FOLLOW-UP: ARAB REPRESENTATION IN THE CIVIL SERVICE, IN GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS AND IN THE COURT SYSTEM

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Introduction

The Israeli government has explicitly committed itself to work toward creating jobs for men and women from the Arab sector at the most senior levels of the civil service. More broadly, the government has committed itself to study the issues of concern to Arab citizens and to work toward their resolution. These promises were included in the formal guidelines of the last two administrations, headed by Ariel Sharon, in the section dealing with the status of Arab citizens in Israel ¹

Among the issues high on the agenda of the Arab community is a glaring lack of parity in the hiring and promotion of Arabs within the nation's civil service and in government-owned companies. This is a concern for Arab citizens because (among other reasons) civil service jobs are a direct and indirect gateway to professional advancement in various realms of the public sector. The subject has far-reaching significance for Arab citizens' status as members of the Israeli minority. There is no doubt that a serious attempt to resolve this matter equitably would have ramifications for other problems confronting the Arab minority in Israel.

The government's explicit commitment to redress existing inequities is not the only basis for pressing the demand for equality in the civil service. A law passed in December 2000 obliges the government to advance fair representation for Arab employees in civil service employment, at all ranks and in all professions, in every government ministry and affiliated agency.² That law likewise obliges the civil service commissioner and all government ministries and related agencies, each in its own sphere, to take all necessary steps to enable and encourage fair representation. The law also authorizes the government clearly to designate positions for qualified applicants from the Arab population. Every government ministry and affiliated agency is obliged to submit an annual report on its implementation of the law, including data on the representation of Arab citizens.

The Civil Service Law on Appointments applies to all modes of hiring and promotion, including jobs filled with or without tender, and acting appointments. The civil service

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^{1 &}quot;Haaretz," p. A14, February 27, 2003.

² Amendment 11 to the Civil Service Law (Appointments) of 1959 promising fair representation for Arab citizens in the civil service, was passed by the Knesset on December 18, 2000. Allied agencies include, e.g., Rafael and Ta'as, both major autonomous military-industrial enterprises of the Ministry of Defense.

commissioner is charged with monitoring implementation. By law, the commissioner must submit annual recommendations to the government, outlining his proposed objectives for advancing implementation. In addition, the state comptroller is required to submit an annual progress report, both to the government and to the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee of the Knesset.³

Meanwhile, the Government Companies Law holds that the composition of boards of directors of government-owned companies must include fair representation for Arab citizens. The law requires ministers to appoint, insofar as possible under the specific circumstances, directors from among this population - until the Arab population is fairly represented.⁴

A decision by the nation's highest court in Association for Civil Rights in Israel v. the Government of Israel et al., Justice Zamir held:

"Positions in the civil service are also a state resource. They are particularly important because they encompass the possibility of bringing influence to bear on a great many matters, including the allocation of financial and other resources. Hence, the principle of equality obliges that state jobs also be allocated without discrimination between Jews and Arabs. This means that naming someone to a government job cannot be prevented simply because he is an Arab."

Within this narrow framework, we will attempt to examine whether the government has carried out its obligations. Has it made an effort to fulfill this promise? Has the government implemented the laws promising fair representation to Arab citizens in the civil service and on the boards of government companies? Concurrently, we will take a look at the related issue of how fairly Arab citizens are represented in the employment ranks of the nation's court system.

