

VOCATIONAL TRAINING: A TOOL FOR EMPLOYMENT INTEGRATION OF EAST JERUSALEM RESIDENTS

YAMIT NAFTALI, MARIK SHTERN

Researchers: Ahmed Asmar, Israel Kimhi, Muhamed Nahel, Murad Natsheh
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The Hay Elyachar House

20 Radak St., 9218604 Jerusalem

<http://www.jerusalemstitute.org.il>

<http://www.en.jerusalemstitute.org.il>

E-mail: machon@jerusalemstitute.org.il

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Preface

Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, is unfortunately also the poorest of its major cities, with a poverty rate of 44% as of 2016. The poorest population group in Jerusalem is the Arab community of East Jerusalem. All the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem were included in clusters 2-5 of the socioeconomic index (the bottom quarter of the index).¹ In East Jerusalem the poverty rates are exceptionally high: in 2016, 79% of Jerusalem's Arab population was living below the poverty line. The poverty and social distress in East Jerusalem create fertile ground for social marginalization, crime, and radical nationalism.

The poverty in East Jerusalem has two main causes: the very low rate of participation in the labor force among women (22%),² and the low average wages for an Arab employee in Jerusalem (about 5,559 New Israeli Shekels (NIS) per month).³ In order to improve the standard of living among East Jerusalem residents, reduce wage gaps, and bring families out of poverty, it is necessary to

make changes in the education system and employment infrastructure of East Jerusalem.

The low socio-economic status of Jerusalem's Arabs is attributable to shortcomings at three stages in the educational and occupational development of East Jerusalem residents:

- The secondary education system: Dropout rates in East Jerusalem schools are particularly high. It is estimated that 36% of the students do not complete 12 years of education.⁴ Individuals who have not completed 12 years of schooling are confined from the outset to nonprofessional positions in the employment market.⁵
- The employment market: It is very difficult for East Jerusalem high school graduates to integrate into the employment market. Most students who graduate from the Jordanian education system are not sufficiently proficient in Hebrew, and their curriculum (the Jordanian

¹ *East Jerusalem: Explosive Reality and Proposals for De-escalation*, Amnon Ramon and Lior Lehrs, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2016.

² *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

³ Analysis of Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016.

⁴ *East Jerusalem – Main Statistics*. Ir Amim, February 2017, p. 7

⁵ According to the Employment Administration of the Ministry of Economy.

Tawjihi system) differs from the Israeli curriculum. These factors prevent graduates of the East Jerusalem education system from integrating into the Israeli employment market, and they are often forced to take positions that do not accord with their qualifications.

- Employment for academic graduates: About a quarter of East Jerusalem residents of working age attended an academic institution, but many graduated from higher education institutions that have not been recognized by Israel's Council for Higher Education.

During the past five years, the Israeli government, through the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, the Jerusalem Municipality, and the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), has operated institutions and programs aimed at improving the education system in East Jerusalem, promoting employment integration, and integrating women into the employment market. These efforts, however, have not yet resulted in a significant decline in poverty rates or an increase in levels of education. In this study we have chosen to focus on vocational training as a tool for positive structural change that can reduce poverty

and promote employment integration among East Jerusalem residents. Vocational training focuses on the acquisition of specific knowledge or skills for the sake of employment. Studies from various countries across the world have shown that vocational training is an effective tool for structural change and the career advancement and rapid training of workers in various sectors of the employment market.⁶ Vocational training can offer a meaningful and practical solution, in the near term, for East Jerusalem workers who lack a secondary or post-secondary education (and who constitute the majority of employees in East Jerusalem today), while also enabling individuals with academic training to improve their chances of entering the employment market. As the study will show, private and public vocational training is available in East Jerusalem, but the existing infrastructure lacks a systemic vision as well as oversight and regulation, and is inadequate to meet the demands of the employment market. The aim of this study is to map the options for vocational training that currently exist in East Jerusalem and to propose a blueprint for improving these options in a manner suited to the social, cultural, and political conditions of East Jerusalem.

⁶ OECD, 2015.

Methodology

The study employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods as well as the following research tools:

- Literature reviews for the purpose of learning about the trends in vocational training in Israel and around the world, the existing barriers that prevent the Arab population of East Jerusalem from integrating into the Israeli employment market, and past and present policy tools aimed at increasing the labor force participation rate and decreasing the unemployment rate within the Palestinian population;
- Internet research to map educational programs and institutions for vocational training in Israel and, in particular, in East Jerusalem;
- Working with databases (the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Council for Higher Education, the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, the Ministry of Labor, the Jerusalem Education Administration, and other agencies in the field) to develop a comprehensive mapping of data on the various population groups as defined here.

