Higher Academic Council, Ono Academic College

**Conference Co-Chair:** Prof. Bashar Saad, President of Al Qasemi Academic College

Mr. Henry Alt-Haaker, Program Officer, Robert Bosch Stiftung GmbH

Dr. Werner Puschra, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Israel and Member of the Economic Argument- Group of Experts, The Shared Societies Project, Club de Madrid

### Special Address

His Excellency, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel, Ambassador Lars Faaborg-Andersen

### Educating for a Shared Society: "The other is Me"

The Israeli Ministry of Education has set the theme of this academic year as "The other is Me". How does this concept gain meaningful expression in the day-to-day lives of students and



*We believe that the notion of local cooperation between former antagonized groups on equal footing and open dialogue on concrete challenges far away from big contentious geopolitics are a strategy that can be transferred to many conflict regions in the world.”*

Henry Alt-Haaker, Program Officer, Robert Bosch Stiftung

teachers in a system that educates Jews and Arabs separately? Indeed, how can we promote understanding and acceptance among the citizens of tomorrow when they have little opportunity to interact in their younger years?

What concrete steps can be taken to prepare the next generation for dialogue, cooperation and mutual respect in order to forge a shared society?

**Moderator:** Samer Atamni, Co-Director, Face-to-Face, Givat Haviva

**Panelists:**

Nasr Abu-Safi, Assistant to the Minister of Education for the Arab Sector

Dr. Asmaa N. Ganayem, Educational Consultant, Municipality of Baqa el Garbiyaa

Mikki Nevo, Senior VP, Research & Development, Rashi Foundation

Noam Lautman, Co-founder and Director, Lautman Foundation; Chairman of the Board, Delta Galil Industries Ltd.; Chairman of the Board, Ma'ase; Vice President of the New Israel Fund

### **Economic Inclusion: Towards a Shared Society Dividend**

Social cohesion and equality are said to be closely linked to economic performance. Research has shown that high levels of public participation, political stability and innovation enhance economic development and sustainability for all citizens. Alternatively, continued conflict and internal divisions can have a negative impact on economic progress. To what extent is the level of social cohesion linked to economic performance in Israel? What impact can the economic empowerment of the Arab minority in Israel have on national economic performance and what are the current costs to existing barriers? This session explored the various factors connected to the “Shared Society Dividend” and its applicability to the Israeli context.

**Moderator:** Nabil Armaly, Economic Journalist

**Panelists:**

Dr. Werner Puschra, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Israel and Member of the Economic Argument- Group of Experts, The Shared Societies Project, Club de Madrid

Smadar Nehab, Executive Director, Tsofen – High Technology Centers

Ayman Seif, Director, Economic Development Authority in the Minority Sector, Prime Minister's Office

Jimmy Levy, Managing General Partner & Co-Founder, Al Bawader

Ghada Zoabi, Founder-CEO, bokra.net

Salam Sharkieh, Director of Marketing, Arab Sector, Partner Orange

## Keynote Speech & Concluding Session

A keynote speech was delivered by the Honorable Ambassador Daniel Shapiro, sharing insights regarding the shared society concept and its practical application. Final concluding remarks were delivered integrating the key points and articulating proposed strategies for policy and program implementation. Givat Haviva granted its "Shared Society Award" to two outstanding citizens working towards a shared society in Israel.

**Moderator:** Mohammad Darawshe, Director of Planning, Equality & Shared Society, Givat Haviva

**Keynote Speaker:** Honorable Daniel B. Shapiro, The Ambassador of the United States of America to the State of Israel

### Closing Remarks:

**Conference Co-Chair:** Prof. Gabriella Shalev, Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations and President of the Higher Academic Council, Ono Academic College

**Conference Co-Chair:** Prof. Bashar Saad, President of Al Qasemi Academic College

### Presentation of Givat Haviva Shared Society Award:

Abdallah Hattib, Director of Arab Education, Israeli Ministry of Education

Roni Naftaly, Former Chairman, Mei Eden Ltd. and Former Chairman, Givat Haviva Face-to-Face Program

### Concert

**Jammin' Divas and local Arab and Jewish musicians: George Samaan and Lian Aharoni**

Participants enjoyed a unique concert of a multicultural women's band, together with local Arab and Jewish musicians, giving voice to the universal vision and principles of a shared society.

*This concert was held in cooperation with the **Embassy of the United States of America.***



*Europe, too, has to grapple with the challenges of complex multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies. We do not have a perfect recipe. We have not come to lecture, but to share and learn from experiences, successful and failed.”*

**Ambassador Lars Faaborg-Andersen, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel**





# Position Paper on the Need to Develop a Shared Society in Israel

The objective of this paper is to present policy makers with recommendations for building and promoting a shared society in Israel, as formulated in a conference on the topic held at Givat Haviva. The paper sums up the discussions at the conference and the main points made by the speakers. Givat Haviva proposes workable principles and offers to help in their implementation in order to continue the process of developing a shared society in Israel.

## Background

The conference on **Developing a Shared Society in Israel** was held at Givat Haviva on May 28, 2014. Speakers and participants included central figures from the three sectors and many social activists who are working to building a tolerant, shared society for all citizens. The conference was co-chaired by Prof. Gabriela Shalev, former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations and President of the Higher Academic Council at Ono Academic College, and Prof. Bashar Saad, President of Al-Qasemi Academic College. Speakers included Honorable Ambassador Lars Faaborg-Andersen, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel; Honorable Daniel B. Shapiro, Ambassador of the United States of America to the State of Israel; Aymen Seif, Head of the Authority for Economic Development of the Arab Sector in the Prime Minister's Office; Nasr Abu-Safi, Assistant to the Minister of Education for the Arab Sector, Mr. Abdallah Hattib, Director of the Arab Education System in Israel; entrepreneurs and business executives from leading companies, educators, and leaders of non-governmental organizations.

The conference focused on challenges and opportunities for building a shared society, and was structured around four sessions, including two central panels dedicated to issues of education and economy. The following sections summarize the main themes and recommendations made by the speakers in the various panels at the conference.