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³ The Constitution. Law and Justice Committee of the 15th Knesset established a subcommittee to monitor the integration of the Arab population into the civil service, boards of directors of government companies, the court system, local government, and the workforce at the Knesset itself. This subcommittee, chaired by MK Talab al-Sana, has thus far met four times in order to address the matter of fair representation for Arab citizens in the civil service: the first meeting examined the entire civil service system; the second, boards of directors of government companies; the third, the Ministry of Justice and the court system; and the fourth, government service positions in the Southern Region of Israel. One may hope that in its current term as well, the Knesset will establish a similar subcommittee to monitor the law's implementation and promote the matter of fair representation of Arab citizens. It is noteworthy that, beginning in January 2002, new (external) hiring for the civil service was suspended due to state budget cutbacks. Nonetheless, a committee was set up to handle exceptional, urgent requests from government ministries to fill crucial positions with candidates from outside the civil service. After the first meeting of this committee, on February 3, 2002, Ms. Henia Markowitz, who heads a senior division (Planning and Control) in the civil service commission, sent a notice to senior deputy general managers. personnel directors in government ministries, and assistant general managers for human resources at related agencies, announcing that "beginning on February 1, 2002, any ministry applying to the Exceptions Committee for an exception to the freeze on hiring new employees via the committee, will be required to allocate 10% of all such positions to members of minority groups.

⁴ Amendment 11 to the Government Companies Law of 1975, passed by the Knesset on May 30, 2002, p. 207. 5 High Court of Justice 6924/98, The Association of Civil Rights in Israel v. The Government of Israel et al. The High Court accepted the ACRI petition and instructed the government to appoint Arabs to the Executive Council of the Israel Lands Authority. The verdict was handed down on July 9, 2001.

The situation in the civil service, the boards of directors of government companies and the court system provides an indication of the severity of the problem in other sectors as well - various government authorities, institutions of higher learning, the state banking system, and other public or quasi-governmental institutional systems.

Arab citizens in the civil service

The "Summary Report - Integrating Arabs and Druze in the Civil Service, 2002," prepared by the civil service commission, shows that at the end of 2002, there were 3,440 Arab employees in the nation's civil service, of a total of 56,362 overall - or about 6.1 percent of all civil service workers in the State of Israel.⁶

This number includes employees within the government ministries themselves, but does not include employees of government-owned companies, teachers employed by the Ministry of Education, employees of the government's Employment Bureau, the National Insurance Institute, or the various other government authorities.

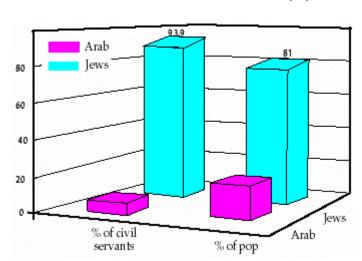


Diagram 13
Jews and Arabs in the Civil Service (%)

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⁶ This statistic includes non-Arab Muslims (59 employees, or 1.7% of the total number of Arabs, probably Circassians), and non-Arab Christians (155 employees, or 4.5% of the total number of Arabs in the civil service, probably immigrants from the former Soviet Union).

Table 11: Growth in number of civil service employees overall, and of Arabs in civil service jobs (in absolute numbers, and as percentages)

Year	Arab employees	All employees	Arabs employees as % of all employees
1992	1,117	53,549	2.1
1993	1,369	53,914	2.5
1994	1,679	55,278	3
1995	1,997	56,183	3.5
1996	2,231	56,809	4
1997	2,340	57,286	4.1
1998	2,537	57,580	4.4
10/1999	2,818	58,115	4.8
4/2001	3,128	54,337	5.7
12/2001	3,176	55,886	5.7
12/2002	3,440	56,362	6.1

In the last decade the proportion of Arabs employed in the entire civil service increased from 2.1% in 1992 to 6.1% in 2002. Despite this seemingly significant increase in the number of Arab citizens employed by the state (the number tripled in 10 years), a closer analysis reveals a disappointing picture: if the average annual increase in the number of Arabs in the civil service during the last decade (11.25%) continues, it will take another ten years for the Arab representation in the civil service to equal their proportion in the population; if the increase continues at the same rate as in the last five years (7.7%) it will take 15 years to reach parity.