The study included 17 in-depth structured interviews with key players in the field of vocational training in East Jerusalem. Among the interviewees were student coordinators of Palestinian students attending higher education institutions in West Jerusalem, including Hadassah College, Azrieli College, David Yellin College, and Bezalel School of Design. Telephone interviews were conducted with Ono Academic College, the Open University, and the Hebrew University. We also conducted interviews with senior officials and directors in government ministries and the Jerusalem Municipality, including the head of the Employment Administration at the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, the director of the Vocational Training Division at the Ministry of Labor, researchers at the Research Department at the Ministry of Labor, the director of “Riyan” centers in East Jerusalem for occupational guidance, the supervisor of Arab education at the Ministry of Education, the director general and the activities coordinator of the Jerusalem Business Development Center (MATI) in East Jerusalem, the director of secondary educational programs at the Jerusalem Municipality, and a senior official at the East Jerusalem Development Department of the Ministry for Jerusalem Affairs.

The study comprises the following chapters:

- The introduction presents a literature review covering both theory and practice in the area of vocational training, as well as the policy tools employed in this field in various developed countries, and particularly in Israel, with attention to the Arab-Israeli population.
- Chapter 1 discusses the socioeconomic context of contemporary East Jerusalem, focusing on the characteristics of the education system and employment market.
- Chapter 2 offers a mapping of vocational training in East Jerusalem: from the stage of high school vocational education through the network of private and public academies, which serve young residents of East Jerusalem, to the employment agencies and the State of Israel's placement practices in East Jerusalem.
- Chapter 3 covers the main shortcomings of and challenges to secondary and post-secondary education in East Jerusalem, and proposes recommendations to improve existing policy and adapt it to the unique circumstances of East Jerusalem.

Main Findings and Recommendations

The residents of East Jerusalem face unique barriers that prevent them from securing quality employment, which in turn affects their quality of life. These barriers stem from various characteristics of the population, both in relation to other residents of Jerusalem and in relation to Israeli Arabs. The following is a summary of the study's main findings:

- First, **overcoming the Hebrew-language barrier is critical for the quality employment integration of East Jerusalem residents.** The residents of East Jerusalem have only a few hours per week of Hebrew-language instruction, at a very low level, and advanced studies programs such as vocational training courses provide only limited and insufficient instruction in Hebrew. We recommend instituting programs dedicated to Hebrew-language instruction and implementing the ulpan system (intensive language courses in Hebrew for new immigrants) in East Jerusalem.
- **Most schools in East Jerusalem teach the Jordanian/Palestinian**

curriculum (Tawjihi studies), which does not allow the inclusion of vocational instruction. Currently there are only eight recognized high schools that offer vocational training as part of the Israeli curriculum. The study found that the education system in East Jerusalem provides neither a remedy nor an alternative for students not suited to academic studies, which in turn increases dropout rates. To address this challenge, we recommend introducing a vocational studies track into the schools in conjunction with the Tawjihi curriculum, thus making it possible for Israel to recognize the vocational certificate earned by the students.

- The educational profile of the **adult population in East Jerusalem** create obstacles to their integration into quality employment. About 38% of East Jerusalem residents over the age of 18 have not completed 12 years of schooling.⁷ This poses a significant barrier to their vocational education because most of the programs require 12 years of schooling as a condition for earning a vocational certificate. To remove this barrier, we recommend establishing educational programs for the completion of 12 years of schooling.
- **Many vocational training colleges in East Jerusalem operate without supervision or regulation:** of the 21 vocational training colleges in East Jerusalem, only 10 are recognized by the Ministry of Economy. The colleges do not announce the requirements that must be met to earn a vocational certificate, and they even mislead students by describing all the courses they offer as officially recognized. Students do not know which courses have been recognized, the selection of vocations is quite limited, and the subjects taught are outdated and reinforce gender bias. We recommend that an Arabic-language Internet database be established to present all the relevant information about recognized colleges.
- Arabs who have earned an **Israeli academic degree** at higher education institutions in West Jerusalem face barriers that prevent their quality employment integration in West Jerusalem, and employment agencies have difficulty placing these individuals. Moreover, the selection of subjects lacks variety because of constraints stemming from different levels of skill, and this lack of variety has an impact on their future employment

⁷ Analysis of data from *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Tables 3/2 and 7/10, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

options. One of the main tools we propose to address this challenge is the establishment of vocational training and professional retraining programs suited to individuals with an academic degree. In addition, given that the public sector is the primary source of employment in Jerusalem, we recommended a program be implemented for the integration of academically qualified individuals into the public sector.

