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# CIVIL SOCIETY IN JERUSALEM

METHODICAL RESEARCH AND MAPPING

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Lior Regev, Marik Shtern, and Erela Ganan  
Jerusalem, July 2018



# Civil Society in Jerusalem: Methodical Research and Mapping

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## Executive Summary

The purpose of this research project is to map and analyze the nature of civil society in Jerusalem. This paper summarizes the first part of the study and presents data from several relevant databases that help shed light on the activities of this sector in the city. The following is a summary of the findings presented in the paper:

1. Jerusalem is an epicenter for NGOs in Israel, with approximately 23% of active NGOs in Israel headquartered in the city. In 2017, 4,077 NGOs were active in Jerusalem, compared to 1,600 in Tel-Aviv.
2. NGOs in Jerusalem are of great economic importance. The estimated total annual budget of all NGOs in the city is between 15 billion NIS and 25 billion NIS, and together they employ between 100,000 and 200,000 people (about one-third of all employed people in the city).
3. NGOs in Jerusalem are active in a very wide variety of fields, such as higher education, health, and community and social welfare. Nevertheless, the leading fields for NGOs in Jerusalem are religion, education, and social welfare. These fields reflect the unique nature of Jerusalem as capital city, religious center, and the center of higher education, along with its relatively large religious and poor populations.
4. Organizations dealing with community, social, and political activities, which are often referred to as civil society organizations, are also well represented in Jerusalem but their presence is small, in absolute terms, compared to those dealing with the fields mentioned above.
5. Analysis of local databases of activist civil society organizations (NGOs or informal groups engaged in social change and community activity) indicates a unique pattern of activity in Jerusalem. Specifically, there is a prominent presence of community-controlled organizations in Jerusalem working for sociopolitical change at the neighborhood, municipal, and national levels.
6. Most activist, civil-society organizations in Jerusalem are led by non-Haredi Jews, are active in non-Haredi Jewish communities, and represent the core values of liberalism and pluralism. The most common fields in which these organizations

operate include community development, interfaith or intercultural coexistence, and environmental sustainability. Relatively few organizations that appear in the local databases represent the needs and values of the Haredi and Arab communities.

7. Our recommendation for the next stage of this research project is to conduct a thorough, qualitative study among the activist civil society organizations in the city, placing emphasis on the obstacles and limitations facing civil society activists in the Haredi and Arab sectors.

# Introduction

Jerusalem is the city with the largest population in Israel. There are three distinct populations that live side by side in the city with diverse social, economic, and cultural characteristics: Arabs, Haredi Jews, and non-Haredi Jews (Choshen, Korach, 2017). Jerusalem is a governmental city, housing the Knesset and major national government institutions. Capital cities, including Jerusalem, play an important role in shaping the economic and political systems. The junction of the civic, private, and public sectors attracts many parties interested in influencing public policy, including third-sector institutions and activists (Mayer, et al, 2016).

The special character of the city of Jerusalem and the interaction of the different population groups often lead to conflicts and increase the desire of each group to defend its values and goals. At the same time, this diversity offers opportunities to establish joint ventures, formulate and promote values shared by all of these groups.

A tradition of active involvement and participation of residents and institutions in the public and social spheres exists in the city. This tradition developed

throughout the many years of struggle and negotiations over the nature of the city. In the 1970s and 1980s, young Jerusalemites living in poverty (the Black Panthers) came together to form a broad protest movement. The movement's purpose was to improve the socioeconomic state of young residents and their living conditions (Hasson, 1993). Simultaneously, in those years awareness to the need to preserve the historical and visual landscape of the city increased. As a result, local residents, together with professionals, organized civil action and harnessed the media to their cause. They protested building plans that were liable to damage the social fabric of historic neighborhoods, impinge upon open spaces, or harm buildings of unique architectural value (Kroyanker, 1988).

The activities of civil society organizations active in the environmental field increased in the 1990s and 2000s. These organizations led various campaigns to conserve and protect urban nature in Jerusalem and preserve open areas around the city, which peaked with the rejection of the Safdie Plan for construction in West Jerusalem (Furst, 2014).



This tradition of increased civil involvement of the city residents in shaping the city physically, politically, and socially continues to define Jerusalem's character to this day. In the past decade, the city has witnessed a proliferation of civil activity that has greatly impacted the city's social and urban politics. Several social initiatives founded in Jerusalem have also had a nationwide social impact, such as the '*Hashgaha Pratiit*' private kashrut initiative and the Time-Bank (*Bank Hazman*) program. However, the size and effect of Jerusalem's civil society have not yet been studied empirically.

This research project, commissioned by the Leichtag Foundation, aims to fill this lacuna, with this paper presenting the first part of a wider research project that aims to map civil society in Jerusalem.

The aims of this part of the research project are to:

- a. Present a theoretical background of civil society: definitions, characteristics, and the local point of view
- b. Map and analyze civil society in Jerusalem, based on a national database (GuideStar and existing independent mappings)

As presented below, civil society lacks a uniform definition, and various viewpoints emphasize different aspects of its activity. As such, this section will discuss various definitions of civil society and will present the mapping projects conducted according to these definitions.

In order to carry out the mapping, we used two complementary research methods: First, we conducted interviews with professionals from the field, from public institutions and from academia, who contributed to defining the characteristics of civil society. Second, we analyzed and processed official information and databases on civil society and data collected by various civil society organizations in Jerusalem.

# Part 1: Theoretical Background

## (a). What is Civil Society?

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Fundamental changes revolutionized the global economy and society in the second half of the twentieth century. Most important among these changes were global economic growth and an increase in the needs of the individual. Crises in social welfare led to increased privatization, in a process that began in Britain and the United States in the 1970s. It also led to the state's continuous withdrawal from service provision. Civil society filled a crucial void by responding to the increasing needs of individuals which remained unaddressed by governments (Limor et al, 2010, Putnam in Gidron, 2017).

Professor Helmut Anheier defined civil society as "the sphere of institutions, organizations and individuals located between the family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests" (Anheier, 2004:22). Civil society includes groups and activities at different levels of institutionalization. It encompasses incorporated organizations, also known as the third sector or the non-governmental sector (Finkel-Perl et al, 2016), as well

as independent initiatives lacking institutional organization.

These civil society organizations offer services or lead cultural and social change in a variety of fields, including religion, education, social welfare, health, environment, and culture (Limor et al, 2010). In an attempt to define the space where civil society is active, Gidron, Limor, and Zychlinsky (2015) suggested using the term "civic sector", which includes the following:

"Free associations of individuals and/or groups that, through shared activity, take upon themselves civic participation, volunteering, and/or contributing, to bring about social change and/or to preserve, enhance, or strengthen the wellbeing of the individual and the community; that act on an ideological basis to advance goals out of a sense of responsibility for the common good, to advance the well-being of individuals, groups, communities and the environment; that recognize diversity and the other from a place of tolerance and willingness to engage in dialogue

and to challenged the authorities, the public, and other organizations; that are committed to nonviolent, ethical, transparent activity with respect to the political, social and civil rights of others” (p. 8).

Civil society, thus, is a term that has several possible context-dependent meanings. For the purposes of this mapping project, we employed the following terms:

**Third sector:** The accepted definition of third-sector organizations is a structural definition. Third-sector organizations have several characteristics: They are formally incorporated, they are distinguished from the public sector, and they are not subject to government units. These are independent non-profit organizations that are not subjected to the control of private enterprises. An essential part of these organizations is contributing and volunteering. From a legal standpoint, these are organizations that are incorporated as nonprofit associations and as public-benefit corporations (Finkel-Perl et al, 2016).

**A social enterprise** is defined as an activity that an individual or group conceive and organize and which serves a social purpose. A social enterprise can be institutionalized and operate as a legally registered organization, such as a nonprofit association, public-benefit corporation, or social enterprise. A social enterprise is an organization with social as well as business purposes (Avrutsky & Ashkenazi, 2011).

**Civil society** includes third-sector organizations and independent, institutionalized, and officially recognized social enterprises, as well as initiatives that are not institutionalized or officially incorporated. Civil society is comprised of individuals, groups, or organizations that define themselves as focused on fulfilling social goals over any other purpose, business or personal.

**The following mapping focuses on non-business and nonprofit organizations and initiatives. The mapping takes the approach that the core of civil society activity is actions that are not the provision of services.**

## (b). Civil Society in Jerusalem

Jerusalem is the capital city of Israel and home to three distinct populations: Arabs, Jews, and Haredi Jews. The city has several unique characteristics, making it a focal point for civil society activity. In this chapter, we present some of them.

### Jerusalem's Unique Characteristics

#### *A Contested City*

Jerusalem is a contested city since it is at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and is contested by both national movements as their own capital. Historically, civil society has had a dominant role in the promotion of peace and collaboration between Israelis and Palestinians in Jerusalem.

During the period of the Oslo Accords (1993-1999), Israeli and Palestinian NGOs and activists in Jerusalem promoted peace, coexistence, and the construction of a future Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem (Goren, 2004). However, the eruption of the Second Intifada created distrust on both sides and made cooperation almost impossible (Cohen, 2013). Following the Jerusalem Intifada of 2014, a new discourse fostering interethnic collaboration developed among local Israeli NGOs, creating a "network and shared narrative among the

diverse groups and social innovators of the city" (Sherman, 2017).

Organizations such as New Spirit ("*Ruach Hadasha*"), the Jerusalemite Movement, and the Leichtag Foundation, are leading new efforts to stabilize the city's social sphere through intra-ethnic and interethnic cooperation, without contesting the geopolitical status quo. These efforts support a multicultural city discourse that examines an urban environment in which "mixture has failed to produce social cohesion and cultural interchange" (Amin, 2002, 960). However, since Palestinians understand this effort as an attempt at political normalization, it is difficult to find Palestinian organizations with which to work.

These developments demonstrate a new phase of adaptation of Jerusalem civil society to the urban geopolitics of post-Oslo Jerusalem. This paper will also consider the lack of civic participation in East Jerusalem, a phenomenon that may also stem from the lack of documentation of political participation in East Jerusalem, which is directly related to the political realities of the city.

#### *A Capital City*

In addition to being a contested city, Jerusalem is the capital city of the State

of Israel. It is the seat of government and the location of other important national institutions such as the Knesset. As a result, the city attracts NGOs and other organizations that require close physical proximity to these institutions in order to conduct their work.