Data from the civil service commission indicates that 431 Arabs were newly hired as civil servants during 2002, of a total of 4,192 new employees (c. 10.3 percent). In 2001, 402 new Arab employees were hired, among a total of 4,780 (c. 8.4 percent). That was down from 2000, even before adoption of the relevant amendment to the Civil Service Law, when 8.9 percent of new employees hired by the civil service were Arabs - 306 Arabs of 3,428 new employees overall for the year.⁷

In other words, although last year saw an increase in the new hiring and representation of Arab citizens in the civil service, the improvement is so small as to be almost negligible, when contrasted to the situation before amendment of the law. One would have expected more substantial improvement more than two years after the amendment took effect. Moreover, one year after the law's amendment, there were actually fewer Arab civil service employees (in absolute numbers) than the year before. Despite efforts of the planning and control division of the civil service commission to change the situation, fair representation of Arab citizens is still a long way off.

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^{7 &}quot;Haaretz," January 23, 2002

Table 12: Arab employees in the civil service according to personnel status (in absolute numbers and percentages)

Year	Personnel status	Temporary	Contract	Permanent	Interns	TOTAL
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	No. Arab employees	21	1,106	1,902	99	3,128
April 2001	% of all Arab civil service employees	1	35	61	3	100%
	Total # all employees	423	13,827	40,159	1,393	55,802
% of all civil servants		1	25	72	2	100%
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	No. Arab employees	40	1,225	2,078	97	3,440
Jan. 2003	% of all Arab civil service employees	1.2	35.6	60.4	2.8	100%
	Total # all employees 8	252	13,790	40,929	1,020	55,991
	% of all civil servants 5		24.63	73.1	1.82	100%

Table 12 (p.34) shows that there is still a large gap between permanent employees and contractual workers. The percentage of Arab employees who are permanent staff is lower than that for employees generally. The percentage of Arab employees working on contracts, on the other hand, is higher than that of employees generally. Permanent employment status and the prospects for tenure are a significant inducement for working in the civil service. Based on these data, the prospects for an Arab employee to receive tenure are lower than those for a Jewish employee; hence the Arab worker enjoys less job security.

Table 13: Arab employees with permanent vs. non-permanent positions in absolute numbers and percentages

Year	Permanent positions	Non- permanent positions	Total employees	% in permanent positions	% in non- permanent positions	Total %
1/2000	1,930	905	2,835	68	32	100
1/2001	1,860	1,137	2,997	62	38	100
1/2002	1,978	1,198	3,176	62.3	37.7	100
1/2003	2,078	1,362	3,440	60	40	100

An examination of the data on Arab workers in permanent vs. non-permanent positions during the last three years, shows a drop in the number with permanent positions (see Table 13, above).

The 1,222 Arab civil servants with university degrees comprise 35.5 percent of all Arab employees in the civil service (577 hold BA degrees or the equivalent, 183 have master's degrees, and 462 hold Ph.D.s or the equivalent, most of them physicians).

Including university degrees and other training, a full 65 percent (2,233) of all Arab civil servants have a post-secondary education. This is up from 60.8 percent of all Arab civil servants in April, 2001.

⁸ As of November 30, 2002.

⁹ As of November 30, 2002.

Table 14: Arabs in the civil service, by ministry (in absolute numbers and percentages)

Ministry	No. Arab employees	% of all Arab civil service employees	Comments
Health	2,207	64.15	Incl. hospitals & district health offices
Religious Affairs	298	8.66	
Finance	216	6.27	Including allied agencies
Labor & Social Affairs	190	- 5.52	Including allied agencies
Education	118	3.43	Including allied agencies
Justice	180	5.23	Including courts administration
Other ministries	231	6.71	
TOTAL	3,440	100	

93 percent of Arab civil servants - or 3,209 Arab employees - are employed in only six (of a current total of 19) ministries. Of these, 2,207 - 64 percent - are employed by the Ministry of Health alone, including government hospitals. In the remaining government ministries, representation of Arab citizens is still marginal or nonexistent.