## Pre-Conference Public Opinion Poll

At the conference opening session, Yaniv Sagee, Givat Haviva Executive Director, presented the distressing findings of a **public opinion poll** that examined the attitudes of the Jewish population towards the Arab population in Israel. The poll was conducted during the month of May by Givat Haviva in cooperation with Smith Consulting, and it studied 500 men and women as a representative sample of the adult Jewish population.

**Summary of findings:** Only 15% said they visit Arab settlements at least once a month; close to 60% said they never visit Arab settlements, whether because they feel it is not safe, or because "there is no reason to go there". Less than half of those surveyed (48%) strongly condemn the hate actions against Arab citizens, and more than 20% said they were either neutral in regards to those acts or they justified them. When the Jews were asked for their opinion on the transfer of Arab settlements from the Wadi Ara and the Triangle areas to Palestine, the findings show 40% in support, 35% indifferent and only 25% in opposition.

Sagee emphasized the worry and sense of missed opportunities among advocates of coexistence in Israel. Every year, he asserted, we draw further away from the principles and vision of the founders of the State of Israel – freedom, justice and peace, equal rights and gathering of the exiles to the land of Israel, a *Kibbutz Galuyot*: "Instead of complete equality of social and political rights to all our citizens irrespective of religion, race or sex, there is built-in discrimination and exclusion, and the viper of racism raises its venomous head and bites us." The "Price Tag" crimes, Sagee added, prompt a sense of urgency, an emergency calling for immediate and significant attention and response. Sagee concluded with a call for action for building a shared society: We need to define the goals, analyze the current situation, and construct the "road map" that will take us from reality to vision. *We need to clarify what needs to be done and build cooperation of all three sectors in order to achieve success. When we define our vision, the goal should no longer be "coexistence", the separate existence of the various groups, but the building of a shared, equal society for all citizens of Israel.*

### **General Statements, Observations and Insights on Shared Society from the Conference**

- A shared society goes far beyond the notions of coexistence or "live and let live". It fights any kind of exclusion. Equality before the law is not enough. Gaps between Jews and Arabs need to be dealt with. Built-in inequality needs to be addressed. We should strive for a society where everybody feels safe and at home, wanted and connected.
- It would not be possible to change the relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel, to make it positive and effective for building a shared society, without the construction of bridges of understanding, cooperation, joint ventures, shared creativity, empathy and identification with the other.
- The efforts to improve the level of acquaintance between the different communities can be carried out by the collaborative effort of civil society, the business sector and the local municipal authorities, and do not depend solely on government decisions.
- We need to construct a plan for coping with the withdrawal of groups and individuals into private, isolated spaces, closed behind walls.

- Inclusion and participation, which are essential for a shared society, are often only the privilege of majority groups. Societies can thrive only when we celebrate and promote the value of diversity.
- The "Price Tag" actions are worrisome and might hurt the fabric of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel. There must be a firm reaction on the part of all public authorities and the government against racism and hate crimes. We must renounce political indifference and send out a positive call for cooperation and ethical education.
- It is important to address any expression of intolerance, violence and exclusion also within the social sector in which it emerges.
- We need a comprehensive national discourse about the vision of the State of Israel. Such discourse should include all sectors and groups in the country.
- Leaders should strive to build an inclusive society, even when certain sectors reject this idea.
- Economic development is not enough: The world is changing, and ideas about the nation should also change. While we must consider unity, we must also encourage diversity and multiculturalism. We need to learn how to live with multiple identities; it is a challenge for all citizens and all groups of the population. An inclusive society contains groups that are context specific, and minorities are encouraged by the government.
- Building a shared society in Israel calls for balancing individual rights with collective rights, as well as fostering community values. It is important to help citizens realize that every citizen who has a particular group identity is also part of a larger group, and that the elements of his/her identity are interdependent on the other groups.
- Insistence on values of equality and inclusion are a democratic obligation and a civil responsibility stemming from universal humanistic values, which are not unique to any particular political-partisan position. We must respect those whose political views differ from the political left and adopt non-political cooperation in order to inculcate the values of shared society.
- We must emphasize and promote the values of human equality, human dignity, acceptance of the Other and mutual responsibility. These values constitute an essential basis for democracy.
- We must act to find a solution for the national Israeli-Palestinian conflict by establishing a Palestinian state. The continued conflict only makes it harder to build a shared society; it increases disagreement and mutual fears, and makes the military-political discourse present on all levels of the civic relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel.

## General Recommendations for a Shared Society

- We need to direct concentrated efforts and resources to reach agreements on how we jointly move ahead.
- Activities should include dialogue groups, varied possibilities for acquaintance, as well as more complex joint projects based on mutual interests (such as improving the physical appearance of the neighborhood, building common playgrounds for the children, developing joint economic ventures that are beneficial to both sides, etc.) and shared activity.
- Jewish and Arab communities living side by side should be encouraged to establish extensive collaborations between neighbors that give rise to building regional structures, shared regional spaces and eventually to a network of shared regions that can shape the country as a shared society.
- Another level of intervention is the level of attitudes. Attitudes need to change in two areas: (a) conflict management – treat violence, racism, hatred and fear, on the one hand, and foster empathy, sensitivity and mutual responsibility on the other; and (b) shared identities – reach an understanding on the elements of the identities that will constitute the basis for friendship, partnership, fraternity, equality, decency, and the ability to create shared citizenship.
- There is a need for a joint national program based on extensive cooperation between civil society organizations, local authorities, the Israeli government, and the private sector, to form a common strategy and pooling of resources for building a shared society.
- There is a need for an inclusive forum of public opinion leaders to discuss the definition of a new vision for the State of Israel as a shared society of all its citizens.
- There should be a call for brave, open and compassionate listening, and a courageous non-divisive discourse, in a dialogue that has space for the different narratives and is willing to boldly deal with the various perceptions of the past since 1948.
- There should be an active reinforcement of women's role in the creation of a shared, more tolerant society.