- Another key finding that emerged from the mapping of policy tools for employment integration is that the tools employed today primarily serve individuals seeking employment. In other words, the chances of someone who does not participate in the labor force being exposed to these potentially useful policy tools

are quite slim. This has a significant impact on East Jerusalem residents, given that Arab **women**, who do not generally leave home in search of employment, have a low labor force participation rate, at 22%.⁸ We recommend the formulation of policy tools adapted to the characteristics of women in Arab society, as well as the creation of infrastructures that will enable them to leave home and work, such as transportation infrastructures and childcare programs. The possibility of offering vocational training in entrepreneurship should also be examined, as business entrepreneurship accommodates the employment flexibility that East Jerusalem women require.

⁸ Ibid.

Introduction: Vocational Training in Theory and Practice

Vocational training focuses on the acquisition of specific knowledge or skills for the sake of employment, such as those required to hold a particular position (typing or driving, for example) or to become proficient in a particular craft (upholstery or weaving, for example). In recent decades the employment market has been changing dramatically, and at an ever-increasing rate, as a result of technological, economic, and

social changes. Globalization has led to increased competition among businesses and organizations, creating a demand in the employment market for educated individuals. Looking to the future, robots, computer programs, and machines are expected to take over some of the tasks currently performed by human beings. These transformations require frequent adaptation by states of the academic and vocational instruction that they offer.⁹

1. Vocational Education in the Developed World

Different countries in the developed world have different definitions of “vocational training” and the systematization of training programs varies from country to country, as the following examples illustrate:

The European Union

The field of vocational training in the European Union – known as “Vocational

Education and Training” (VET) – operates under the auspices of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) of 1975. The definition of VET refers to investment in vocational education in secondary education as well as post-secondary education, whether academic or vocational (tertiary education).¹⁰ In EU countries, about one-third of the graduates of vocational training programs receive certification

⁹ Israel Democracy Institute, 2017; Avisati, Jacotin, & Vincent-Lancrin, 2014

¹⁰ *Education at a glance 2017*, OECD Indicators, 2017.

in engineering, manufacturing, or construction. Many EU countries encourage the use of apprenticeships through financial incentives, and this constitutes one of the components of their vocational training process.¹¹ An apprenticeship entails learning and gaining professional experience at a business or factory in preparation for entering the employment market.¹² It enables the apprentice to acquire the practical skills and experience necessary for the position, while providing companies with more qualified and experienced workers. At the same time, over the years EU policy has evolved into three different models of vocational training that reflect the different political economies and work cultures of the various countries.¹³ The main models include Britain's capitalist model, the bureaucratic model of France, and the dual model of Germany.

In **Britain**, whose history includes the evolution of a free-market economy that prioritizes the business and economic freedom of companies and individuals, the prevailing concept is that individuals are responsible for their own training, which in turn takes place through a state-recognized organization that grants certification (the "awarding organization"). Some of these

organizations are private companies, some are professional agencies, and some are charitable organizations.¹⁴ There are no uniform standards of training; rather, the market regulates the nature of the training tracks in accordance with the needs of companies and organizations. There is a distinction between the vocational training provided by schools, funded and overseen by the state, and the practical training that takes place on the basis of agreement among free-market players.

In **France** a model emerged whereby the state is more involved in regulating the vocational training market. For example, the state provides financial support for the training of disadvantaged workers. Vocational education is limited to a number of professions that the state oversees. The curricula include general subjects that are not confined or applicable only to one profession, but rather a set of skills that every field of work requires. The curricula tend to focus on advanced, professionalized subjects, and they are consistently updated in accordance with market needs.

In **German-speaking countries**, a dual and cooperative training system developed (Dual Vocational Training), which exists in parallel with the academic

¹¹ *Strengthening incentives and implantation of apprenticeships*, OECD, 2017.

¹² OECD, 2017.

¹³ Cedefop, 2004.

¹⁴ Frontier Economics, 2017.

system. In this system, which has a separate organizational structure and its own regulatory guidelines, students sign a training contract with private employers and are granted the status of an apprentice. The trainees are regarded legally as students to whom the rules of the education system apply. The vocational training system is governed by regulations designed to ensure the quality of training at the national level. Employers fund the training itself and determine the method and subject matter of the training program for their company, while the state, workers' associations, and employers collectively determine the nature of the subjects to be taught. This cooperative approach is intended to ensure that within the recognized occupations work is conducted in accordance with the government's regulatory guidelines.¹⁵ The system is based on the principles of on-the-job learning, self-management, and the study of a practical profession. These principles enable the integration of theoretical and vocational study with practical training and acquisition of the general and individual skills required by the labor market.

The American Model

In United States, in contrast to Europe, very few students undergo training as part of a practical education curriculum. Vocational training in United States suffers from a negative image and gives rise to concerns about the marginalization of minorities and socioeconomically disadvantaged youth. Vocational training for individuals over the age of high school students exists primarily in the construction industry. The Bureau of Apprenticeship oversees vocational training programs at the workplace, grants provides professional recognition for the programs, provides technical assistance, and promotes development of the programs, but the federal government does not provide funding. Employers, unions/professional associations, government agencies, and the military provide the apprenticeship services.¹⁶

¹⁵ Hippach-Schneider and Huismann, 2016.