The **demographics** of the city are also significant. Jerusalem is Israel's largest city, and as mentioned above has a large number of nonprofit organizations. There is also a large religious population that operates a wide range of religious and educational organizations. In addition, the variety of populations in the city and its symbolic and religious significance make it a fertile ground for the establishment of organizations that deal with coexistence and work to strengthen communities. The socioeconomic state of affairs in the city encourages social welfare activity:

Jerusalem is a poor city and many of its residents are of low socioeconomic status. For this reason, many aid and social welfare organizations are active in the city.

The structure of **local government and the mechanism of municipal governance** facilitate active involvement. This will be discussed in further detail below; however, in brief, the community councils (*Minhalim Kehilati'im*) serve as a bridge between the neighborhood residents and the municipal and central government. Together, these councils comprise the organizational structure of the municipal government. The operation of the community councils enables the civil and community activity to be integrated seamlessly, thereby contributing to a more efficient and effective civil administration.

## (c). Civil Society: Models for Analysis

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In this section, the paper will offer several models and methods used to characterize the activities of third-sector and civil society organizations.

### Civil Society: The Avrutsky & Ashkenazi Model

Civil society encompasses a wide variety of organizations and activities. A defining characteristic of civil society

is the dynamic nature and scope of its activities. An activity can be established as a result of a group of people joining together to achieve a shared social goal. This group, or initiative, may even expand and establish formal, institutionalized operations. Similarly, the initiative may dwindle. Its ultimate objective is directly tied to its nature and its goals. For example, once an initiative achieves its shared social goal, its activity may be re-

evaluated and then reduced or expanded, depending on its desired reach.

Researchers Avrutsky and Ashkenazi (2011) conducted a categorization and classification of the various types of social entrepreneurship. According to the categorization method they suggested, the term *social entrepreneurship* includes three types: social activity, social innovation, and social transformation. The three types are distinguished by their extent of innovativeness in solving the problem, scope of activity, the scope of resources required, and the nature of relevant collaborations.

**Social Activity.** Defined as the application of resources for the purpose of achieving a social goal. This definition is the broadest, relating to activity in a local geographical space, which provides a response to a social problem through *the implementation of a solution that exists elsewhere* or with other populations. One example is the Open House organization in Jerusalem, which was established for the city's LGBT community. The organization provides a supportive environment and promotes advocacy and cultural activity to strengthen the status and recognition of the LGBT community in Jerusalem. The local initiative was developed according to an activity model that originated in long-standing LGBT communities in North America.

**Social Innovation.** Defined as the application of resources for the purpose of achieving a *social goal by innovative means*. The solution proposed being original and being implemented for the first time is the distinguishing factor between social innovation and social activity.

An example at the national level is the *Or Lahinuch* ("Light to Education") organization, through which high school students of academic and social excellence mentor 6<sup>th</sup> graders who have demonstrated potential for social or academic excellence. The initiative created a new solution to two problems: It defined the need for mentorship during the transition from elementary school to junior high school and also provided a framework for high school students who wish to be actively involved in ethical social action. In Jerusalem, *Mahapach Yarak* is a pioneer initiative that encourages residents to separate food leftovers from garbage and create compost. The initiative provides an innovative response to several problems on the environmental, economic, and community levels: reducing garbage collection rounds reduces, in turn, pollution and heavy traffic; reducing the quantity of waste sent for additional processing or burial provides a response to environmental and economic problems; and encouraging interaction and cooperation among neighbors strengthens community cohesiveness in the city.

**Social Transformation.** An activity coping with challenges by innovative means, but contrary to social innovation it *creates new supply and demand*, thereby changing the entire market.

The *Hashgacha Pratit* organization, which offers a kashrut certification as an alternative to the institutional kashrut certification of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel, is an example of an organization that emerged in Jerusalem and is leading social transformation. The organization built and operates a new model for kashrut certification based on trust and community, thereby creating a new category of kosher restaurants that are not certified through the rabbinate. The Hashgacha Pratit certificate creates an institutional alternative and appeals to a unique population that lacked a suitable response.

Another example is the *Nashiuti* organization — a feminist social enterprise established by a Jerusalemite environmental activist—which sells ecological feminine hygiene products. Out of the desire to cope with the world environmental crisis and reduce the quantity of waste, the organization works toward creating a new market of reusable products.

Another way of understanding civil society activity is through the Ann Jeffries (1996) model.

## Ann Jeffries' Model of Community Practice

Jeffries' model portrays two intersecting axes, with a vertical axis representing a "change" dimension and a horizontal axis representing an "empowerment" dimension (Jeffries, 1996: 108). Connecting the two axes creates four spaces, each of which represents a characteristic type of organizational or social activity (Jeffries, 1996).

The change axis expresses the intentions and plans of an initiative or organization to change reality, as opposed to maintaining the current status quo. A desire to preserve the status quo can be manifested, for example, in plans for the development and expansion of existing services. Intentions to promote change may be expressed in plans to shift responsibility for planning and execution to service recipients (Caldaron, et al, 2010).

The empowerment axis examines the decision-making process of an initiative or organization, i.e., the way in which the change is brought about. At one end of the spectrum, decision making is concentrated in the hands of a small group of elite leaders and experts, whereas at the other end, community members lead the process. In this case, the activity encourages empowerment to the extent that it involves the community

in decision making. In cases of full partnership, the community has the ability to make independent decisions regarding

issues pertaining to it (Caldaron, et al, 2010).

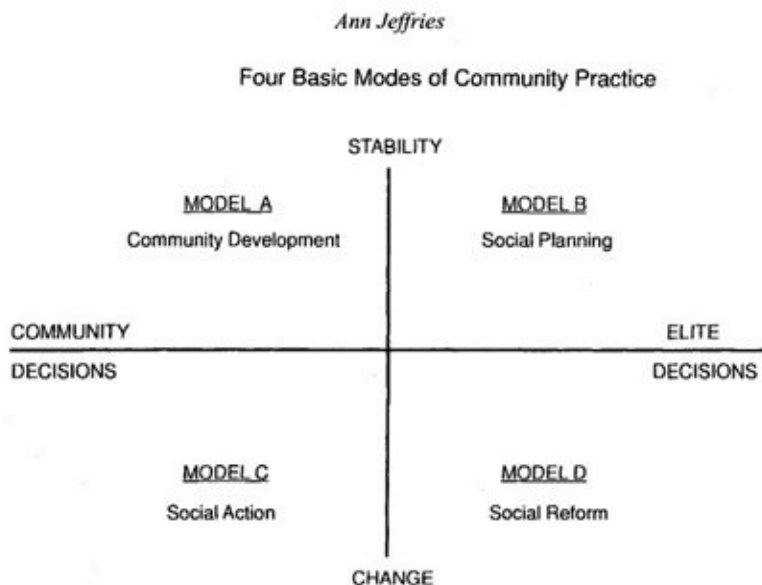


Figure 1: Ann Jeffries: Four Basic Modes of Community Practice

*Community development* lies between the poles of social stability and change. This denotes an activity in which the community can be involved, in fields where there is widespread agreement regarding the necessity of the activity and where the partnership between activists will not undermine the status quo. For example, a community coming together for social activity revolving around a synagogue, or the community garden activities of the Nature Museum in Jerusalem.

*Social planning* lies between the poles of elite decision making and social stability and refers to operations that provide services or that utilize community knowledge to implement a plan devised in advance by the organization (For example, activities and classes for people with disabilities at the Shekel organization).

*Social reform* lies between the poles of social change and elite decision making and refers to action characterized by the desire to generate change through



the knowledge and abilities of experts. In this space one can involve activists from the community, but one can also take action without them. Thus, for example, the *Bimkom* organization (Urban Planners for Planning Rights) works with professionals to help citizens cope with city construction plans that are being created around them and that might cause them harm or disadvantage.

*Social action* lies between social change and community control and expresses the desire of organizations and individuals within the community. These individuals or organizations are at times assisted

by experts and gradually become independent. The activity of the Haredi yeshiva high school *Hochmei Lev* is one example. The yeshiva was established by Bezalel Cohen, a Haredi social activist and it enables young Haredi people to gain an education that suits the employment market without giving up religious studies and the Haredi framework of study. The initiative, which began as an independent initiative, received the support of the Society for the Advancement of Education, which is a network of schools active throughout Israel (Gonen, Cohen & Hayun, in print).

## Part 2: Mapping Activist Civil Society in Jerusalem

The databases regarding the third sector and civil society in Israel reside in both official and independent sources:

1. Data from the GuideStar website of the Associations Register:  
The Associations Register is an organizational unit of the Israeli Corporations Authority. The unit is responsible for the registration, supervision, and control of nonprofit organizations and public-benefit corporations, which are the core of the third sector in Israel.<sup>1</sup> With the goal of establishing public transparency in the operation of NGOs in Israel and as an extension of a worldwide project by the same name aiming to shed light on the activity of nonprofit organizations, the Authority established the GuideStar website.<sup>2</sup> Notably, there are organizations that do not appear in the Guidestar database, such as collective associations or social

enterprises. In these cases, the legal and official information falls under the purview of the Ministry of the Economy or other governmental agencies.

2. Data from local, non-official "independent" mappings. Diverse civil society activities in various fields of interest exist in the city of Jerusalem. Some of these activities are not documented by official data because those conducting the activity did not incorporate into a recognized legal entity. With the purpose of identifying and characterizing this activity, the study made use of local mappings of civil society initiatives and organizations in Jerusalem, including the following: ANU's map of Jerusalem social enterprises, Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem, the Jerusalem Model, and the Tolerance Coalition - the Young Adults Center in Jerusalem. The data was

<sup>1</sup> From the website of the Charities Registrar, Israeli Corporations Authority:  
<http://www.justice.gov.il/Units/RasutHataagidim/units/RashamAmutot/Pages/About.aspx>;  
retrieved Dec 18, 2017

<sup>2</sup> From the website of GuideStar Israel:  
[http://www.guidestar.org.il/GS\\_About?lang=iw](http://www.guidestar.org.il/GS_About?lang=iw);  
retrieved Dec 18, 2017

collected according to the definitions and goals of each organization and

for this reason their scope and units of measurement are not uniform.

## (a). Analysis According to the GuideStar Database

GuideStar is the national database of nonprofit organizations in Israel. The database presents a very broad definition of civil society, i.e., of third-sector activity (see definition above). The following data includes information regarding two types of organizations: *amutot* (nonprofit organizations) and public-benefit corporations.