*Acquiring education for Arab women is critical for their successful integration into the fabric of life in Israel”*

**Professor Bashar Saad, President of Al Qasemi Academic College**



## Recommendations: Education for a Shared Society

The Givat Haviva Conference calls upon the Ministry of Education and the Israeli Government to adopt the *Report of the Public Committee for the Formulation of Official Policy on Education towards the Shared Life of Jews and Arabs in Israel*, which was presented to the Minister of Education in January 2009 (see major recommendations of the report in the appendix). Following are further recommendations brought up in the conference, aimed at strengthening and helping in the implementation of the recommendations of the report:

### Education towards a Shared Society

- The term "shared society" must be included in the school curriculum alongside the idea of shared life, in order to foster processes of socialization and inclusion of the complexity of living in a multi-cultural society.
- The topic of building a shared society should not be limited to a one-year topic but form an integral part of the yearly program in Israel for all ages.
- The foundations working in civil society should be encouraged to develop the topic of shared society and introduce it into the field of education.
- Efforts in the field of education should be regarded as part of a larger systemic intervention.
- There should be a call for a significant and immediate response in real time in the education system upon any incident of a hate crime and expression of racism. Whenever a "Price Tag" event takes place, the entire system should stop and respond.

### Creating a Socio-Educational Foundation for a Shared Society

- At present, the two populations live separately and schooling is separate. It is important to enable more cooperation and inclusion on a natural, continuous basis. We recommend support for educational activities that bring the two sectors together on a long-term basis and aim at building a shared society.
- It is recommended to conduct joint projects of learning and research in neighboring Jewish and Arab schools.
- There should be joint training workshops for schoolteachers and college faculties from both sectors.
- It is very important to connect educational work with the various circles of influence in the community and in society through the integration of formal and informal educational systems, the community and the family.

- There should be mutual agreement on providing tools and skills for conflict crisis management, negotiation and dialogue.
- In the Arab sector, it is important to emphasize an ethical education based on Islam and accepting the Other according to the tradition and the humanistic principles of Islam.
- It is important to balance values and rights originating in an individualist worldview with those values and rights based on a communitarian concept, emphasizing the connection between individuals and mutual interdependence rather than just the individual.

### Academia

- More academic institutions are needed in Arab towns. This would make studies accessible to larger populations (for example, it would enable the more conservative families to send their daughters to college).
- It is important to nurture reciprocity and scientific cooperation of scholars and researchers from all ethnic and religious backgrounds who teach together in academic institutions.



*The definition of a democratic state is not enough. We must embrace and respect the other, not only honor majority rule. In addition to representation in institutions, there needs to be more inclusive participation in decision making processes. The principle of equality must be a significant component in building a shared society.”*

**Mohammad Darawshe, Director of Planning, Equality & Shared Society, Givat Haviva**

## Recommendations for Shared Economy

### Socio-Economic Integration

- The exclusion of specific groups from society does not contribute to the cultivation of prosperity or stability. This universal problem is prevalent in Israel as well, where approximately a third of the population is excluded from the economy. The Israeli economy will not be able to tolerate this in the long run. The sectors that have hitherto been excluded from the economic life in Israel must be integrated and involved in the growth processes of the Israeli economy.
- It is important to increase awareness of the connection between economic integration and social integration, and take action for the increased inclusion of Israeli Arab citizens, especially women, in industry, and in hi-tech in particular.
- Responsibility for bringing about this change is shared by government, heads of municipal authorities, Arab academics, the private sector and the third sector. Joint forums of representatives of the three sectors (public, private, government) should formulate a systemic approach to this challenge.

### Infrastructure

- The development of infrastructure is extremely important. For example, it will be very useful to build industrial zones, or develop public transportation in Arab towns.
- It is important to invest in education: There has been a positive development in terms of the percentage of Arab university graduates. However, the number of graduates with engineering degrees is still very small; young people should be encouraged to choose such practical professions.
- There is a need to promote entrepreneurship; for example, in order to create work places near large population centers.
- It is important to encourage local entrepreneurship within Arab communities.
- Accessibility of funds for small business development in the Arab sector is needed. There are hundreds of millions of shekels designated for small businesses in the Arab sector, which are not put to use because of the public's lack of awareness, as well as the fact that government agencies have not made these benefits accessible.

### Employment

- Increase employment: There are currently only 1,500 Arab engineers in Israeli hi-tech, representing a mere 3% of workers in this industry. We call for affirmative action as a government policy.

- Only about 30% of Arab women are employed at present, compared with about 70% of Jewish women. Households for the most part cannot manage with only one wage earner. With two wage earners for each household, we can reach a 10% poverty level. We must increase the percentage of working women. Arab women are the engine for the growth of Arab industry.
- The evolution from a vision of coexistence to one of shared society constitutes a positive development. Service-providing companies should be encouraged to invest as well, by creating employment centers, hiring workers, and building infrastructures, as well as engaging in Arab society as part of their corporate responsibility.
- There is room for affirmative action, as it has greatly contributed to the process of integration and the growth of the economy in the US, Northern Ireland, South Africa, Brazil and Mexico.
- It is important to increase awareness in the Jewish sector regarding the qualities of the Arab worker. The Arab employee usually has a different approach than his Jewish counterpart, and he does not regard his place of employment as a temporary station but rather as a place where he intends to stay and advance over time. Records show that there is great motivation for employment and success in the Arab sector, and that Arab employees are outstanding in all areas of work.

### Geography

- Working close to home opens doors and has a significant impact on the economy. It is important to bring industry into the Arab towns. This will significantly change employment statistics and will especially influence the less mobile populations in Arab society, such as mothers of young children, young people who do not own a car, and older people who have difficulty travelling long distances.
- The question of geography is central when it comes to the employment of women. Having work possibilities near residential areas will allow growing numbers of Arab women to have jobs. For example, 60% of computer majors in Arab high schools are girls, but they do not enter hi-tech, mostly because of living far from centers of employment.



*Research and practice show that societies are most likely to be peaceful and prosperous when leaders and citizens recognize and celebrate the value of diversity and actively build an inclusive, shared society safe for diversity.”*

**Dr. Werner Puschra, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Israel**

- There is a need to strengthen the connection between the Israeli hi-tech industry and the Arab sector. This can be accomplished by creating demand for Arab professionals, and by building industrial zones and encouraging Israeli companies to open branches in the Arab sector, as has been successfully carried out in the cases of Galil Software and Amdocs.
- It is important to continue developing power centers in Arab settlements.