¹⁶ Kuczera & Field, 2013; OECD, 2013.

2. Vocational Training in Israel

In Israel, matters related to employment as well as the Vocational Training Division are managed by the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services (transferred in July 2016 from the Ministry of Economy). The Division's function is to promote the development of human capital in correlation with the activities and economic growth of the market. Vocational training for jobseekers in Israel takes place through a number of programs: (1) fully funded daytime vocational training courses at government centers and private, franchised training centers; (2) a vouchers program that offers vouchers to subsidize tuition for training courses at recognized colleges; and (3) joint programs in cooperation with employers, such as a program of classes in a factory or on-the-job training. The training program is designed in cooperation with the employers and in accordance with their professional requirements. The Division is also responsible for the training of youth at vocational schools.¹⁷

One of the main institutions that deals with professional placement and refers unemployed persons to vocational training is the Employment Service, which was established in 1959 as an independent institution. Since 2016 it too has been under the authority of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services. The Employment Service refers jobseekers to vocational training courses operated by the Vocational Training Division. The service itself is provided through local employment bureaus and is directed at jobseekers, primarily the unemployed and recipients of supplementary income. The vocational training courses offered at the employment bureaus are primarily daytime courses that take place during weekdays over the course of 4-12 months. This format makes it difficult to combine work with studies; nor do students receive financial support during the course of their studies (although some participants receive unemployment benefits during their training).¹⁸ The lack of financial support makes it difficult

¹⁷ Almasi, 2016.

¹⁸ The duration of unemployment benefits in Israel depends on the age of the unemployed individual. Those aged 25-28 are entitled to an allowance for 60 days, those aged 29-44 are entitled to an allowance for 100 days, and the maximum allowance is 175 days for those aged 45 and above. After this period even unemployed persons registered for vocational training studies are not entitled to benefits.

for students to complete such a course.¹⁹ The vocational training courses offered at the employment bureaus cover 17 subjects that correspond with the various employment sectors of the economy: accommodation services, electricity and electronics, childcare, metalworking and machinery, administration, vehicle maintenance, construction, and so on.²⁰ The vocational training courses offered focus on occupations that have a shortage of workers, such as metalworking, electricity, and construction. Most of the recognized vocational training tracks require 12 years of schooling as a precondition for acceptance. Students who complete their training course and pass the final exams receive a vocational certificate from the Ministry, which enables them to enter the professionalized employment market.

The inclusion of vocational training within the purview of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services (formerly the Ministry of Economy) reflects a different approach from that of the EU countries discussed above, where the Ministry of Education usually

¹⁹ Data from the Research Administration of the Ministry of Economy indicate that 49% of the participants in vocational training courses noted that they had difficulty supporting themselves during the course. (Employment conditions of graduates of daytime adult vocational training courses two years after graduation (2014-2015 graduates), Alon Porat, Ronit Harris, Ministry of Economy, Research and Economics Department, 2017).

²⁰ Ibid.

oversees vocational training. **This organizational structure reflects the prevailing social outlook, which holds that vocational training is not part of the regular education system but, rather, a means of advancing the professional development of disadvantaged population groups.**

Such a perspective naturally affects the quality of vocational training services.²¹ For example, teachers in vocational training courses need not have any pedagogic qualifications; they are only required to have the relevant practical skills. Accordingly, the main target audience for professional training in Israel comprises unskilled jobseekers or professionals seeking professional retraining.

The total budget allocated by the state for vocational training has declined in recent years, and it is currently below that of OECD countries.²² In 2016, the budget for the Vocational Training Division was NIS 873 million, in 2017 it fell to NIS 837 million, and in 2018 it stood at NIS 852 million.²³ The total investment in vocational education in Israel amounts

²¹ OECD, 2014.

²² Ibid.

²³ 2017-2018 budget, Ministry of Economy.

to 0.06% of GDP, less than half of the average for OECD countries, and the total expenditure dedicated to promoting participation in the employment market (placement services, support for the unemployed, and the like) is also very limited. Moreover, in Israel, unlike in Europe, and apprenticeship is not part of the vocational training process.