It is important to note that the data refers only to active organizations (those that submitted at least one annual report during the past three years). In addition, it does not include informal organizations, such as Facebook groups or ad-hoc advocacy groups<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, GuideStar's database does not include cooperatives that are officially supervised by the Ministry of Economy and that might be partially relevant to the category of civil society.

In 2017, there were 46,080 NGOs registered with the Associations Register, of them 41,695 were registered *amutot* (nonprofit organizations), 3,159 *hekdeshim*

(institutes owning public property), and 1,226 public-benefit corporations. Among these, only 17,965 organizations (nonprofit organizations and public-benefit corporations) are defined as active bodies.

### The Location of the Organization

The number of active organizations that have official addresses in Jerusalem is 4,077 (3,930 nonprofit organizations and 147 public-benefit corporations), representing 23% of all active organizations in the country. This can be compared to 1,600 active organizations with addresses in Tel Aviv, which represent 9% of the active organizations in the country. According to the number of organizations per resident, throughout Israel there is a ratio of 488 residents per active organization, while in Jerusalem the ratio is 212 and in Tel Aviv 274. A lower ratio of residents per organization indicates that in Jerusalem the number of organizations per resident is higher than in any other city.

<sup>3</sup> Examples of this type will be presented in detail under the heading of independent mappings.

## Area of Activity<sup>4</sup>

For most active organizations registered in Jerusalem, the city is not merely their main address; it is also their sole arena of operations. In contrast, Tel Aviv functions to a greater extent as a center of regional rather than local activity.

Table 1: Area of Activity

Activity in City	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv
Exclusive Activity	79%	65%
Primary Activity	11%	16%
Secondary Activity	2%	6%
No Activity in the City	8%	13%

## Spheres of Activity

Data from the GuideStar database enable the user to examine the fields of activity of active organizations according to two definitions: The first follows the fields of activity as defined by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the second represents the self-definition of the organizations' leadership as expressed in their annual activity reports. In this paper, we will only present the data based on the CBS characterization. According to the CBS, the four primary fields of activity of organizations registered in Jerusalem (including combinations of fields) are 'religion' (21%), 'education, higher education and vocational training' (18%), 'welfare services' (17%), 'education, higher education and vocational training', and 'religion' (16%). In other words, activity connected with religion represents 38% of all the activity of the third sector in Jerusalem. These fields reflect the unique character of the city as a center for religious activity and as a city with a particularly large, poor population.

<sup>4</sup> Data relating to activity area, budget, and number of employees and volunteers are based on data from online reports submitted by the organizations in 2016. Note that only 41% of organizations in Israel and 32% of organizations in Jerusalem submitted online reports. Thus, data relating to these components do not represent all organizations in Israel or in Jerusalem, but enable a general estimation.

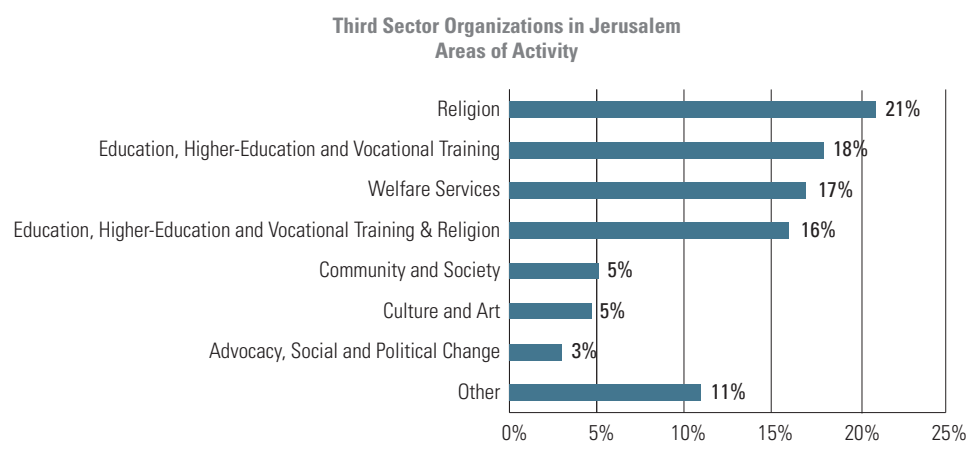


Figure 2: Organizations registered in Jerusalem by sphere of activity, 2016

## Unique Spheres of Activity in Jerusalem

Twenty-three percent of all active organizations in Israel reside in Jerusalem. A comparison between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and other cities and towns in Israel indicates that Jerusalem is overrepresented in certain fields of activity (over 23%) and in unique combinations of the primary fields of activity. Among other things, the data indicate an over-representation of philanthropic funds, religious educational

institutions, organizations combining political advocacy with community and social activity, and organizations dealing with international relations. These fields are connected with both the city's demographic structure (religious and poor population), its position as a capital city (advocacy and international relations), and the existence of many institutions of higher education in the city.

Table 2: Organizations' Spheres of Activity in Israel by City, 2016

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv – Jaffa	Rest of Country	No. of Organizations
General	23%	9%	68%	17,965
Volunteering & philanthropic funds	37%	22%	41%	27
Education, higher education & vocational training; religion	35%	1%	64%	1,828
Welfare services; advocacy, social & political change organizations; community & social welfare	33%	10%	57%	230
International relations	32%	18%	50%	66
Advocacy, social change & political organizations	28%	29%	43%	83
Education, higher education & vocational training; volunteering & philanthropic funds	27%	21%	53%	78
Education, higher education & vocational training	27%	7%	67%	2,625
Welfare services	25%	7%	67%	2,710
Health or saving lives	24%	13%	63%	529
Religion	23%	3%	74%	3,671
Research, science & technology	22%	18%	60%	304
Housing & urban development	22%	18%	61%	213
Culture or art	20%	22%	58%	959
Community & social welfare	20%	12%	69%	1,074
Housing & urban development; international relations	18%	38%	44%	39
Welfare services; volunteering & philanthropic funds	17%	15%	67%	46
Heritage or memorialization	16%	13%	71%	340
Health or saving lives; community & social welfare	14%	7%	79%	42
Professional associations	11%	41%	47%	342
Environment & animals	10%	17%	73%	180
Education, higher education & vocational training; welfare services; housing & urban development	7%	43%	50%	46
Sports	4%	11%	86%	1,150
No primary activity sphere				1,388

If we exclude religious institutions and organizations that provide health and welfare services, the activities of the third-sector organizations in Jerusalem appear more closely correlated with the core activities of civil society in the rest of the country. That said, the three primary fields of activity of third-sector organizations in Jerusalem are the following:

- 1. Community and social activity
- 2. Art and culture
- 3. Higher education

In contrast, in Tel Aviv, the primary fields of activity are art and culture, sports and community, and social activity. Nationwide, the primary civil society sphere of activity is sports, followed by community and social activity and, finally, art and culture.

Table 3: Secondary Categorization of Civil Society Activity According to Primary Activity Sphere, 2016

According to Reported Activity Location	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv – Jaffa	Nationwide
Community & social activity	22%	12%	18%
Art & culture	20%	27%	17%
Higher education	10%	5%	5%
Heritage or memorialization	8%	8%	7%
Assistance to the needy	7%	1%	2%
Sports	6%	16%	22%
Education	6%	1%	3%
Aliya (Jewish immigration) absorption	3%	1%	3%
Political activity, social & political change & individual liberties	2%	2%	1%
Organizations of Jewish immigrants from specific Diaspora communities (and cities)	2%	1%	1%
Assistance to people with disabilities	1%	2%	2%
Friendship between peoples	1%	2%	1%
Training & employment	1%	2%	1%
Professional associations	1%	9%	5%
Environment	1%	2%	2%
Professional organizations	0%	3%	1%
Other	9%	7%	9%

## Scope of Budget

Data regarding the scope of annual budgets and number of employees is available for only 32% of the active organizations in Jerusalem. The total annual budget of these organizations in 2017 was 10.73 billion NIS and they employed 64,000 workers. Our estimates are approximate calculations based on

the data. We estimate that third-sector organizations in Jerusalem operate on an overall budget ranging between 15 to 25 billion NIS, and together employ approximately 150,000 employees (not only in Jerusalem) and therefore comprising a significant economic sector in the city.

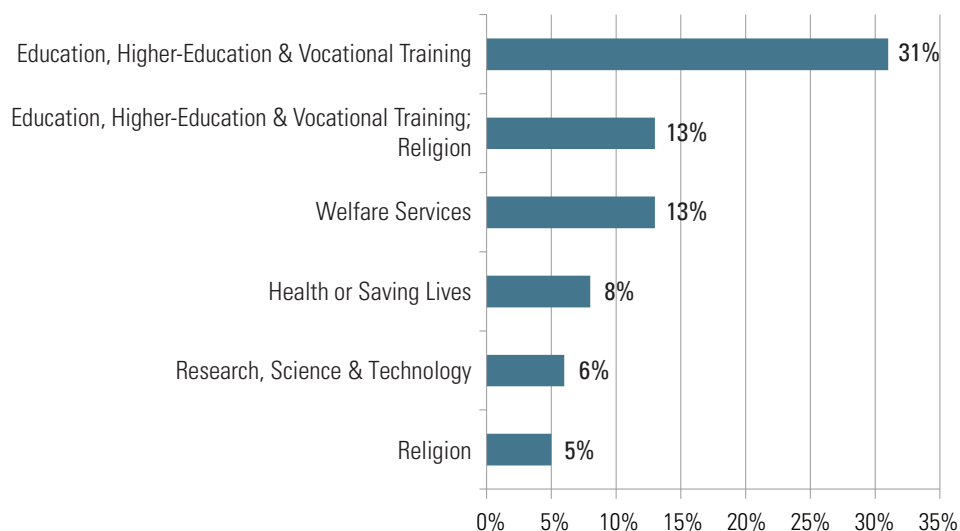


Figure 3: Budget of the Third Sector in Jerusalem, According to Activity Sphere, 2016



Table 4: Organizations Registered In Jerusalem with the Largest Budgets (in millions of NIS), 2016

Ma'ayan Torah Education for Haredi education	688.57
Israel Science Foundation (ISF)	615.34
Mercaz Yeshivot Bnei-Akiva in Israel	314.99
Kiach - Rene Cassin High School	262.04
International Fellowship of Christians and Jews (IFCJ)	196.66
Branco Weiss Institute – Think, Innovate, Educate	195.45
Tzvia religious education network, named for Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook	175.12
Jerusalem College of Technology (JCT) – Lev Academic Center	166.13
Beit Yaakov Kindergartens & Daycare Centers Jerusalem	155.33
Mir Yeshiva Jerusalem	149.74
B'bayit - Assistive Services for Seniors at Home	139.86
Yad Sarah	126.89
Herzog Hospital (formerly Ezrat Nashim Hospital)	126.56
Elwyn Israel	122.91
Beit Yaakov Center in Israel	116.71
Israel Association for Public Health	114.55

## Workforce

The organizations in Israel that submitted online reports<sup>5</sup> employed 385,000 employees in 2016. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), there were a total of 477 thousand salaried employees of nonprofit associations that year. The two fields of activity with the largest number of employees in Israel in 2016 were education, higher education and vocational training (37%), and welfare services (18%). The organizations registered in Jerusalem employed 64,000

people (17% of all third-sector employees in Israel).