## Summary and Future Goals

Givat Haviva has set the development of a shared society in Israel as a primary goal, and has been working for several years to build a network of connections between Jewish and Arab communities towards building a shared society. Following the conference, and the important issues discussed, there are three courses of action we intend to take:

- a. Present the conference recommendations to policy makers (ministers, executive directors of government agencies, Knesset committees).
- b. Initiate further meetings with senior representatives of the three sectors, to forge collaboration for the implementation of the conference recommendations.
- c. Develop new programs and activate them in the spirit of the conference recommendations.



*"Peace, justice and morality starts at home. Givat Haviva is carrying the flag of building a national strategic plan for a shared society. There is no other place that is more worthy. Givat Haviva is fulfilling the vision of a shared society."*

**Prof. Gabriella Shalev, Former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations and President of the Higher Academic Council, Ono Academic College**





## APPENDIX

### Main Recommendations of the Report of the Public Committee for the Formulation of Official Policy on Education towards the Shared Life of Jews and Arabs in Israel, Presented to the Minister of Education in January 2009

The term "sharing" as defined by the committee includes several complementary meanings:

- Equality of the partners, mutual respect and legitimacy.
- Recognition of the right for national and cultural existence of each side.
- Maintaining a positive and fair relationship while engaging in an empathic and sensitive dialogue.
- A sense of shared responsibility and a joint striving for peace.

The idea of sharing, as defined in this report, is not alien to the State of Israel. The goals that derive from this definition, presented by the committee for education towards a shared life, are well anchored in declarations, treaties and recommendations issued over time in the country (by the Ministry of Education, among others), and in the world at large.

#### **Vision and Goals:**

Based on this concept of the idea of sharing, the vision for Education towards the Shared Life of Jews and Arabs in Israel was framed as following: To create a basis of equal rights and opportunities, the assimilation of common values of liberty, fairness, protection of individual rights and collective identity, while maintaining mutual recognition and respect.

#### **The recommended goals of the policy for shared life:**

- Nurturing the recognition of essential democratic values of equality and social justice, especially regarding minorities in society.
- Imparting skills and attitudes of critical thinking, openness, listening and tolerance, in the context of Jewish-Arab partnership.
- Development the ability of both sides to engage in dialogue.
- Nurturing the personal and group identity of each partner.
- Developing the ability to empathize with the other side.
- Reduction of negative stereotypes and prejudice.

- Forging positive attitudes of each side towards the other, as well as mutual trust.
- Acquaintance with the culture, society, history, beliefs, heritage and language of the other side.
- Recognition of the collective narrative of the other side, in the sense of respecting it and valuing it as legitimate, not necessarily accepting it.

### **Recommended Policy:**

- The Ministry of Education is responsible for promoting the Education towards the Shared Life of Jews and Arabs in Israel, in partnership with local municipalities, the third sector, the business sector and other government agencies.
- Education towards a shared life must take place on a continuum from kindergarten through the 12th grade.
- Education towards a shared life will take place in three circles: Knowledge, school culture, and personal and group experience.
- Education towards a shared life will be anchored, when relevant, in the various contents areas on the curriculum, as part of the Social Studies subjects. In addition, education for a shared life will be integrated into all the relevant subjects of study, particularly history, literature, geography and sociology.
- Encounters between Jews and Arabs – whether face to face or as virtual encounters – are an essential element in the education for a shared life, provided that they are held over time and are professionally moderated.
- Education for a shared life in the Jewish sector will include teaching the Arab language and culture.
- The Ministry of Education must consider itself responsible for the training of teachers, principals and other educators in this field.
- The Ministry of Education will attend to the development of rich study materials, which will be age appropriate and sector appropriate, and accessible online and at the pedagogical training centers.
- The implementation of education towards a shared life will be accompanied by periodic monitoring.
- The Ministry of Education will encourage the establishment of joint Jewish-Arab schools for those who are interested.
- The integration of Arab teachers in Jewish schools and Jewish teachers in Arab schools constitutes an educational model for the assimilation of education towards a shared life.





## ANNEXES: Keynote Addresses

### Honorable Daniel B. Shapiro, Ambassador of the United States of America to the State of Israel



Good afternoon. Thank you Mohammad Darawshe, Yaniv Sagee, Riad Kabha of Givat Haviva, conference co-chairs Gabriella Shalev and Bashar Saad, Havatzelet Chairman Abu Vilan, ladies and gentlemen.

I am honored to have been invited to deliver the keynote address at the Givat Haviva Conference on Developing a Shared Society in Israel. Congratulations on convening this important conference and thank you to all of you who have participated through contributing to the discussions earlier today. I hope that today's sessions will lead to activities and partnerships that will further the development of a shared society in Israel.

The United States has a long history of partnership with Givat Haviva, through our Embassy in Tel Aviv, the USAID Conflict Management and Mitigation program, and the Middle East Partnership Initiative. We have been proud to support Givat Haviva's work in innovative educational and capacity building initiatives. For more than a decade, Givat Haviva has been an innovative and pioneering partner in its work to build understanding between Arabs and Jews, promote equality in Israeli society, and help lay the groundwork for public support of a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As great allies, the United States and Israel share knowledge and best practices across a range of topics that are critically important to both countries. Today, as you – leaders from across Israel representing government, civil society, academia, and the media – gather to share ideas on pluralism in Israel, I'd like to offer some thoughts on what a shared society means from an American perspective.

#### **Shared Society**

So how better to introduce the American idea of a shared society than to echo the words of one of our great leaders? To borrow President Abraham Lincoln's words, a shared society could be described as a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." A society in which all individuals and groups can be equally contributing participants, free to express their differences and integrate comfortably in the broader population. A shared society is not something a leader can simply decree or a politician legislate – it can only result from a

**pattern of actions and values** that demonstrate a strong commitment to democracy and the embrace of diversity. It depends on the will and the cooperation of civil society, government and ordinary citizens working together every day. Before you start to think that shared society sounds like some utopian endpoint, I want to make something clear. “Shared society” isn’t a title that can be won and put on a shelf – it isn’t a static resting point that can be reached. Rather, the nature of pluralism is continual and ongoing. It’s a living practice, in which all citizens and constituent groups have access to and participate in decision-making processes, enjoy the freedom to be themselves and the freedom to interact safely and comfortably with public institutions and with the broader society.