2.1 Vocational Training Programs for Adults

Training Programs of the Vocational Training Division

The Vocational Training Division is responsible for initiating, planning, supervising, and conducting training activities, continuing education programs, professional retraining, and professional advancement in about 20 sectors of the economy across more than 350 regulated professions (including about 70 licensed professions). The training programs encompass a variety of tracks adapted to the target population. The Division's activities, which include the design and updating of curricula, the recognition of training institutions, professional supervision, the development of teaching

methods, examinations, and certification, are carried out through courses funded by the Division as well as courses funded by the students who are supervised by the Division. Graduates receive a state certificate of completion as well as a vocational certificate in their field of study.²⁴

The "Vouchers" Program

The Vocational Training Division provides certificates of recognition for external vocational training programs to which applicants are referred by means of vouchers. This program provides tuition subsidies covering up to 85% of the cost of a course at recognized institutions. The "vouchers" program began operating in 2013 and in recent years has become the preferred route of the Ministry of Labor for vocational training. Between 2013 and 2015, the number of vouchers allocated by the Vocational Training Division tripled, from 1,158 to 3,224.²⁵ The advantage of the "vouchers" program is the flexibility it offers students in choosing a vocation as well as their place of study, thereby transferring to the students the responsibility for their future career. The duration of the courses does not exceed

²⁴ Website of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services – Vocational Training Division, <http://employment.molsa.gov.il/About/Units/Pages/manpowertrainingbureau.aspx>.

²⁵ *Data on vocational training under state auspices for jobseekers*, Knesset Research and Information Center, 2016.

12 months (as their aim is to enable the speedy employment integration of candidates into the labor market). It should be noted that the vouchers make it possible to apply for vocational training programs supervised and overseen by other government ministries, or to register for studies towards a certificate granted under the supervision of and recognized by the Council for Higher Education.

2.2 Vocational High Schools

The Vocational Training Division also oversees Israel's vocational schools. From the ninth grade onward, high school students in Israel have the option of choosing to attend a vocational school. These schools, too, come under the supervision and management of the Ministry of Labor. The training tracks enable youths to acquire a vocation, while simultaneously gaining experience in the modern technological world, through vocational schools and training programs that combine study and work. The vocational school program spans four years, and it also offers vocational training courses for students who join the program during grades 11 and 12. A candidate who successfully fulfills all

the school's requirements is entitled to a certificate of completion and a vocational certificate. The training program operates alongside a study program that covers a portion of the Israeli high school matriculation curriculum, which makes it unsuited for the East Jerusalem education system, where as noted, Israel's high school matriculation curriculum is not taught. In addition to vocational schools, there is a curriculum under the supervision of the Ministry of Education that enables students learning a technological subject to pursue studies towards certification as a "practical engineer" (a non-academic degree, but a certified vocational profession and a defined occupation in Israel, more limited in scope than a regular engineer) or a technician, or to complete a vocational certificate in the context of a thirteenth and fourteenth year of studies. This program is intended for graduates of schools that follow the Israeli curriculum, and therefore it has not been implemented in most East Jerusalem schools.

3. Vocational training for the Arab population of Israel

Israel's Arab society suffers from a lack of proper integration into the general employment market and is characterized by a low labor force participation rate among women (the participation rate of Arab women in Israel aged 25-64 was 35% in 2016),²⁶ with relatively high rates in the fields of education and health and under-representation in academic subjects.²⁷ Until recently, the participation rate of Arab citizens in vocational training services was particularly low. A comprehensive review of the field of vocational training reveals that in 2015, of the 4,800 graduates of vocational training courses in Israel, only 200 were Arabs.²⁸

In light of the low level of participation among the Arab population in state-operated programs aimed at increasing employment rates, in 2010 the government adopted, by Resolution No. 1539, a five-year plan for the economic development of localities in minority sectors. It recognized that it was necessary to invest budgetary resources in order to increase the participation of the Arab population in the labor market and thereby influence the GDP and per capita productivity.²⁹

²⁶ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Data of the Employment Administration of the Ministry of Economy, 2018.

²⁹ Website of the Prime Minister's Office.

As the Israeli government and civil society became increasingly aware of the need to promote quality employment integration among Israel's Arab society, in 2013 a new company, Al-Fanar, was established – a joint initiative of the Ministry of Economy, the Prime Minister's Office, the Joint Distribution Committee, and a philanthropic foundation. Al-Fanar operates 21 occupational guidance offices ("Riyan centers") throughout Israel. The goal of these centers is to increase the accessibility of employment services for the Arab population in the labor market by providing a response adapted to the characteristics of this population group and the barriers it faces in the employment market. Through these centers, the "vouchers" program is made available to the Arab population. In 2015, the Riyan centers reported a cumulative total of over 2,500 participants in vocational training programs and about 10,000 employment placements across Israel.³⁰ However, it appears that the courses offered lack variety, and that most of the Arabs receiving vocational training as part of the "vouchers" program are trained in the areas of accommodation services, childcare, and construction.³¹

³⁰ Al-Fanar, <http://www.alfanar.org.il/he/content/71>.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 1 – Education and Employment Integration in East Jerusalem: Challenges and Opportunities

This chapter will describe the main characteristics of East Jerusalem’s Arab population and examine the challenges and barriers facing the residents of East Jerusalem when they seek to enter the employment market.