It is important to note that not all the employees who are registered in active organizations in Jerusalem necessarily work in Jerusalem; some work in other locations across Israel, in local branches. Similar to all organizations in Israel, the fields of activity with the largest number of employees in Jerusalem in 2016 were higher education and vocational training (40%) and welfare services (12%).

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 4.

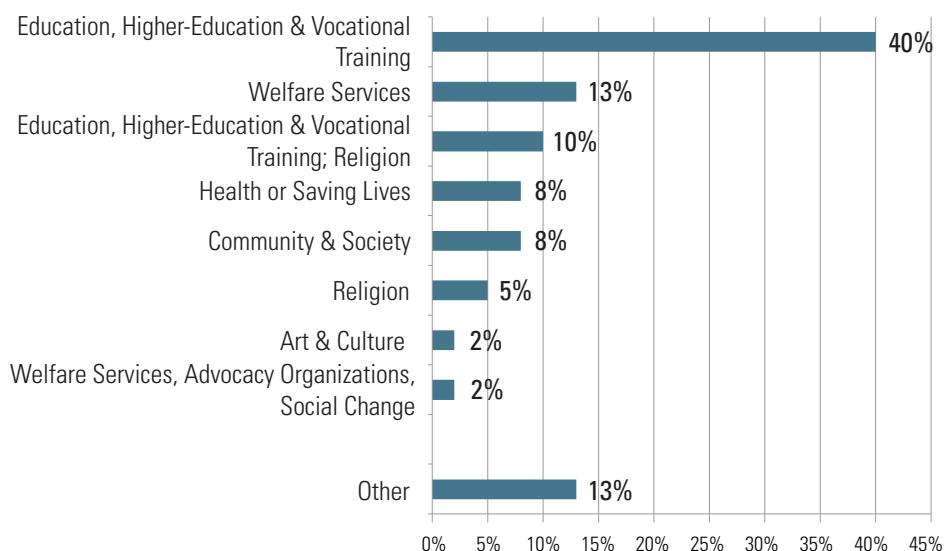


Figure 4: Employees in Nonprofit Institutions in Jerusalem According to Activity Sphere

Table 5: Organizations Registered in Jerusalem with the Largest Number of Employees, 2016

Ma'ayan HaTorah Education Center in Eretz Israel	8,139
Shaarei Zedek Medical Center	3,969
Petachya – Special Education Institutions	3,805
National Institute for Testing & Evaluation	3,635
Kiach - Rene Cassin High School	3,471
B'bayit - Assistive Services for Seniors at Home	3,278
Beit Yaakov Kindergartens & Daycare Centers Jerusalem	2,795
El Hamaayan Spanish Jewry Heritage Educational Fund	1,850
Tzvia religious education network	1,739
Mercaz Yeshivot Bnei-Akiva in Israel	1,704
Branco Weiss Institute – Think, Innovate, Educate	1,624
Ofek – Gilo Community Council	1,216
Beit Yaakov Center in Israel	1,179
Misgav Lakashish - Nursing Care, Health, Kindness & Social Welfare	1,119
Bnei Akiva Movement in Israel	1,094
Elwyn Israel	969

The organizations that are active in Jerusalem employing the largest number of people are Ma'ayan HaTorah Education Center for Haredi education and the Shaare Zedek Medical Center.

In conclusion: non-governmental organizations are a significant source of employment in the city, due to their affiliations and strong reciprocal connections with the city's public sector.

Volunteers

Throughout the country, 481,289 people volunteer in organizations that submitted online reports. Of them, 60,920 volunteered in organizations with registered addresses in Jerusalem, representing 13% of all volunteers in Israel. In other words, the organizations in Jerusalem, representing 23% of all organizations in Israel, have fewer volunteers per organization than the national average. Most volunteers in Jerusalem volunteer in social welfare, health, and community and society organizations.

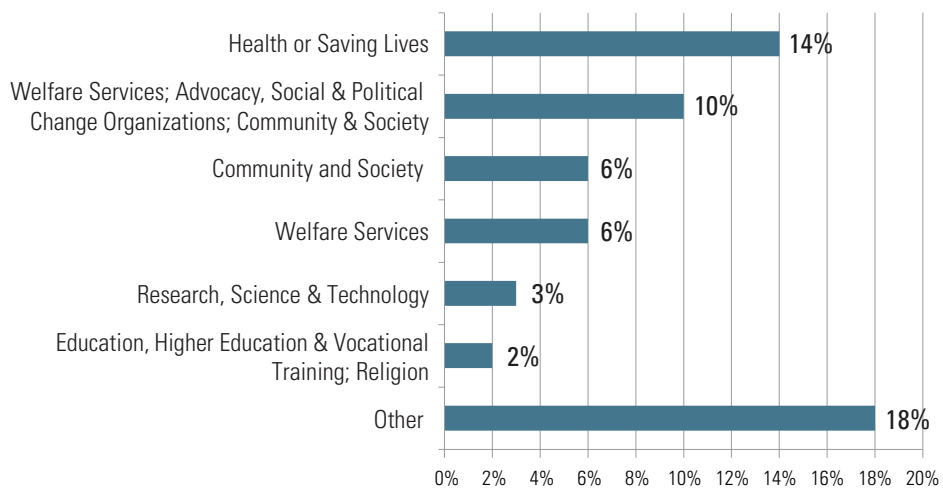


Figure 5: Volunteers in Organizations in Jerusalem, According to Activity Sphere, 2016

## Community and Society

A focused look at the group of organizations active in the sphere of “community and society” enables us to learn about social organizations active in Jerusalem. There are 211 organizations registered in Jerusalem in the sphere of community and society, representing 20% of all organizations active in this sphere in Israel and 5% of all organizations registered in Jerusalem. The total budget of these organizations in Jerusalem is estimated at about 1.216 billion NIS<sup>6</sup> and they employ about 25,000 people. Most of the community and society organizations are only active in Jerusalem (81%), with a minority of them active elsewhere in the country as well (14%) or only elsewhere in the country (5%).

As can be seen in Table 6 below, most community and society organizations in Jerusalem are community centers and youth movements. From this standpoint, the national nature of the community and society sphere manifests itself in Jerusalem, with most of the budget for activities of this kind coming from governmental sources.

<sup>6</sup> 32% of the registered organizations reported a total budget of 392 million NIS on the last online report. This sum represents a comprehensive estimate on the basis of this data.

Table 6: Community &amp; Society Organizations in Jerusalem, 2016

Organization	Annual Budget	No. of Employees
Bnei Akiva Movement in Israel	59,377,978	1,094
Ofek – Gilo Community Council	34,849,834	1,216
OU Israel	27,160,699	335
Pisgat Ze'ev Community Council	22,756,323	666
Beyachad Foundation	18,952,748	6
ROI Community	16,096,666	17
Gesher Educational Enterprises	14,404,000	281
Homat Shmuel Community Council	13,957,860	452
Jerusalem International YMCA	13,847,000	124
Shaltiel Community Council	13,080,705	352
Association to encourage and promote community centers in Israel	12,789,292	18
Neve Yaakov Community Council	11,714,754	389
Greater Baka Community Council	10,405,212	337
Bucharim-Geula Community Council	8,877,195	304
Ramot Alon Community Council	7,506,297	203
Ramat Shlomo Community Council	7,091,298	324
Or Haya Israeli Youth Movement	7,036,162	114
Ariel Israeli Youth Movement	6,731,385	20
Sikkuy Organization for the Advancement of Civil Equality	6,461,666	25
JCC Association of North America	6,370,120	6
Association of Jerusalem Municipality Pensioners	6,181,449	4

## Geography

An analysis based on the addresses of the third-sector organizations in Jerusalem reveals that the majority (41%) are registered in Haredi neighborhoods or

general neighborhoods (40%) and 15% are registered in mixed Haredi and non-Haredi neighborhoods. Only 4% are registered in East Jerusalem.

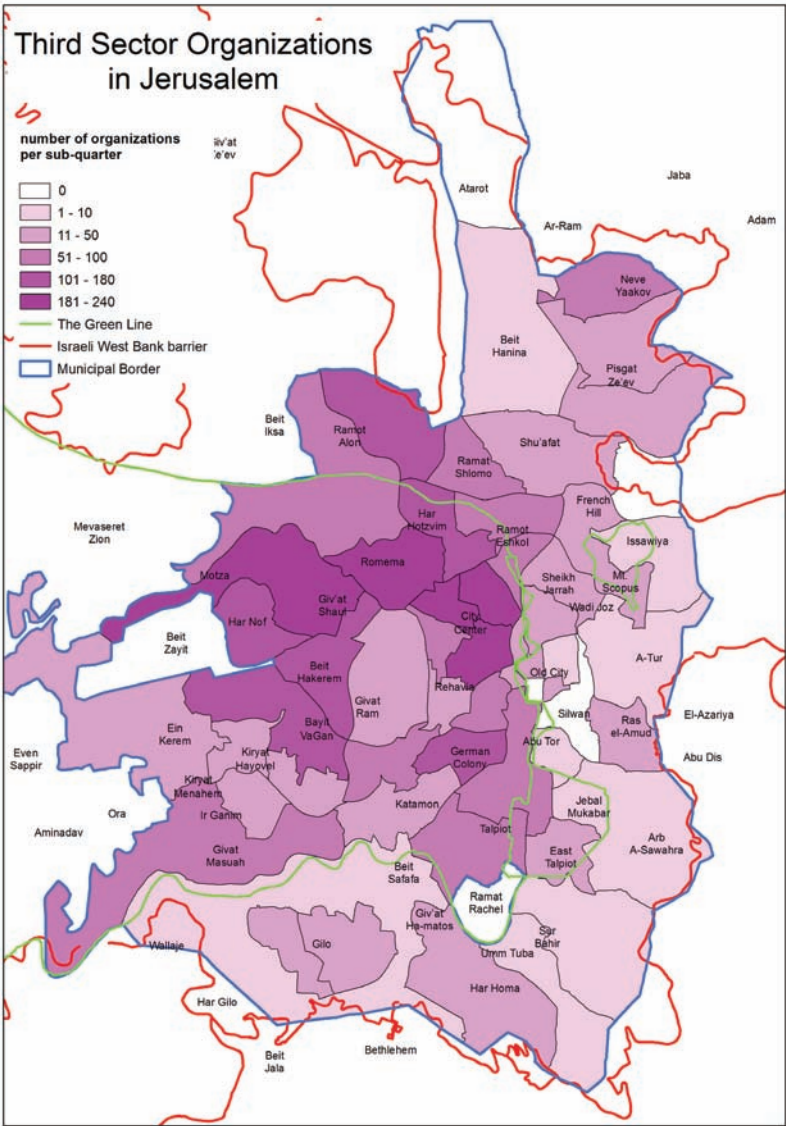


Figure 6: Third Sector Organizations in Jerusalem

The largest concentrations of organizations in the Haredi areas are in Geula and Makor Baruch. The leading concentrations of organizations in non-Haredi neighborhoods are found in the city center and the German Colony. The

leading concentrations of organizations in East Jerusalem are found in Sheikh Jarrah/Wadi Al-Joz and Arab A-Sawahra. Central areas, such as the city center, Givat Shaul, and Har Hotzvim are spaces shared by all populations.