There is not a single Arab employee in the Ministry of Communication. There is only one Arab employee In the Ministry of Public Security. There are only two Arab employees in the Ministry of National Infrastructure.

During the last two years, the number of Arab employees at the Ministry of Justice has increased, thanks to the transfer of the Shari'a (Muslim Religious) Courts from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to the Ministry of Justice. On the other hand, during the last two years, there has been no increase in the number of Arab employees at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and even a drop of nine Arab employees at the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, there is not a single Arab director-general in any of the government ministries. And the sole Arab deputy director-general in a government ministry was named by the previous government, at the Ministry of Culture.

Most Arab citizens are still employed in junior positions or functions dealing strictly with Arab affairs, generally in their area of residence. Their representation in the major ministries in Jerusalem, where significant decisions are made and national policies shaped, is still marginal to nonexistent. Data on hundreds of candidates shows that Arab applicants are prepared to change their place of residence and move to Jerusalem or to the center of the country, should they be offered positions consonant with their talents, but these offers are not forthcoming.

Integrating Arab citizens into decision-making and policy-making processes is important, not only to provide talented, highly educated candidates with a livelihood and an opportunity for self-actualization, but also because all citizens, including Arab citizens, are entitled to be partners in running the country. Moreover, there is no doubt that the presence of Arab citizens at the foci of decision-making and policy determination could help lead to substantive improvement in terms of their equality with Jewish citizens.

The data shows that most Arab citizens working as civil servants fill professional positions that mainly provide services related to health, social welfare, religious affairs or education, and they are subordinate to the senior policy-making echelons. Arabs are still conspicuous by their absence in ministries that significantly influence the country's future, such as Industry and Trade, Science, Transportation, Environment, National Infrastructure, Housing and Construction, Tourism, and Communication, and in key affiliated agencies like the Public Works Department and the Israel Lands Authority.

The facts and figures also show no change in the general trend. Arab citizens are still excluded from the senior echelons of the civil service and are only partially integrated at lower levels. They are not integrated in decision-making roles or positions with the authority to set policy, adopt initiatives, develop programs, or actualize ideas with an impact on the country's full citizenry.

Arab women in the civil service

There are now 1,316 Arab women in the civil service¹⁰, comprising 38.3 percent of all Arab civil service employees. The total number of women in the civil service is 34,938, comprising 62.4 percent of the civil service workforce¹¹, or nearly double the proportion of Arab women among all Arab civil service employees.

Among the Arab women employees, 432 (38.3 percent) hold academic degrees (252 have BA degrees, 56 master's degrees, 128 Ph.D.s or the equivalent). These women comprise 35.3 percent of all Arab civil servants with university degrees.

Inclusion of Arab women employees with some post-secondary or academic education brings the total to 938, or 71.2 percent of all Arab women in the civil service.

Although an increasing number of Arab women have joined the civil service in recent years, their presence as a proportion of all Arab civil servants is less than two-thirds that attained by Jewish women as a proportion of all Jewish civil servants (38.3 percent compared with 62.4 percent, respectively).

Table 15: Arab women in the civil service, by	y ministry in absolute numbers and p	ercentages

Ministry	No. Arab women civil service employees	% of all Arab women in the civil service
Health	1,078	81.9
Labor & Social Affairs	71	5.39
Education	36	2.73
Finance	35	2.65
Justice, incl. courts administration	45	3.41
Justice	16	1.21
Other ministries	35	2.65
TOTAL	1,316	100

As with male Arab civil servants, the vast majority of Arab women in the civil service - 1,281, or 97.3 percent - are concentrated in only 6 of 19 ministries, with 82 percent in the Health Ministry alone.

The Ministries of Science, Foreign Affairs, Public Security, Transportation, National Infrastructure, Housing and Construction, Tourism, and Communication do not employ a single Arab woman. The Ministries of Religious Affairs and the Environment employ one female Arab civil servant apiece. The Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Israel Lands Administration have two Arab women employees each.