As noted, the study focuses on three population groups: young people of high

school age, high school graduates who have completed their studies without learning an occupation and who are not suited to academic studies, and graduates of institutions of higher education recognized by Israel’s Council for Higher Education in Israel as well as institutions not recognized by the Council.

The Residents of East Jerusalem – Political, Economic, and Social Background

Politically and socially, the Arabs of East Jerusalem constitute a distinct group within Palestinian society as a whole. Their uniqueness as a sociological and geographic group is rooted in their history after the 1948 war and even more so after the 1967 war. Following the 1948 war, about a third of Jerusalem’s Arabs, including many of the city’s economic and political elite, lost their homes and became refugees, taking up residence in the West Bank, Arab countries, or Western countries. In addition, East Jerusalem under Jordanian rule (1949-1967) experienced economic and social regression. During that period the

city’s inhabitants suffered from lack of development and deliberate neglect on the part of the Hashemite regime, which preferred to strengthen the Kingdom’s capital, Amman, at the expense of Jerusalem.³²

In June 1967, following the Six Day War, the boundaries of Jerusalem were expanded by 70 square kilometers (until 1967 the Israeli side of Jerusalem spanned 38 square kilometers). These additional territories facilitated extensive economic development during the first two decades, which led to increased average earnings and a vast expansion

³² Genihovsky, 1994.

of built-up areas.³³ At the same time, however, institutionalized discrimination against East Jerusalem residents also took root in many areas: the allocation of municipal funding for education and community needs, the physical and environmental development of the urban space, and the granting of building permits for residential and public purposes.³⁴ Moreover, since 1967 East Jerusalem residents have opted for a policy of non-recognition and non-cooperation vis-à-vis the Israeli government. Accordingly, the vast majority do not vote in local elections and are not represented on the city council.³⁵ These factors further exacerbate their already inferior political and economic circumstances.

The outbreak of the first intifada in 1987 led to economic deterioration in East Jerusalem, which intensified with the second intifada and the collapse of the Oslo Accords. During these years, as part of a security policy aimed at preventing terrorist attacks against East Jerusalem

residents, movement was restricted on the roads connecting East Jerusalem with the West Bank, and permanent checkpoints were erected around East Jerusalem. West Bank residents' access to Jerusalem was restricted through complete or partial closures. In 2004, construction of the security fence, intended to prevent terrorist infiltration from the West Bank, created a permanent physical barrier between the city and the West Bank. As a consequence of these measures, the economy of East Jerusalem was gradually severed from its consumer market and from its main economic strongholds in the villages and towns of the West Bank. According to a UN report,³⁶ these developments led to the collapse of the local economy in East Jerusalem and the closure of thousands of businesses during the first decade of the 2000s.

Today, the Arabs of East Jerusalem³⁷ constitute 38% of the city's population³⁸ and live in conditions of economic and social distress, as reflected in several areas: a high proportion of families

³³ Romann and Weingrod, 1991.

³⁴ Tatarsky and Maimon, 2016.

³⁵ Cohen, 2013.

³⁶ UNCTAD, 2013.

³⁷ In this report, "East Jerusalem" is used in the geopolitical sense to refer to all the Arab neighborhoods and Arab business and commercial zones within the municipal jurisdiction of Jerusalem. Accordingly, West Jerusalem refers to the western portion of the city and the Jewish neighborhoods under the municipal jurisdiction of Jerusalem, including neighborhoods built after 1967 beyond the Green Line.

³⁸ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 3/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

living below the poverty line – 82% in 2016;³⁹ an education system in a state of crisis, which manifests, among other ways, in a shortage of approximately 3,055 classrooms in schools; a high rate of dropout from high schools in Israel;⁴⁰ and collapsing municipal infrastructures, including sewage, running water, and roads in East Jerusalem neighborhoods.⁴¹

Since 2004, following the apparent failure of the Oslo Accords, the onset of second intifada, and the construction of the security fence, there have been discernible and polarized trends in the economic and political conduct of East Jerusalem residents: pragmatic Israelization alongside growing nationalist and religious extremism. The economic distress resulting from East Jerusalem's isolation from its economic strongholds in the West Bank, in combination with the despair stemming from the Palestinian Authority's inability to put an end to Israeli rule over the 1967 territories, has increased East Jerusalem residents' dependence on employment and livelihood sources in West Jerusalem and

other localities in Israel. Consequently, the behavioral patterns of East Jerusalem residents and their interaction with West Jerusalem and Israel generally have changed. During these years the presence of East Jerusalem residents increased not only at workplaces in West Jerusalem but also in the areas of consumption and leisure.⁴² The desire to integrate into the Israeli employment market led many young people from East Jerusalem to study Hebrew and apply for admission to Israeli institutions of higher education.⁴³ Likewise, the number of applications for Israeli citizenship by East Jerusalem residents increased substantially.⁴⁴ These changes constitute what is termed "pragmatic Israelization" because such efforts by East Jerusalem residents to integrate into the Israeli space result from their growing economic dependence on the Israeli economy and the lack of opportunities or desire on their part to integrate into the economy of the Arab sector, rather than from any changes in their national identity.⁴⁵

³⁹ Ibid., Table 6/1.