## (b). Activist Civil Society in Jerusalem - Independent Databases

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Civil society encompasses a variety of activities of dynamic and varying natures that are not all necessarily documented in the framework of the Associations Register and the official databases.

Non-registered activities include, among other things: organizing for the purpose of public campaigns (such as protecting the Jerusalem Railway Park or the terraces in Ein Karem); Facebook pages such as *Yerushalayim Acheret* (Other Jerusalem), *Hanasich Hakatan – Menakim et Yerushalaym* (The Little Prince – Cleaning Jerusalem), and *Al Hamakom* (About the Place); and ad-hoc community initiatives such as *Yom Yerushalayim Ha'acher* (The Other Jerusalem Day). The multitude of these unofficial activities is an indication of the city's tradition of involvement and active participation of residents and bodies in the public and social sphere.

For this reason, it is correct to assume that the official data does not reflect

Jerusalem's civil society in its entirety. In order to bridge this gap and present the unofficial activity as well, we chose to use *independent mappings* that were conducted by various organizations and NGOs in Jerusalem. These mappings were focused on what can be termed "activist civil society", meaning organizations that focus on social and political change. The mappings were carried out for several purposes, which include identifying potential partners, connecting with organizations engaged in similar fields, and helping to define and more precisely delineate the various fields of activity. Through jointly gathering and reviewing all these mappings, Jerusalem's civil society can be better understood and presented.

This chapter will present the findings from four unofficial mapping initiatives of civil society in Jerusalem:

- a. ANU's map of Jerusalem social enterprises

- b. Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem
- c. The Jerusalem Model
- d. The Tolerance Coalition – the Young Adults Center in Jerusalem

### Independent Mappings: Characteristics of Information Sources

The independent mappings are Excel databases that the Jerusalem Institute received, updated for the latter part of 2017. Each mapping includes 40 to 90 entries. Some of the data from the various mappings overlap, but in most cases each mapping surveyed different organizations and activities in the city.

As mentioned, civil society is dynamic and has varying scopes of activity according to ad-hoc goals, and as such its boundaries are fluid and difficult to pin down. The independent work of each institution according to its own mapping methodology establishes a partial, non-uniform basis for discussion. These circumstances explain the inherent difficulty in defining and mapping civil society using a quantitative methodology.

Before presenting some analysis based on the Independent sources, we should stress an important methodological issue that one should take into account: There is an inherent difficulty to analyze these mappings' data because they vary in:

1. The sources of data (officially documented and report-based data vs. personal impressions)
2. Data collection methods (thorough, interview-based data vs. online questionnaires)
3. The parameters examined (definitions of activity spheres and the number of fields to select from vs. referring to activity locations and collaborations with other organizations)
4. The lack of quantitative parameters (size, activity scope, budget, number of employees, scope of financial support)
5. The mappings' units of measurement (initiatives/organizations/activists)
6. Extent of response to the mapping (the requirement or lack thereof of official reporting/voluntary participation/ based on acquaintances that may be happenstance)
7. The trustworthiness and reliability of data (the lack of orderly supervision or review of the veracity of the data)

However, main findings and insights from these mappings, keeping the data's limitations in mind, are presented below:

### The ANU Organization's Map of Jerusalem Social Initiatives

The ANU organization set as its goal to serve as the umbrella organization



of social enterprises and to empower social activists and entrepreneurs. Over the course of the social protest of 2011, the organization developed a nationwide mapping of all social enterprises in Israel. Its *National Map of Initiatives* was a significant milestone in thinking about the role of civil society in Israel and making it more transparent.

As part of that process, the members of its steering committee were faced with the need to agree on a definition for civil society and to set standards to distinguish between the various activities included in it. In comparison to the broad, official definition of third-sector organizations, the steering committee members set narrower standards. According to the definition they suggested, organizations or initiatives will be included in the map if they advance "social change in the spirit of democratic values, equality, tolerance, pluralism, solidarity, and social and civil involvement, empowering citizens and their rights, and the prevention and refraining from violence".

It was also determined that "national and municipal government organizations,

private businesses, political parties and organizations connected with political parties" would not be included in the map. For example, organizations such as community councils are not considered by ANU to be civil society organizations, despite being included in the data of the Associations Register.

Following the creation of the National Map and with the support of the Leichtag Foundation, a website was launched in 2017 featuring *The Map of Jerusalem Social Enterprises*, presenting over 80 initiatives. It should be emphasized that the map features initiatives rather than organizations. Thus, several initiatives, presented graphically and categorized by activity sphere, may appear for any one organization. The fields included in this mapping are as follows: education, gender, equality and democracy, environment and planning, wealth-power connections and corruption, cost of living and housing, culture, inequality and socioeconomic justice, shared society and combating racism, poverty and social welfare, and health. "Social justice" is at the core of all the fields.

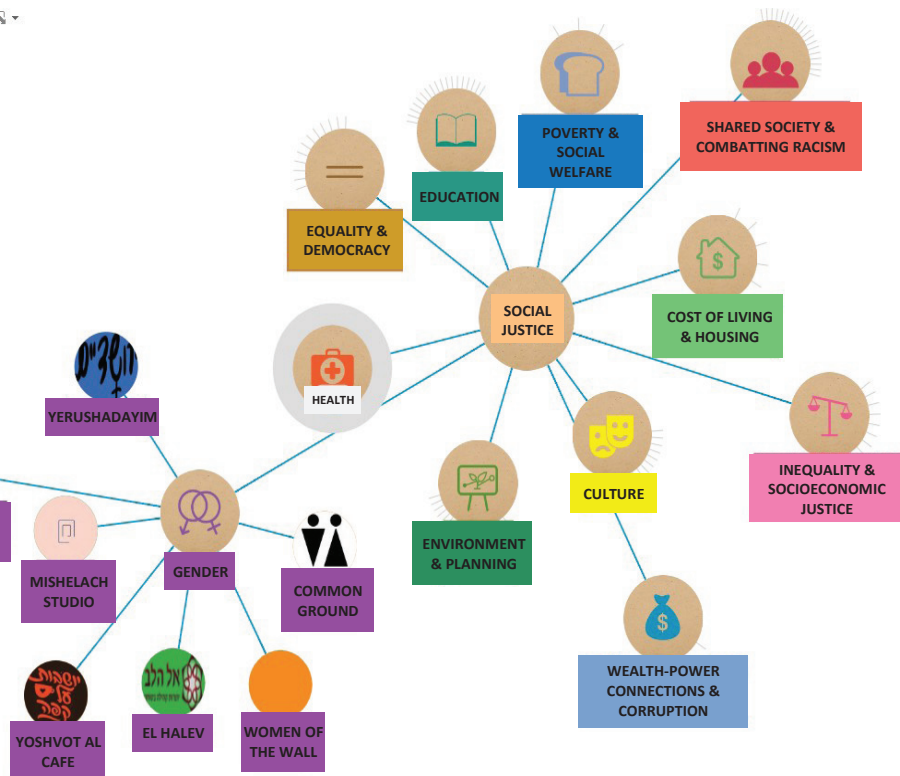


Figure 7: ANU's Map of Jerusalem Social Enterprises

Each respondent to the ANU online questionnaire categorized the initiative in which it is involved, according to its sphere of activity, with the ability to select one or more fields in no particular order. Thus, for example, 'Hevruta – Religious Gays' is an organization dealing with gender, education, equality,

democracy, shared society, and combating racism. In contrast, 'The Jerusalem Open House for Pride & Tolerance' defined itself as dealing, among other things, with equality and democracy, shared society, and fighting racism, but not as dealing with gender.