¹⁰ This statistic includes Arab women who are not Muslims (1.3% of all Arab women civil servants), and 104 Christian women who are not Arabs (7.9%).

¹¹ As of 30.11.02.

In order to implement the Civil Service Law - Appointments effectively, a special unit should be established at the civil service commission with the authority to deal solely with matters involving the hiring and promotion of Arab citizens. This unit would work directly with the civil service commissioner. In addition, every ministry and allied agency should have someone in charge of the hiring and promotion of Arab citizens, reporting directly to the director-general of the ministry and the new unit for the employment of Arabs. This unit and the responsible officials at each ministry and agency should devote their full energies to this issue: setting objectives, creating action programs, and assuring their implementation. These people should serve as a significant force in addressing the various concerns of Arab civil service employees, and should facilitate coordination between all ministries on the subject.

An administrative approach of this nature could translate the language of the law into the language of action, and the declarations of intent into operative programs; it could get the long-sought process of change moving. Note that similar arrangements have been made regarding the employment of women and of the disabled, under the Commission on Equal Rights for People with Disabilities, within the Ministry of Justice.

Arab citizens in government-owned companies

The Government Corporations Authority reports on government-owned, government-operated companies, subsidiaries of government companies and combined (governmental nongovernmental) companies. According to the latest report, which includes data until March 9, 2003, there are now 116 such companies in Israel. Arab citizens are members of the boards of only 33 of these, leaving them absent from the remaining (83). Of 641 serving directors overall, only 38 are Arabs, comprising 5.9 percent of the total.

Of the Arab directors, only six are women - less than one percent of all government company directors. It is noteworthy that, during the last two years, the number of Arab women directors of such companies has increased by only one.

A three-year-old amendment to the Government Corporations Law guarantees that the boards of government companies will provide fair representation for the Arab population. Despite some increase in this representation during the last two years, the Government Corporations Law is not being implemented satisfactorily. For one reason, the various ministers responsible for these appointments are not making an effort to increase the numbers of Arab directors.

The High Court of Justice recently rejected a suit by Adalah, The Legal Center for Minority Rights in Israel, against the prime minister and others¹², which addressed the issue of increased representation of women and men from the Arab community on the boards of directors of government companies. The suit was based on a declaration by the prime minister and other ministers concerning continuing efforts to achieve fair representation for Arab women and men on the boards of directors of these companies. Nonetheless, the High Court took care to note:

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¹² High Court of Justice 10026/01, Adalah v. the Prime Minister et al. (not yet published), in a ruling handed down by Hon. Justice Aharon Barak on April 2, 2003.

"It is incumbent on the respondents to take steps to identify suitable candidates from the Arab population. This obligation is, as stated, among the chief obligations placed upon them by Articles 18A and 18A1 of the law... By force of that obligation, they must use reasonable means to identify suitable candidates. Objective difficulties in identifying suitable candidates shall not be used as an argument by respondents when these difficulties have not led them to make greater efforts in their canvassing as time progresses. The respondents must bear the burden of proof with respect to such efforts... They must take further reasonable steps to continue to find suitable candidates from the Arab population... It stands to reason that, with the passage of time, respondents will find a way to identify additional suitable candidates from the Arab population who are qualified to be named directors by the government. This is the reasonable outcome of the canvassing effort that they are obliged to undertake. Accordingly, there is an expectation that women and men from the Arab community will have increased representation on boards of directors of government companies. If this does not happen, the doors of this court will be open once again to the petitioner."