### **Shared Society, Democracy and America’s National Interest**

The idea of a shared society is at the core of what it means to be a functioning and inclusive democracy. If we are going to talk about Lincoln’s idea of “government of the people, by the people, for the people,” then it’s important that government belong to *all* of the people. Abraham Lincoln knew this well– while he was President, contention over the boundaries of inclusion sparked a civil war that threatened to tear the United States apart. With great wisdom, President Lincoln expanded the bounds of inclusion. And from that time, inclusion and pluralism have been at the core of our American values. Our history has taught us that achieving a more inclusive society and building a more robust democracy can take time – but that in order to be healthy, a democracy must strive to embrace shared and equal citizenship for all.

This is why the United States strongly supports democratic inclusion and equality among our allies, including Israeli society. We see promoting and safeguarding democracy as a national interest that helps to secure many other interests, including interests that we share with our close ally Israel. Democracy helps create more secure, stable, and prosperous states where fundamental American values (like **religious freedom**) have a better chance of being realized. Democratic nations are also more likely to secure peace, deter aggression, expand open markets, promote economic development, protect American citizens, combat international terrorism and crime, uphold human and worker rights, avoid humanitarian crises, improve the global environment, and protect human health.

Israel is a robust democracy and the United States is working with Israeli partners to promote democratic vitality and inclusiveness, principles at the foundation of the shared values and moral bonds between our two democracies. In partnership with Israeli officials and with civil society organizations, the United States promotes practices that can contribute to the more complete development of a shared society in Israel, the kind of society where tolerance, understanding, and dialogue reign, and where intolerance and hate – whether expressed

through anti-Jewish incitement or price tag attacks – are out of bounds. I would like to share with you a little about our partnerships in this area and some success stories of which Americans and Israelis can be proud.

## **USG Engagement and Success Stories**

The United States Government uses a variety of development and diplomacy tools to develop and promote acceptance of a shared society in Israel. We get out and meet with diverse groups of Israelis to deepen our own familiarity with all sectors of Israel's diverse society, and help those diverse groups become better acquainted with one another, too. We work closely with economically disadvantaged groups, including the Haredi and Arab communities, for example, to improve their English language skills and, by extension, improve their prospects for integrating in the Israeli and global society and economy.

This work is so important to us that the U.S. Congress created a special program to partner with and fund organizations who work to build inclusion in various ways. Through USAID's Conflict Management and Mitigation (or CMM) program, the U.S. government supports people-to-people reconciliation activities that bring together individuals of different ethnic, religious or political backgrounds from areas of conflict to address the root causes of tension and instability. Since the program's inception in 2004, USAID and U.S. Embassy Tel Aviv have supported 69 CMM grants for Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. One of our recent partners, as I mentioned, is none other than Givat Haviva, which implemented an outstanding program to teach skills in critical media consumption to Jewish and Arab Israeli students, educators, and journalists.

The Israeli Ministry of Education took on another important people-to-people educational initiative by declaring as its theme for the current school year "**the other is me.**" This theme is a fitting to describe the United States' partnership with a variety of local initiatives that enable encounters between Jewish and Arab children and teens. These are not one-off meetings, but sustained programs with recurring encounters and joint activities, where kids have a chance to get to know each other and learn about each other's way of life. We also support training for teachers so they can make these experiences as meaningful as possible. The programs that we support are informed by decades of learning about best practices in this field. They are developed in consultation with the Ministry of Education and are all subject to rigorous evaluation.

Working with our many partners, we find tremendous commitment and good will in Israeli civil society organizations and among educators and public officials who recognize the importance of reaching across communities. A quick survey of some of the programs that we support provide some examples from the wide range of populations that we reach: Jewish and Arab third and fourth graders in Tel Aviv and Jaffa meet regularly through a partnership with Jaffa's

Arab-Jewish Community Center. Fifth and sixth graders all over the north are meeting through the Ya Salaam program, in partnership with The Abraham Fund Initiatives; and eighth graders from Afula and Iksal are visiting each other's communities and learning together in partnership with the Ein Dor Archaeological Museum.

The USAID CMM program also partners with PeacePlayers International, which uses basketball to bridge divides, change perceptions, and develop young leaders. As Ambassador – and as a basketball fanatic – I am proud to say that two weeks ago in Jerusalem, Peace Players International's Under-18 Girls Team – a mixed team of Jews and Arabs – won the Israeli National League Championship for the Southern Division on a last-second shot.

USAID has also been instrumental in fostering communities of Jewish and Arab parents that have recently launched two new bilingual school frameworks in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Haifa. The two preschools that they have established are set to double in size next year, though registration is almost four times current numbers. This experience plainly shows that development of a shared society moves ahead when motivated civil society actors and obliging public officials work together to create the conditions for learning together and living together.

### **Link to the Peace Process**

Finally, we can't talk about a vision for a shared society in Israel apart from the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, which, as you are well-aware, has been a priority for President Obama and Secretary Kerry over the past year.

The United States has an extremely close strategic partnership with Israel. Our countries' partnership is built on shared values, democratic ideals and a strong belief that opportunity and freedom create more just and prosperous societies. We have shared interests on just about every issue that we face in this region. As we work with Israelis in building up a cohesive shared society within Israel, we also remind our Israeli friends that the path to lasting, sustainable security and Israel's future as a Jewish, democratic state is through peace and a two-states for two peoples solution with the Palestinians.

- We remain committed to the goal of a negotiated two-state solution – and believe there is no viable, sustainable alternative for the Palestinian or Israeli people to achieve their national aspirations than by doing the hard work leading to that eventuality. It is still in America's interest as well as Israel's interest and the interest of the Palestinian people to resolve a conflict.
- We remain ready to work to renew negotiations, if the leaders demonstrate that they are committed to continuing the negotiations and making the tough decisions necessary for them to succeed.