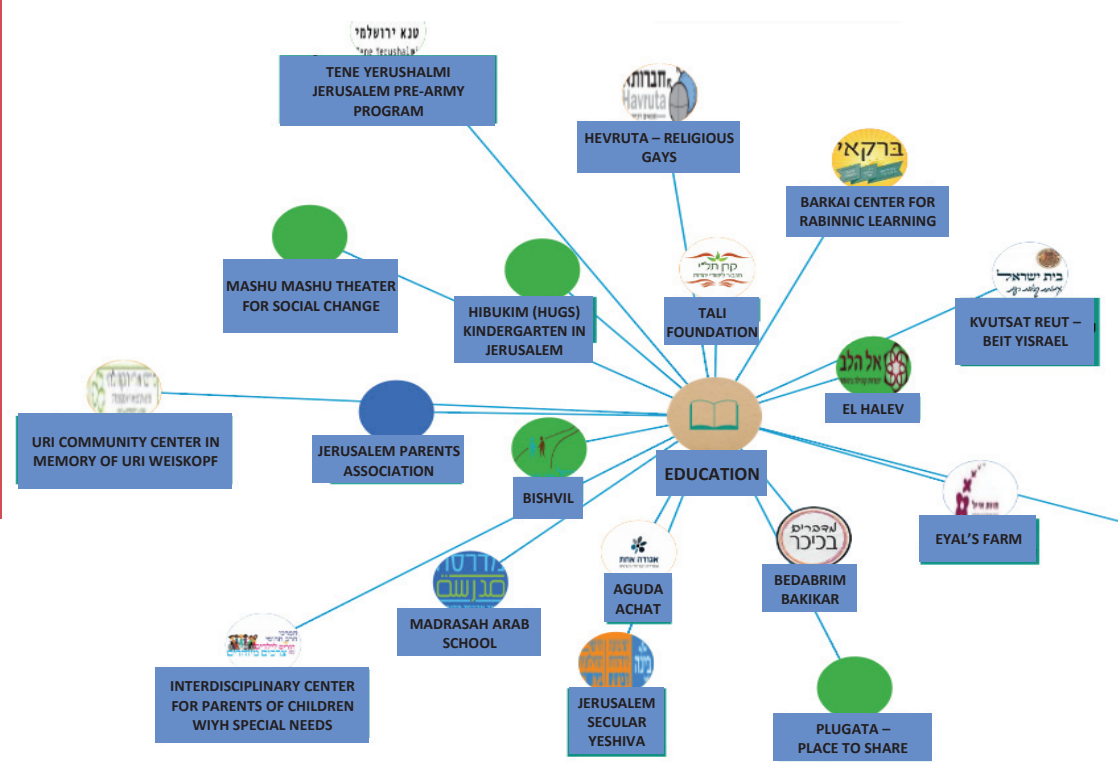


Figure 8: ANU's Map of Jerusalem Social Enterprises, education branch

Summarizing the ANU mapping data<sup>7</sup>, it appears that 17% of the organizations are engaged in the 'shared society and fighting racism' sphere, compared to education (16%), culture (14%), gender (6%), and health (2%). For comparison purposes, according to GuideStar data

from the Associations Register, the primary activity fields of the third sector in Israel are religion (21%), education, higher education and vocational training (18%), welfare services (17%) education, higher education and vocational training & religion (16%).

<sup>7</sup> From <http://anu.org.il/jlma>, retrieved May 8, 2018

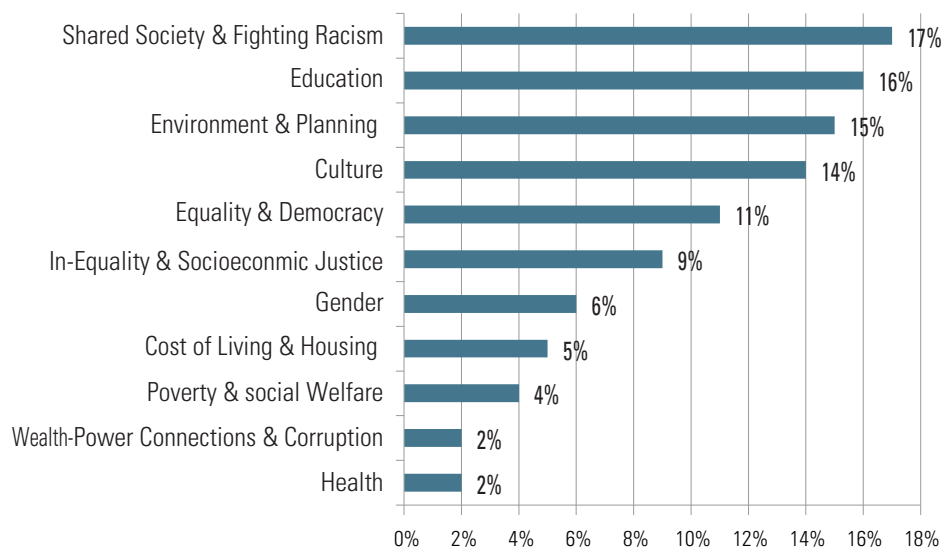


Figure 9: Activity Spheres of Organizations, ANU's Mapping, 2018

### Jerusalem's Tolerance Coalition

Jerusalem's Tolerance Coalition is an initiative of the Young Adults Center, which established a network of third-sector and public-sector organizations and social activists. The purpose of the Coalition is "to spearhead initiatives and projects advancing the values of tolerance and acceptance of others in Jerusalem, relating to the varied populations living in the city and respecting and accepting their varied ways of life."

The mapping includes about 40 organizations, a portion of which are representatives of foundations or public bodies. Thirty-two of the bodies that appear in the database operate only

in Jerusalem and another 10 operate elsewhere in Israel. The organizations engage in the initiation of activities in sports, art, culture, and education to a varied target population, and creating encounters and discussion circles.

Through these activities, the bodies seek to advance inter-sectoral cooperation, improve the atmosphere and discourse in the public space, and bridge between different worldviews.

### Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem

The 'Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem' initiative is the product of cooperation among three departments of the Jerusalem Municipality promoting

sustainability (each in its own sphere), the Jerusalem Institute, and HUBITUS – The Hub for Urban Sustainability at the Jerusalem Botanical Gardens.

At the end of 2015, this initiative conducted a mapping of sustainability and environment in the city, using a voluntary questionnaire. Sixty-six organizations responded to the questionnaire. The main purpose of the mapping was to determine the volume of citywide activity pertaining to various environmental issues in the city, as well as the nature of connections among the organizations: who is collaborating with whom and whether the collaboration patterns can be traced. From these patterns it can be concluded whether nodes of civil activity in the Jerusalem space exist. In other words, the mapping examined which bodies are perceived by civil society organizations in Jerusalem as centrally important to their activities and as helping them succeed.

The respondents to the 'Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem' questionnaire indicated that the primary environmental issues dealt with by Jerusalem organizations are urban nature and public space, community, agriculture and food, and education.

The mapping results indicate the importance of cooperation with community councils in the city, from the organizations view point. Most of the respondents noted active connections

with the councils and their desire to develop connections with additional community councils. The study found that the councils take in and support local initiatives and enable them to grow, thus serving as the link connecting the civil and public sectors in Jerusalem. In other words, the community councils function as significant *intermediaries*. They are in a good position to eliminate certain obstacles concerning the willingness and capacity of others and connect the various agents in a way that enables action and change (Jerusalem institute for Policy Research 2016).

As intermediaries, the community councils are characterized by familiarity with the needs of the community, on one hand and with the complexities of the local authority or business community, on the other. Their relative advantage is that they represent the community's needs while also being very familiar with the resources and the opportunities available to advance issues in the political administration system. The community councils serve as "translators" between the civil or business community and the local authority. Their close familiarity with all sides enables them to serve as "a guide for the perplexed" and to expedite processes in various interfaces. Intermediaries play an important role in developing community leadership, empowering the rest of the residents, and encouraging the expansion of local civil society activity.

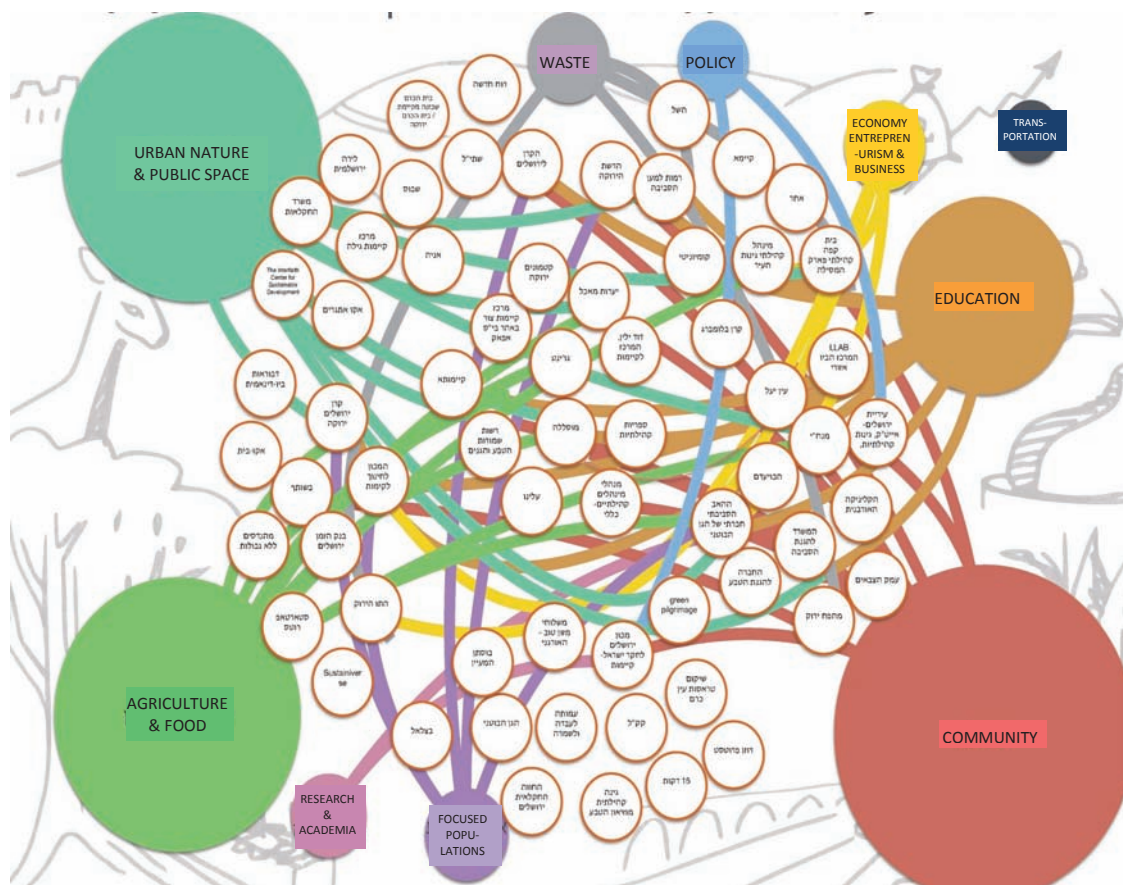


Figure 10: The Activity Spheres of the 66 Green Organizations in Jerusalem, 2015

### Mapping Analysis in the Jerusalem Model Framework

The Jerusalem Model describes itself as “a platform of creativity for the city’s social activists”. The Model is operated by the Leichtag Foundation for the purpose of strengthening and empowering civil society activists in Jerusalem. It does this by organizing

conferences with professional content for the network of activists in the city: Two large annual conferences and several smaller intermediate conferences throughout the year. At the same time, the Model functions to establish and preserve active civil society in the city through a newsletter, a Facebook group, and more. The Model conducts or

provides connections to grant offers or programs encouraging cooperation among its members, thus supporting activism and helping achieve pluralistic goals in Jerusalem. Over the course of 2018, for example, a grant was given to the *Letapes Kadima* ("Climb Ahead") project, which brings together Jerusalem residents from East and West Jerusalem to learn climbing, with the goal of blurring the boundaries between the communities in the city. Likewise, support was given for a month of 'Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem' that took place in April/ May 2018 and dealt with promoting environmental and urban sustainability issues in the city.