Diagram 14Arab and Jewish directors of government companies

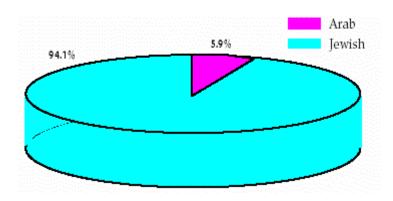


Table 16: Arab and Jewish women directors of government companies in absolute numbers and percentages

	Arab women	Jewish women	All women
No. of directors	6	214	220
% of all directors	0.94	33.39	34.32%
% of women directors	2.72	97.28	100%

Table 17: Government companies with Arab directors (in absolute numbers)

Company name	No. Arab directors	Maximum total no. directors
Agrexco Agricultural Export Co. Ltd.	1	9
Amidar, Israel National Housing Ltd.	3	20
Arim Urban Development co. Ltd.	1	13
Association for Quality Housing	1	13
Ayalon Highways Co. Ltd.	1	7
Bezeqcall Communications Ltd.	1	11
Bezeq International Ltd.	1	11
Bezeq- Israel Telecomm. Corp.Ltd.	1	19
El-Al Israel Airlines Ltd.	1	15
Environmental Services Company (Ramat Hovav) Ltd.	1	15
Fund for Graduates in Social Work	1	5
Hakfar Hayarok Ltd.	1	9
Inbal Insurance Co. Ltd.	1	11
Insurance Fund for Agriculture Ltd.	1	14
Isr. Government Tourist Corp. Ltd.	1	18
Isr. Technical Engineers & Technical Professionals Study Fund Ltd.	1	5
Israel Association of Community Centers Ltd.	2	25
Israel Consumer Council	1	11
Israel Electric Corp. Ltd.	2	21
Israel Foreign Trade Risks Insurance Corp. Ltd.	1	13
Israel Government Coins and Medals Corp. Ltd.	2	13
Laromme Hotels International Ltd.	1	10
Lod-Ramle Development Company Ltd.	1	11,
M.I. Holdings Ltd.	1	9
Marine Education & Training Authority	1	5
Nechsey Hail Ltd.	1	7
Old Acre Development Co. Ltd.	1	11
Shikmona	1	8
Study Fund for Workers on the Standard Scale	1	7
Tamam Aircraft Food Industries Ltd.	1	9
Teshet Tourist Enterprises & Aviation Services Co.	1	15
The Marine Trust Ltd.	1	9
Trans-Israel Highway Ltd.	1	11
TOTAL		

The Court System

Data from the subcommittee established by the Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee to monitor Arab citizens' representation in the civil service, government companies, the court system, local government, and the Knesset workforce shows the following, as of May 2002:

Judges and Magistrates:

- Of 484 judges in Israel, only 27 are Arab, comprising 5 percent of all judges in the country (7 in district courts, 19 in local courts and 1 in a regional labor court).
- Of 73 magistrates, 8 are Arabs, comprising 10 percent of all magistrates.

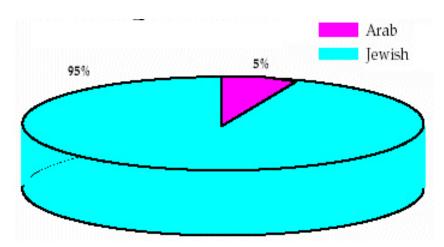
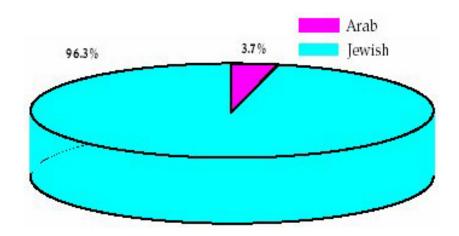


Diagram 15 Jewish and Arab Judges (%)

Administrative staff:

Of 3,182 administrative workers in the court system, 117 are Arabs, or 3.67 percent. Of 706 court stenographers, only 5 are Arabs, and those are employed in Haifa (which has a large Arab population) and Nazareth (an Arab city). In the remaining court districts, there is not a single Arab court stenographer.