⁴⁰ About 36% of East Jerusalem students do not complete 12 years of study. Ir Amim, 2016.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Shtern, 2016.

⁴³ Hasson, 2015.

⁴⁴ Hasson, 2012.

⁴⁵ Shtern, 2018.

East Jerusalem Residents in the City's Employment Market

East Jerusalem residents are characterized by a low overall rate of participation in the labor force. In 2016 the labor force of East Jerusalem residents (aged 15 and above) numbered approximately 86,100, accounting for 28% of the entire labor force in Jerusalem, yet they constituted 37% of the population. The reason for this discrepancy is the very low participation rate of Arab women

in the labor force (only 17%, compared with 62% in the Jewish sector⁴⁶) and the high percentage of children under the age of 15 (38% of the Arab population, compared with 32% of the Jewish population⁴⁷). At the same time, the labor force participation rate among Arab men in Jerusalem exceeds that of Jewish men – 68% versus 60%, respectively.

The Education System in East Jerusalem – Dropouts, Shaky Infrastructure, and Lack of Correlation with Israeli Market Needs

One of the main causes of the widespread socio-economic distress in East Jerusalem is the dismal state of its education system and the limited possibilities for post-secondary education available to local youth. In 2015, only 25% of East Jerusalem residents aged 25-64 had an academic education and 9% were attending a post-secondary non-academic institution (see Figures 1/1 and 1/2).

In other words, the vast majority of the adult population in East Jerusalem has, at most, only a high school education. This fact constitutes the main obstacle to employment integration and economic development for East Jerusalem residents.

⁴⁶ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Table 3/19.

Figure 1/2: Arab Residents of Jerusalem of Prime Working Ages (25-64), by Last School Attended and Gender, 2015⁴⁸

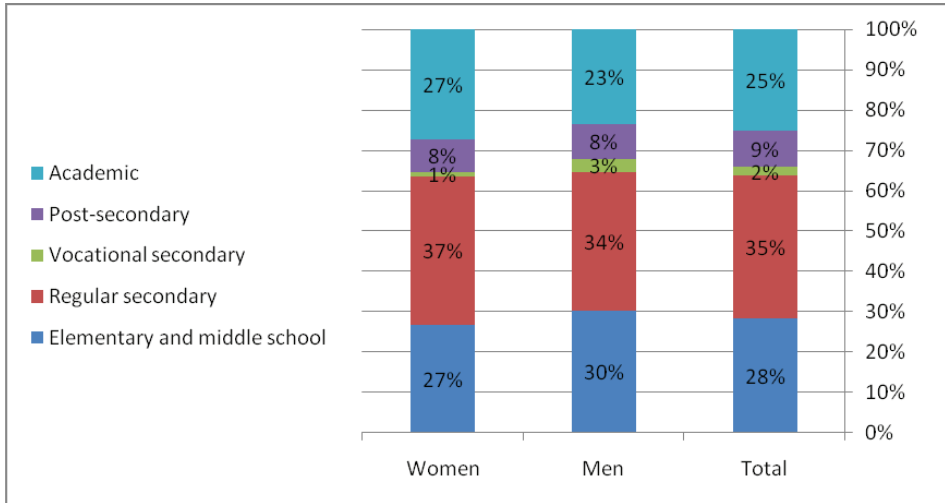
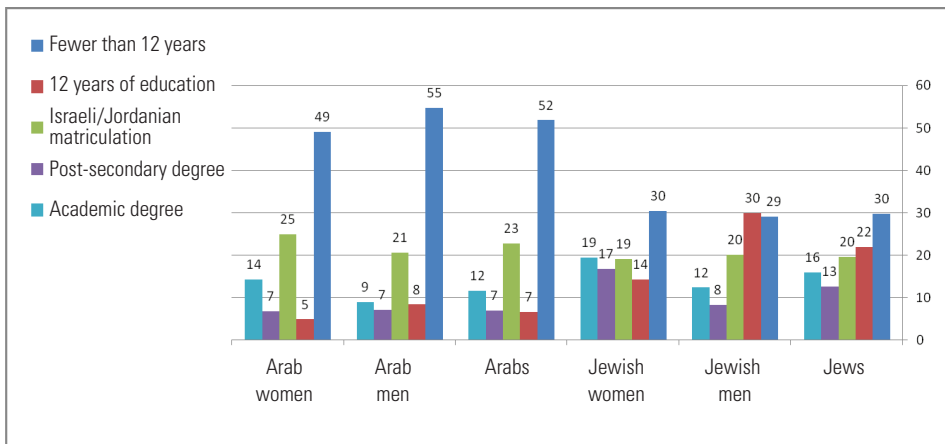


Figure 1/3: Residents of Jerusalem Aged 15 and Above, by Highest Degree Earned, Population Group, and Gender, 2015 (by percentage)⁴⁹



⁴⁸ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/11, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Table 7/10.