The Model's data presented in this document are from the end of 2017, when 210 activists were registered. The

Jerusalem Model's attention was directed to the human network that creates social action in the city, aspiring to connect the social activists to one another. As such, in contrast to other independent mappings engaged in surveying organizations and initiatives, the Jerusalem Model maps civil society in Jerusalem using units of numbers of activists.

Moreover, the Model functions as a sort of intimate framework of a professional yet friendly nature, and as such its data includes personal information that is unusual to find in other sources. A categorization of the figures pertaining to the activists' religious affiliation indicates that the Model has 176 registered Jews (84% of all registered activists), 28 Muslims (14%), and four Christians (1.9%). Of these activists, 116 (55.5%)

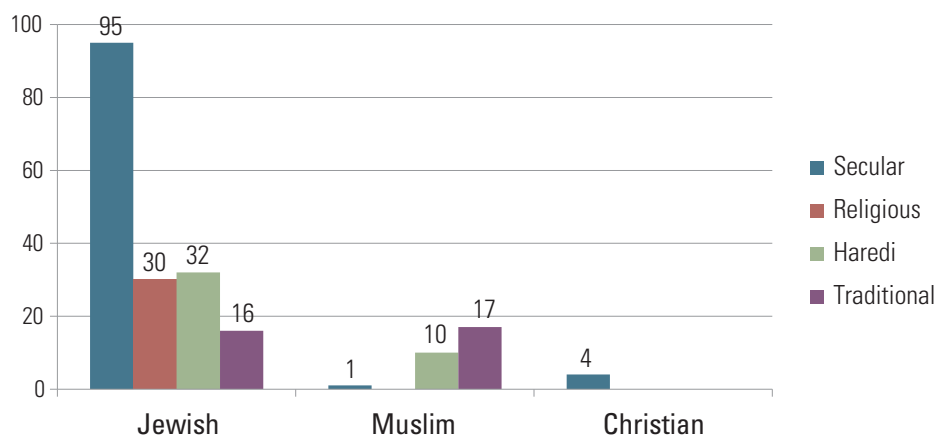


Figure 11: Jerusalem's Civil Society Activists by Religious Affiliation, Number of Activists

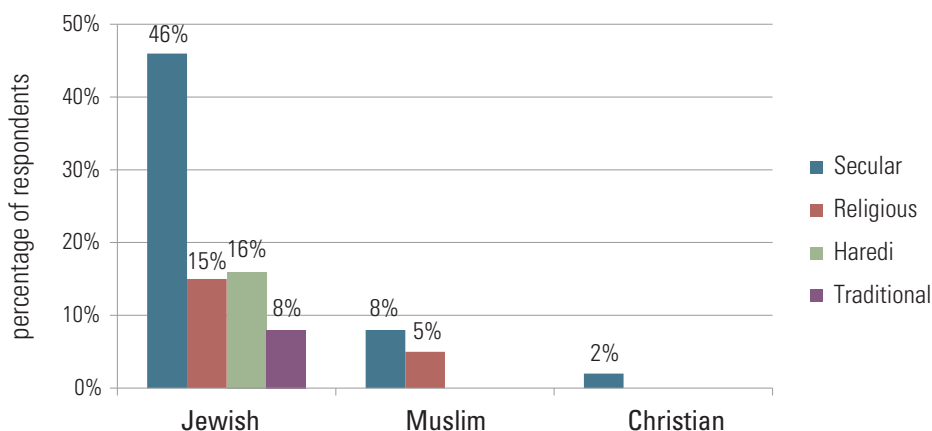


Figure 12: Jerusalem's Civil Society Activists by Religious Affiliation, %

define themselves as secular, 74 (35.5%) as religious (some of which are Haredi), 17 as traditional (8%), and one as an atheist.

In comparison to other mappings, the Jerusalem Model presents a more active presence of Arab activists, either Christian or Muslim. It more comprehensively demonstrates the "Vision of Diversity" of civil society in Jerusalem. However, similar to other mappings, the dynamism of Jewish activists and particularly the secular ones is also clear from the Jerusalem Model mapping. This data re-emphasizes the difficulty in establishing collaborations among civil society organizations and activists from all Jerusalem communities.

## The Independent Mappings: Findings and Discussion

The mappings that were surveyed in this document were carried out with a thorough familiarity with civil activity in West Jerusalem and therefore better reflect this activity. It seems that the mappings are deficient and that despite the initiatives and sincere effort, there remains insufficient knowledge regarding the state of affairs in Arab civil society in the city. It would be worthwhile to further increase the efforts in this direction. At the same time, three of the four mappings deal in one way or another with promoting tolerance toward different Jerusalem communities, with emphasis on Jewish and Arab Jerusalem residents. The four mappings indicate three major emphases of Jewish civil society in Jerusalem in the recent period:



1. Collaborations and coexistence between sectors and populations
2. Sustainability and the environment
3. Education and social justice

It can be assumed that there is a connection between the engagement of Jerusalem's civil society with these subjects and the strategies of philanthropic funds and institutions supporting civil society in the city. The engagement with these subjects, which are a pillar of the liberal and pluralistic worldview, can also be seen as the central role of Jerusalem's civil society in the political and public discourse in the city.

### The characterization of Jerusalem Civil Society as Seen through the Independent Mappings

A characterization using Ann Jeffries' model (see introductory section), *Modes of Community Practice*, reveals a variety of civil society activities in Jerusalem, which can be catalogued under all four types proposed in the model; but the important question is: What is the main theme of activity in the city and what is its nature?

In order to address this question, we conducted a discussion and analysis of 111 organizations in the city, on the basis of the organizations mapped out by ANU

and by the Tolerance Coalition and after eliminating duplications. It is important to re-emphasize that these mappings cover a partial, non-representative sample of civil society in the city, but we believe that it is possible to learn from it about contemporary trends of non-Haredi civil society in West Jerusalem.

The analysis that we carried out examined the organizations on the basis of the change axis that ranges from a desire for social stability to a desire for social change and on the basis of the empowerment axis, which ranges from activity controlled by the community to activity controlled by experts.

The division of the organizations according to Jeffries' model was carried out on the basis of the organization's descriptions of their activities and the researchers' familiarity with a significant portion of the registered initiatives. Thus, for example, the '*Community Garden at the Nature Museum*' is a community development organization, as is the '*Singing in the Garden*' initiative. Both of them function to shape community life in a specific local space, do not undercut the hegemony, aspire to enhance the quality of life of the community in the framework of existing conditions, and their activities are promoted by and for the community. The '*Medabrim Bakikar*' (Talking in the Square) initiative, which was established in 2014 in light of the rising violence in

the city, is a social action project. It is an initiative striving for social change and a thorough solution to a burning issue. The change activities are carried out and controlled by the community and not by experts from a specific field.

The activity of the '*Association of Community Centers*' suits the category of "social planning". The Association is managed by professionals who are experts in their fields, such as social and community work, who act to improve services to different communities in the area – without striving to change the status quo. Another example of social planning is the activity of '*MAT*' – the Jerusalem Business Development Center, through which professionals conduct training programs for establishing businesses and fostering entrepreneurship, with the goal of training entrepreneurs and increasing their professional capacity, but without aspiring to undercut the social order in any way.

The '*Society for the Protection of Nature*' in Jerusalem can be defined as a "social reform" organization. While the organization functions for the benefit of the Jerusalem community, it is an organization led by experts in an institutional manner, striving for structural changes in society and the sphere of environmental planning processes.

In summarizing the analysis of 111 organizations, the resulting map of activities reinforces the initial assumption that community activity in Jerusalem is highly developed and that civil society activity in the city is structured on community deployment. The main category of activity in the city is social action, which is to say community action striving for social change. In connection with the other community dimension, social development, it was found that 64% of activity in the city is community based, compared to 36% of activities led by an elite of experts.

A view of civil society activity according to the change axis also indicates that the primary activity sphere in Jerusalem aspires toward social change and seeks to change the status quo. Combining the organizations working for social reform (22%) and organizations conducting social action, it is readily apparent that 68% of the organizations in the mapping are working toward social change.

This analysis reveals that most of the initiatives included in the independent mappings are connected with pluralist-liberal civil society in Jerusalem and most of them are led by non-Haredi Jewish activists. This activity can be characterized by a double emphasis on initiatives based on community activity or the involvement of communities and aims to promote change of the social

and cultural status quo in Jerusalem. In summary, the civil society activity documented in the independent mappings seeks to strengthen the diverse and inclusive nature of Jerusalem, to

empower different communities in the city, and to establish inter-sectoral cooperation vis-à-vis what is perceived as the trends of polarization between groups and religious and nationalist extremism.

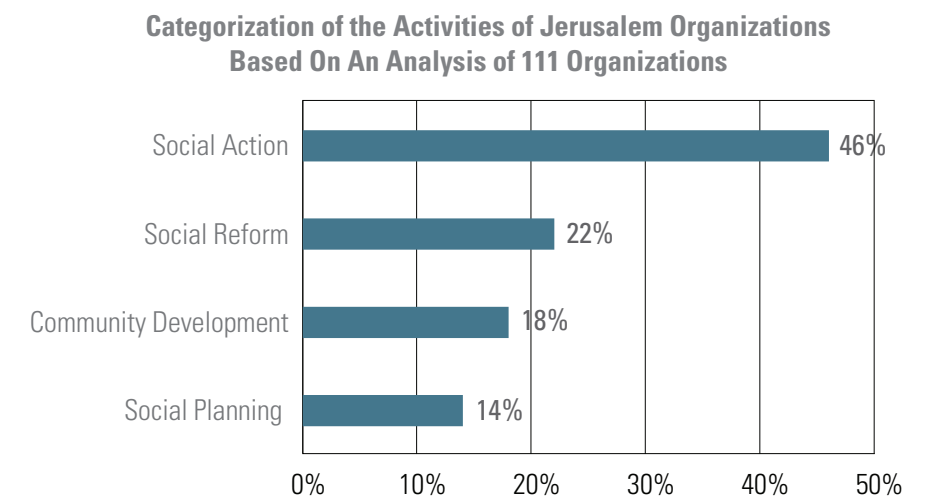


Figure 13: Categorization of the Activities of Jerusalem Organizations, Graph View



Figure 14: Categorization of the Activities of Jerusalem Organizations, Model View

## Part 3: Discussion – Civil Society in Jerusalem – Summary of Research Findings & Recommendations

In this study we sought to map civil society in Jerusalem and we examined the unique characteristics shaping the fields of activity and practices of the various organizations and initiatives in the past decade. This summary relates to stage 1 of the research, which included a general mapping and recommendations for future research. The study included mapping based on GuideStar, the broadest national database of nonprofit institutions in Israel, and presents analysis of four local databases that encompass information on activist civil society in the city: the databases of ANU, the Jerusalem Tolerance Coalition, Creating Sustainability in Jerusalem, and the Jerusalem Model.