Diagram 16 Arab and Jewish administrative staff in the court system (%)



These figures paint a picture far from fair representation. But the Civil Service Law - Appointments does not apply to judges, because judges are not civil servants. Rather, they are named by an appointments committee composed of representatives of the Supreme Court, the government, the Knesset, and the Israel Bar Association. Not a single Arab sits on this committee. The acrimonious public debate now in progress over the proper composition and size of this committee and the proposed addition of new members (from certain sectors, e.g., academia), provides a fitting opportunity to find some way to assure reasonable representation of Arab citizens on the committee, as well. Furthermore, in April 2001, a committee charged with examining how judges are selected, under the chairmanship of Justice Yitzhak Zamir, called for the composition of the bench at the Supreme Court itself to reflect the various population sectors in the nation.

When he was named Minister of Justice in the current government, Joseph Lapid pledged that, during his tenure, he would name an Arab to the Supreme Court. In April 2003, Judge Salim Jubran was named an acting justice. Since the founding of the State of Israel, not a single Arab has been named to a permanent seat on the Supreme Court, hence one may hope that the nomination of Justice Jubran will become permanent. One may also hope that Arab judges with the requisite professional qualifications, abilities, and judicial temperament will be named to and promoted throughout the nation's court system (at all levels and in all types of courts -traffic, youth, labor, small claims, and family court as well as local and district courts and the Supreme Court).

Likewise, there is a concrete need to increase the representation of Arab citizens among the senior administrative echelons of the court system and as public representatives in labor courts.

Conclusions

The lack of Arab representation in the civil service, on boards of directors of government companies, and in the court system is a scathing reflection of the marginal status of Arab citizens in Israel's public sector. Israel's Declaration of Independence promises "complete social and political equality" for all citizens of the state; the declaration's signers called on Arab citizens to take part in building the state "on a foundation of full citizenship and full representation in all the state's institutions"; laws have been passed promising full representation for Arabs in official institutions, decisions have been handed down in the Supreme Court emphasizing the importance of a fair allocation of state resources, including public appointments; and successive governments have repeatedly promised to redress the historical injustice in this area. Yet no significant improvement in Arab representation in the public sector has been made thus far.

Even when Arabs are employed by state institutions, they tend to be employed at lower, less influential levels. Insuring that Arab citizens receive the full equality to which they are entitled, with an appropriate share of positions - and particularly senior positions - in public service, must become an urgent concern among the senior ranks of Israel's government.

Laws guaranteeing fair representation must be enforced; government promises must be translated into concrete programs and real action. Vague general pronouncements should be avoided. The current government has the obligation to fulfill its promise to create jobs for Arabs in the civil service and public service generally, at the highest levels.

Beyond that, the government must insure representation of Arab citizens in the various government authorities, in state institutions, as members of public committees established by institutions of higher learning (including both faculty and senior administrators), in committees handling nominations and public tenders, and in committees that oversee the allocation of resources.

The inclusion of Arab citizens in the official institutions of the state is not intended simply as a means of finding jobs for highly qualified individuals with no other employment. It is intended to make Arab citizens authentic partners in planning the state's future - including that of its Arab citizens -- and giving them their fair share of influence on the shaping of national objectives and the allocation of national resources. The integration of experienced Arab professionals in public service will help translate past promises into programs that can implement and actualize those promises.

Because of the extreme under-representation of Arabs in the public sector, too many talented young Arab university graduates who seek public-sector jobs meet with frustrating obstacles in the attempt to find employment consonant with their qualifications. The government must develop special programs to absorb Arab academics and open new channels to the kinds of employment from which Arab citizens have thus far been improperly excluded. The

government will have to develop suitable new avenues of training and placement to further this effort.

Sources:

"Haaretz," p.A14, February 27, 2003

Amendment 11 to the Civil Service Law

Amendment 11 to the Government Companies Law of 1975

High Court of Justice 6924/98, The Association of Civil Rights in Israel v. The Government of Israel et al.

High Court of Justice 10026/01, Adalah v. the Prime Minister et al.