- It is safe to say that if the U.S. is the only party that has a sense of urgency in this process, then the negotiations will never succeed. This is why we are now in a period of pause, reassessing our own efforts as well as discussing the situation with the parties, to see how we best move forward. By the end of the nine months of talks, we found that we had essentially reached the limits of what the United States can do without the parties themselves being ready and willing to make tough decisions.
- In the meantime, we call on both parties to avoid further provocation – for Israel this means restraint on settlements, and avoiding punitive measures against the Palestinians. And for the Palestinians, this means not trying to accede to additional international treaties or UN agencies, and ensuring that any new government that is formed adheres to Quartet principles.
- In the meantime, we will continue to work to build trust among the parties and hope that both sides will take measures which would build confidence and not create further tension. And this we hope will then lead to continuing on the path of negotiations toward a two state agreement.
- The benefits of that outcome are too important to let go. For Palestinians: a sovereign state; a dignified future. For Israel: a more secure Jewish and democratic homeland; an opportunity to tap into the potential for a strategic alliance and deep economic relations with its Arab neighbors. For all: an opportunity for a more prosperous, peaceful, and secure future.

As President Obama said in Jerusalem last March, “Peace has to be made among peoples, not just governments.” And for all the difficulties, he reminded his audience, peace is necessary, peace is just, and peace is possible. All of you gathered here are doing important work to make this country, region and the world a better place. I thank you for your contributions, and I urge you to press on. Your vision and your endeavors to engage civil society and government leaders are key to shaping and strengthening a shared society in Israel.

Thank you again. And Good Evening. Erev tov, and Masa El Kher!

## His Excellency, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel, Ambassador Lars Faaborg-Andersen



It is a great pleasure for me to be with you all today. I would like to thank Givat Haviva for the invitation to this important conference. It's good to see so many here who engage in the vital efforts to advance a shared and democratic society in Israel.

Let me be clear on one point from the outset. The EU sees Israel as a vibrant democracy. A country that sets high standards of human rights for itself. A legal system in which the rule of law is deeply enshrined. A developed and pluralist civil society, that can freely express itself and that debates, often quite hotly, the many challenges Israeli society faces. The EU is happy to work together with Israel, both with the Israeli government and with civil society, to sustain and support our shared values.

This is why we have supported over the years a large array of projects and initiatives to advance what you will also be discussing in this conference: how to build and cultivate a shared society in Israel, a society that safeguards the rights of minorities, in particular the Arab minority. We will continue to support these efforts and we are looking forward to go on working with many of you in the future.

Let me share with you two examples of projects the EU Delegation has supported, fully linking up with today's discussions:

We are funding three projects, implemented by the Adam Institute, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and the Center for Educational Technologies which directly feed into the "Other is me" programme, that is on today's agenda, by providing teachers with techniques, materials and networking possibilities to counter the occurrence of racism in schools. Those programmes are accredited by the Ministry of Education's Civics Department.

We also support projects of the Coalition against racism, a 38 member-strong civil society platform that promotes, hand-in-hand with the authorities, including the Israeli police, and members of Knesset, the values of tolerance for all – whether Ethiopians, Russian-speakers, Arabs, asylum-seekers.

As a European representative, I would like to underline one point: Europe, too, has to grapple with the challenges of complex multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies. We do not have a perfect recipe. We have not come to lecture, but to share and learn from experiences, successful and failed.

As you may know, last weekend there were elections to the European Parliament. Many Europeans voted for parties that do not support the concept of shared societies, tolerance and diversity. There are many reasons for this, which we will need to address. But it is important to remember that well over two thirds of the European Parliament continue to be pro-European and are committed to fight for the values and principles that the EU stands for.

One of these principles is zero tolerance for racism, anti-semitism and xenophobia. We are still deeply shocked about the terrible murder at the Jewish Museum in Brussels last Saturday, a disgusting anti-semitic terror attack. Both President Barroso and High Representative Ashton condemned the attack and expressed their solidarity with the victims' families, the Jewish community and the Belgian authorities in their efforts to bring the perpetrator to justice. There must be no doubt about it: This attack is also an assault on fundamental European values that will not be tolerated.

At the same time, we must not let a small number of extremists deter us from continuing to build shared societies. Societies that accept and positively manage their diversity. A shared society, as I understand it, goes beyond coexistence. It is a lot more than "live and let live". It not only seeks legal equality, but equal opportunity. It provides democratic participation for all and effectively combats discrimination.

This is a huge task - in many European societies but also in Israel, where the reality of a multi-layered society meets an extremely complex historical and political context. Many seem to agree that, while there is equality before the law, important social, economic and political divides remain between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority. These divides are palpable in employment and housing statistics, but also in public opinion polls, as the one just released before this conference, about Jewish and Arab attitudes towards each other. There has also been a worrying tide of racist and nationalist crimes; and it is up to the authorities to demonstrate that they effectively prosecute such crimes, regardless of who the perpetrators and who the victims are.

Many important efforts have been devoted to addressing the gaps between Jews and Arabs in Israel, a lot of them supported by the EU or EU Member States. As much as it is important to build interpersonal ties, to better educate about "the other", and to promote relations between communities, it is also vital to address structural inequalities. Enhancing Arab participation in high-tech, IT and other growth sectors and the empowerment of women can boost economic development. Equitable land allocation and urban planning is key to allow legal development of housing and business. Arab participation in higher education and in civil service employment can contribute to social cohesion.

There are already many successful and encouraging examples. But more can and must be done – not only to ensure equality of all Israeli citizens, and in particular the Arab minority.

Building a truly shared society also offers opportunities for growth and social development . It should lead to a society where everybody feels safe and at home, where everybody's dignity is respected.

In this regard, the EU has been worried at times about some initiatives that would limit fundamental freedoms or legalise discrimination. So far, none of the most troubling bills have actually become law. But they already had a chilling effect on the atmosphere and can contribute to the feeling of alienation. We expect the government to firmly oppose any potentially discriminatory action and to take a strong position against hate speech and so called "price tag". We also call on leaders of the Arab community in Israel to pass the kind of responsible messages that can help heal the gulf in trust between Jewish and Arab communities

Looking at today's programme, I think you have identified two extremely relevant topics: education and economic inclusion. Both of those are areas where it is possible to advance concrete initiatives which can bring tangible output. It is important that both civil society and the government join forces here. From my experience, one without the other (or one against the other for that matter) would not be able to develop their full potential.