First, it is important to note that we encountered methodological difficulties defining the research unit studied and the question of what is 'civil society', particularly in light of the existing data sources. In the broadest definition, civil society is the third sector, meaning companies, organizations, corporations, and initiatives that are non-governmental and non-businesses. The clearest adherents to this definition are the

nonprofit institutions—associations or nonprofit companies that are registered and supervised by the Associations Register at the Ministry of Justice. Other, narrower definitions, relate to the organizational and normative components of civil society. Here the question was raised whether to include in the definition associations that provide social services as subcontractors for the government (such as hospitals or hostels for people with mental illness). Another question was whether to include sports clubs, independent and political organizations, and major youth movements.

These questions raise the main issue of defining the boundaries of civil society. Namely, what makes different organizations part of civil society, both in the structural sense and in their essence? In this study we chose to relate to all the indicators pertaining to the term civil society; our basic assumption was that any association that is a nonprofit in its various forms can shed light on the activity of civil society in Israel in general, and in Jerusalem in particular.

The gap between the various data sources creates two different views of civil society in Israel. The mapping of the active nonprofit institutions in the city according to the GuideStar database provides a comparative macro view, while analyzing civil society according to the local databases provides a micro view of the world of liberal-social entrepreneurship

in (primarily West) Jerusalem. Analyzing the different data sources, with their differences and similarities, paints a broad (though incomplete) picture of contemporary civil society in the city. Through our analysis, we have gained a number of key insights into civil society in Jerusalem:

## 1. Civil Society in a National Capital

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The size, nature, and manner of activity of civil society in Jerusalem are significantly impacted by it being a capital city. About 23% of the organizations in Israel are located in Jerusalem and their budget ranges between 15 and 25 billion NIS. National organizations in the fields of education, health, society, social welfare, and religion choose to establish their main offices in Jerusalem due to the proximity to government institutions and due to its symbolic status as the capital of Israel. Just as hi-tech and financial organizations enjoy an advantage in the greater Tel Aviv metropolitan area, so do civil society organizations enjoy real geographic advantages in Jerusalem.

Moreover, a large portion of the national institutions in the fields of education and culture are located in Jerusalem (such as the Hebrew University, Hadassah Medical

Center, the Israel Academy of Sciences, etc.) and many of them have nonprofit status. Here the blurring of lines between the government sector and civil sector in the city is obvious.

A significant portion of the large organizations registered in Jerusalem are, practically speaking, social-service providers, funded fully or partially by the government. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in many cases the service providers were initially established as independent civil initiatives and their status changed over the years as their ties with government agencies strengthened (e.g., the Yad Sarah health aid organization and Elad-the Ir David Foundation). Thus, they remain indicators of wide-spread civil society activity in Jerusalem.

## 2. Civil Society in the Large, Religious, and Poor City of Jerusalem

Apart from Jerusalem's relative advantages as a capital city, the city has some additional characteristics that make it a focal point for Israel's third sector.

**Jerusalem is the largest city in Israel and a metropolitan area of over a million people.** In addition, Israel's largest concentrations of Haredi and Arab populations reside in the city. These attributes create in Jerusalem a critical mass that justifies the establishment and solidification of large, significant organizations. Moreover, Jerusalem is a very poor city, with a poverty rate of 46% (2016). **The local population is in need of many welfare and social services** aimed at addressing the socioeconomic distress.

**Jerusalem is also a religious center**, and most of its Jewish and Arab population defines itself as religious. Even this fact serves as a stimulus of third-sector activity, as religious and religious education institutions in Israel also function in the framework of nonprofit institutions. This factor is manifested in the multitude of synagogues, yeshivas, and religious-social institutions that are registered as nonprofit associations in Jerusalem. The most common sphere of activity among nonprofit associations registered in Jerusalem is religion (21%), and organizations dealing with religion or

religious education represent 37% of all nonprofit associations in Jerusalem.

Another factor that contributes to the uniqueness of Jerusalem is the role and activities of the community councils within the organizational-administrative system in the city. Jerusalem is the only city in Israel with a system of community councils mediating between the municipal authorities and the various neighborhoods and residents.

In many cases, **the community councils themselves serve as the space accelerating local social and civil initiatives and providing them with the conditions for growth and development.** One characteristic example is the Time Bank project that was established by the Ginot Ha'ir Community Council in Jerusalem and that became a national project implemented by various community centers around the country.

In addition to the community councils, over the past decade the Jerusalem Municipality itself has invested in developing activist civil society in the city and has strengthened its connections with institutional organizations as part of various municipal strategies. One such example is the Jerusalem Tolerance Coalition, which brings together

organizations active in the sphere of inter-sectoral cooperation in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Municipality is the primary funding source of this initiative, which is maintained by the Young Adults Center in Jerusalem.

Finally, the very fact that Jerusalem has three, main, distinct population groups with highly diverse socioeconomic and cultural characteristics—Arabs, Haredi Jews, and non-Haredi Jews—functions in and of itself as fertile ground for civil society activity.

**The encounter with *the other and the different* stimulates activity** aimed at cultural preservation and seclusion (e.g., separate education systems and nonprofit associations engaged in sectoral community development) or at the struggle over the cultural and national character of the city and its neighborhoods. On the other hand, the diversity also stimulates the flow of ideas and the development of activity in the sphere of inter-religious and inter-sectoral cooperation (a sphere experiencing a certain resurgence in Jerusalem in the past decade).

### 3. Civil Society & East Jerusalem

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At the same time, it should be noted that while Modern-Orthodox and Haredi Jews are successful at translating their socioeconomic and religious characteristics into well-developed civil society activity, this is not prevalent in East Jerusalem. As our study demonstrates, the percentage of Arab nonprofit associations in the city is much lower than the Arab portion of the city's population. The very small number of social enterprises in East Jerusalem is also apparent from the local databases that we surveyed in part 2 of this report.

The weakness of civil society in the city's Arab sector is one of the social failures of the city and may express both the political alienation from the system that arranges and regulates civil society in Israel (the Associations Register) and the leadership crisis and the continuous process of social deterioration in East Jerusalem over recent decades. It should be taken into account that our conclusions pertaining to this issue are limited to the databases we examined and we recommend researching civil society in East Jerusalem by means of a more spatial and in-depth view in the next stage of the study.

## 4. Pluralistic Civil Society in Jerusalem

As mentioned above, there is an ideological and methodological difficulty in defining the boundaries of civil society and its activities. Ann Jeffries proposes a definition in which the term civil society often describes social-change organizations and initiatives dealing with social planning or reform through community development or professional leadership. This conceptualization focuses the discussion on a narrower cross-section of third-sector organizations. It does not include the activity of religious and educational institutions or social service providers, small and large, which are included in the broader definition of nonprofit institutions. Organizations engaged in social or political change through the community or by its leadership, which is in our view the core activity of civil society, are placed at the center.

Due to the large number of third-sector organizations in Jerusalem, the prolific activity of the associations for social change is not reflected in the numbers. The gap between the abnormally large number of associations for social change and their presence in the data of all the nonprofit organizations in the city begs for an analysis focused on these associations.

The micro analysis we conducted by analyzing the local databases of social enterprises in Jerusalem sheds light on the unique nature of contemporary activist civil society in Jerusalem. The various mappings indicate a multitude of community-based initiatives and activities, motivated by a liberal-progressive worldview. This is to say that the primary activity fields that are expressed in the mappings are the fields of improving inter-sectoral relations, social justice, the quality of the environment, protection of minorities, and strengthening the pluralistic Jewish community.

This characterization also reflects the action strategies of the philanthropic institutions advancing this sector of civil society, e.g., the Schusterman Foundation, the Leichtag Foundation, the UJA Federation of New York, etc. In addition, it is clear that most of these organizations are initiatives of non-Haredi Jewish residents, meaning they **represent activities stemming from one sector of the city**, often referred to as the pluralistic sector.

Beginning at the turn of the century, one observes an increased scope of pluralistic civil-society activity in Jerusalem.



The data indicates the multitude of active organizations and initiatives in a variety of fields, some in new fields in which civil society was not previously engaged. While the first organizations were established as activities intended to respond to religious extremism and the migration of secular people out of Jerusalem (e.g., New Spirit and the Jerusalemite Movement), among the newer organizations there is a greater emphasis on developing cross-sectoral partnerships in the city (such as the 0202 Initiative or Runners Without Borders). Another novelty in recent years is Haredi-sector and Arab-sector organizations and initiatives joining the activities of pluralistic civil society.

There are many difficulties in expanding the activities of pluralistic civil society to the Haredi and Arab groups, since these are liberal activities that are inconsistent with the traditional cultural patterns characteristic of these populations. Moreover, in East Jerusalem, formal activities of organizations working in cooperation with the Israeli establishment or Israeli organizations are perceived as expressions of normalization and are relegated to the realm of non-normative behavior.

One suggestion for a primary direction of a follow-up study is an expansive,

thorough study of Jerusalem's pluralistic civil society, with an emphasis on the expansion of the circle of activity to include the Arab and Haredi populations.

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In summary, this study presented a thorough quantitative view of the third sector and the place of civil society in the city. Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, a religious center, and Israel's largest and most diverse city, is fertile ground for civil society activity. Due to the intense encounter of communities, poverty and social distress, and the proximity to government institutions, Jerusalem is a suitable breeding ground for social and community innovation. It is a place where groundbreaking social enterprises are established, inspiring other cities and towns throughout the country.

In light of its active involvement through various interfaces in numerous fields, Jerusalem civil society is of special importance and influence on the social fabric of the city. We believe that this trend will continue in the future. We hope that this study will help expand the impact and activity of the third sector in the city, including sectors and fields of activity that are still less visible.

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## Interviews

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