Therefore, I am glad to see here today government officials, local authorities, education professionals and business leaders. I think it is particularly commendable that you are planning to come up with a set of concrete recommendations to guide cross-sector cooperation. Together, you can make a difference. I wish you constructive debates, creative ideas and the tenacity needed to implement them

**Dr. Werner Puschra,  
Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Israel  
and Member of the Economic Argument-Group  
of Experts, The Shared Societies Project,  
Club de Madrid**



Today, all of us are living in a globalized world, in which the traditional boundaries between nation states and between people have become more open. Global financial flows, the spread of the Internet, global media and social networks, and last but not least migration are challenging societies worldwide.

One paradox of these developments is that the more different people come together, the more they seem to fall apart. Fear of the different is widespread and not new. Also, in times of crisis like the global financial and economic crisis, apprehension grows, and people cling to the familiar for fear of losing out to those who are different.

Ninety percent of the world's countries now have at least a ten percent minority. Israeli society is a special case due to its diversity with people from almost any corner in the world, different religions, habits and cultures. But as communities and societies become ever more intertwined and intercultural, political leaders face the challenge of building and maintaining social cohesion in their communities and countries. How they respond to the necessity of creating social cohesion differs from leader to leader, but one element remains true for all: They need options and tools to address this challenge and facilitate coexistence, inclusion, opportunity and participation, which means to create the conditions for a shared society.

Many political leaders are comfortable catering to the majority – some even exploit tension between people of different identities to solidify political capital among their base. Research and practice show, however, that societies are most likely to be peaceful and prosperous when leaders and citizens recognize and celebrate the value of diversity and actively build an inclusive, shared society safe for diversity.

Creating shared societies and thus defining a unifying purpose for all citizens is only possible, if the idea of what a country is all about is inclusive of all its residents. Understanding this may be useful to leaders seeking to move beyond the legacy of colonialism, tribalism and racism. The national idea of a country, its identity, is man-made and politically constructed. So leaders can help to build an inclusive national idea or can hinder it.

The construction of a national idea can be inclusive or it can be exclusive. It can have a strong

acceptance or it can be rejected by some or most of the population. But the crucial question is whether the national idea includes all the population living in the country or whether it excludes segments of the population.

The national idea is separate from the machinery of the state, but the state polity and bureaucracy is influenced by it. If the national idea is exclusive of certain people, the state polity and bureaucracy is likely to follow suit and makes the life of the excluded groups difficult. A shared society requires an inclusive national idea. If this is strong and accepted by society it sets the limits of national discourse.

A shared and inclusive national idea also means that struggles against injustice and inequalities can take place without a challenge to the basic premise of the national idea. Resentment and dissatisfaction can only occur, if residents of a country are excluded from a national idea, sowing the seeds of conflict and violence.

Exclusive national ideas can also undermine the universality and therefore the legitimacy of the state. Financial support or economic growth is not always enough to compensate for wounded pride and sense of exclusion. Indeed history demonstrates that excluded communities can become more vocal as they grow wealthier.

Finally, all societies face the same challenges. As the world is changing, also national ideas, even inclusive ones, will need to change with it. Whatever the basis for the national idea, it will become increasingly difficult to maintain national ideas that emphasize uniformity and compliance (whether ethnic, ideological, cultural, religious or simply a set of customs and values). The national ideas that thrive will be those that cherish and encourage diversity and multiple identity. Economies are increasingly dependent on migrants and their remittances, as we can see in Europe and the US and also in Israel. Through such a process, even individual families become part and parcel of the global economy and society. They also have to learn, how to cope with multiple identities and how to get used to live with them.

To create the shared societies of the future, political leaders will need to stand ready to re-adjust their national ideas to fit this new reality. The challenge for those leaders is to build strong inclusive national ideas that are context specific and fully supported by the majority populations. It is not enough for the majority to merely passively accept inclusion. They must buy into it and be encouraged to recognize their own multiple identities. There is no prescribed recipe, but each leader knows in his or her heart how to adapt the concept of a shared society to his or her country. Constructing it requires vision, statesmanship and leadership. This is not an easy task. Therefore, encouragement from civil society is undoubtedly of high importance and value in order to create a shared society for everyone.

## Yaniv Sagee, Executive Director, Givat Haviva



Your Excellency, Ambassador Lars Faaborg-Andersen, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel; Representatives of the US Embassy; Co-chairs of the conference, Prof. Gabriela Shalev and Prof. Bashar Saad; Representatives of the supporting foundations – Mr. Henry Alt-Haaker of the Robert Bosch Foundation and Dr. Werner Puschra, Director of Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Israel; Heads of Municipalities; government representatives; NGO leaders and activists; representatives of the business sector; distinguished guests:

Welcome to the Second Annual Givat Haviva Conference on Developing a Shared Society in Israel.

Givat Haviva was established 65 years ago. Fifty years ago, the first center for bringing Jews and Arabs in Israel was created here. We were the pioneers and forerunners in understanding and developing the capacities for Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel. Many of our graduates can be found in the field today, leading organizations, heading municipalities, working as educators, active in the public sphere and in politics. Nevertheless, we can't help feeling worried about missed opportunities.

Givat Haviva is joyful and festive for today's important conference, but all around us the skies are dark and ugly. Today we will speak about cooperation and equality, whereas outside there are rampant hate crimes, racism, exclusion and discrimination. We must look at reality straight in the eye, in order to know how to operate within it, how to make an impact, to affect change, to create a basis of hope for a better future: better, more just, more democratic. Our state was established on a clear and binding ethical vision: "The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews and for the Ingathering of the Exiles from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the precepts of liberty, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of race, creed or sex; will guarantee full freedom of worship, conscience, language, education and culture; will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions; and will dedicate itself to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

This is the very worthy vision that was supposed to delineate the reality of our lives. How far we have strayed! How far back we have regressed! What is worse, every year we move even further away from this vision. There is no justice and there is no peace. And there will be no peace here if we do not start once again to act by the moral principles of justice. And there will be no justice here if we continue to conquer and settle and evade as much as possible those

decisions that are necessary for making peace. The absence of these two is quickly seeping through, so that instead of a complete equality of social and political rights for all the citizens of our country, without distinction of race, creed, sex or ethnicity, there is instead institutionalized discrimination and exclusion, and the viper of racism raises its venomous head and bites us. "The State of Israel will safeguard the sanctity and inviolability of the shrines and Holy Places of all religions" – if we needed any proof for our negligence in this area, the hate crimes and terrorism of recent years, euphemistically called "Price Tag", have shown us how difficult it is for us to live up to that commitment.

In preparation for this conference, we conducted a public opinion poll in collaboration with the Smith Institute. The poll examined the attitudes of the Jewish population towards the Arab population in Israel. The results are difficult and painful: Most Jews do not go, ever, into an Arab settlement. They treat the Arab Israeli citizens as if they were invisible. They don't exist. They are not interesting. When you ask Jews what they think of **Avigdor Lieberman's** proposal to transfer the Arab settlements from this area of Wadi Ara and the Triangle to the sovereignty and administration of the **Palestinian Authority**, you find that there are 40% in support, 35% indifferent, and only 25% who are against. Yes, you heard it right. Only 25% think that to take 300,000 citizens of Israel and put a border between them and us so that they do not belong to the State of Israel is an immoral, inappropriate and very un-Jewish thing to do.

On the eve of Passover, the Jewish Festival of Freedom, the "Price Tag" terrorists struck against the mosque in Umm al-Fahm. We arrived there on the following day. The smell of the burnt carpet was still in the air, and we were welcome by the large graffiti of "Arabs Out!" A week and a half before Holocaust Memorial Day, Kristallnacht is here. I am sorry, but there is no nice way to describe this reality.

But we haven't gathered here just to be angry and to complain. We have gathered here because it is our duty to **change** this reality. And we all have the ability to make sure that this indeed happens. In this conference, we will discuss the how and what can be done so that our endeavors are successful, so that we can save our beloved country from itself. The plan is the following: To define what is desirable – to analyze the current situation – to design the "road map" that will take us from the current situation to the desirable one – to clearly outline what has to be done and to join hands, all of us together, in the persistent, steadfast and courageous effort that will stop the murky flood we are facing. In our definition of the ideal, we have to admit that we are no longer looking for coexistence. We do not wish to facilitate our separate existence. This is pointless. The past 66 years of history, the reality of Israel in 2014, have taught us that as much. Our goal should be clearly stated: **To create a shared and equal society for all the citizens of this country, Jews and Arabs alike!**

How can we do that? Creating a shared society must combine three elements:

**A. Structural changes** – To allow the inclusion of Arabs in the structures of power and influence in Israel. To allow an equal distribution of resources in land, housing, education, budgets, cultural representation, etc. Such an intervention requires government decisions and the allocation of resources by the state.

**B. Relationships** – A shared society will not happen in Israel by itself. Much work is needed to create it. The inter-community relationships should not be left to the forces of the "free market". Concentrated efforts and resources must be allocated in order to create agreements for moving forward. We cannot change the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel to become positive and effective for building a shared society without constructing bridges of understanding, cooperation, joint ventures, common endeavors, empathy and identification with the Other. The efforts for improving the level of acquaintance between the various communities can be carried out by the civil society, the business sector, and the municipal councils, and do not exclusively depend on governmental decisions.

Activities should include dialogue groups, varied possibilities for encounters, as well as more complex joint projects, based on common interests (such as improving the physical structure of the neighborhood, constructing joint playgrounds for children, development of joint economic ventures that are beneficial to both sides, etc.), and shared activity. The emphasis has to be on the creation of a common future, instead of talking about the different past.

In our first conference last year, we demonstrated how Givat Haviva developed in this field and has been a pioneer in creating partnerships between neighboring communities based on these principles. During the time between the first and the second conferences, our program has grown and evolved. Slowly but surely we can feel the strengthening of the partnership between the educators, business people, leaders of volunteer associations, artists and intellectuals, the public figures in charge of the local authorities, and the young people who hold the chance for a future of hope. I can feel the willingness on both sides to let go of the disputes of the past and look for the common ground to build a future for all of us together. It is hard, it requires us to change. Yet, it is possible, and it is happening.

Another development that took place during this past year is the capacity of the program to grow from a circle of two communities into the creation of regional structures. This is the second phase of the program on the course that begins with the community, moves on to the two communities and further on to the common regional sphere, with the objective of creating a network of regions that construct the country as a shared society. We are on the right course. For this, I would like to thank the team at Givat Haviva, our partner institutions, and the Ebert, Bosch and **Nehemiah Cohen** Foundations, for their support.

**C. Attitudes** – The third level of intervention, inherently connected, of course, to the aforementioned two, is the level of attitudes. Two areas of changes of attitudes are required:

- **Attitudes related to conflict management** – here, on the one hand, we have to deal with violence, racism, fear and hatred, while, on the other hand, we need to foster empathy, sensitivity and mutual responsibility.
- **Attitudes related to common identities** – this is where we can create an understanding regarding the elements of the identities that can form the basis for friendship, partnership, fraternity, equality, equity, and the ability to create a shared civic life.

A change of attitudes can be achieved through education, the media, and the influence of political mechanisms. Givat Haviva is involved in all of these areas. Many of those present here are involved in these fields, but the survey we presented here today shows how much work we still have ahead of us, and how we need new and combined strategies if we want to succeed.

#### **In conclusion:**

- A.** Two lines of action are necessary in Israel: One deals with structural change and creating an egalitarian infrastructure. The other line deals with building people-to-people relations. The success on both will lead to a change of attitudes among citizens, thus forming the necessary basis for the establishment of a shared society in Israel.
- B.** We must create a joint national program based on extensive cooperation between civil society organizations, local authorities, the government of Israel, and the private sector, in order to create a joint strategy and pooling of resources for building a shared society.

In order to create a national program for building a shared society we need opportunities that will enable the various sectors to come together and lay the basis for **mutual commitment and action**. We must think together, connect, and define how we want to move ahead, while we earnestly examine the unique value of each sector, and think how we can meet our goals by working together. It is through this conference that Givat Haviva is trying to help in leading this process: We have brought you here together with people who can make the change happen – representatives of government offices, academics, leaders of the business community, heads of local authorities and civil society activists. We have gathered here to develop new and joint strategies for action that also have roots in other places in the world, in order to build our shared society.

We face a tremendous, critical task. We can succeed only if we join forces to bring out the relative, unique advantages of each of the sectors. I thank you all for coming and am proud to be your partner in this journey. I wish us all good luck.

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