The Post-Secondary Education System in East Jerusalem

One of the most difficult and intractable socio-economic problems associated with East Jerusalem is the poor state of its municipal education system. This system is characterized by a lack of physical infrastructure, very high dropout rates, and low-quality instruction. Moreover, most East Jerusalem students follow the Jordanian curriculum, graduating with a Tawjihi certificate that does not accord with the needs of the Israeli education and employment market.

According to data compiled by the Education Administration of the Jerusalem Municipality (MANHI), during the 2015/16 school year there were 111,600 students enrolled in the East Jerusalem school system. Of the schools in this system, 42% were official (municipal) schools, 42% were recognized but unofficial schools, and 17% were part of the unrecognized private education

system.^{50,51} **The official system** is fully supervised by the municipality and the Ministry of Education. **Recognized but unofficial schools** are funded by the Ministry of Education and partially subject to its supervision but are not supervised by the municipality. There is a great deal of variety among recognized but unofficial schools: some are of very high quality, designed to serve well-to-do residents, while others are vocational schools designated for disadvantaged students who have been expelled from official public schools. The **unrecognized school system** comprises primarily schools associated with institutions of the Waqf (an Islamic religious endowment that manages facilities in Jerusalem), which fall under the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Education; expensive (mainly Christian) private institutions; and institutions of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency

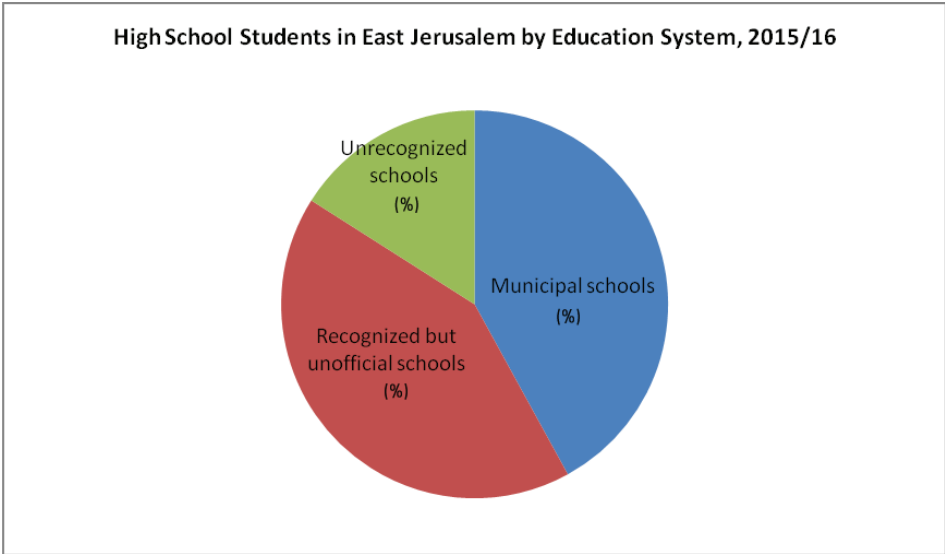
⁵⁰ Official schools are operated by the state or a local authority and receive full funding. Recognized but unofficial schools are not owned by the state but by private entities (profit-making as well as not-for-profit organizations). They operate under a license from and with the recognition of the Ministry of Education, and are partially funded by the Ministry of Education and local authorities. Local authorities provide partial supervision.

⁵¹ R. Peretz, *The education system in East Jerusalem: the state of affairs, 2015-2017*. Department of Development, Planning and Oversight, Education Administration, Jerusalem Municipality, 2016, p. 5.

for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), which provide an education

(grades 1-10) for the most disenfranchised communities but do not grant a diploma.

Diagram 1/4: Distribution of High School Students in East Jerusalem by Education System



High Dropout Rates

One of the major shortcomings in education in East Jerusalem is the low proportion of students who complete their studies. In the official education system as well as the recognized but unofficial system, the overall dropout rate for grades 9-12 in East Jerusalem is 29% (compared with 3% in the rest of the city and 5% in the Arab-Israeli sector).⁵² For these grades, the dropout rate among

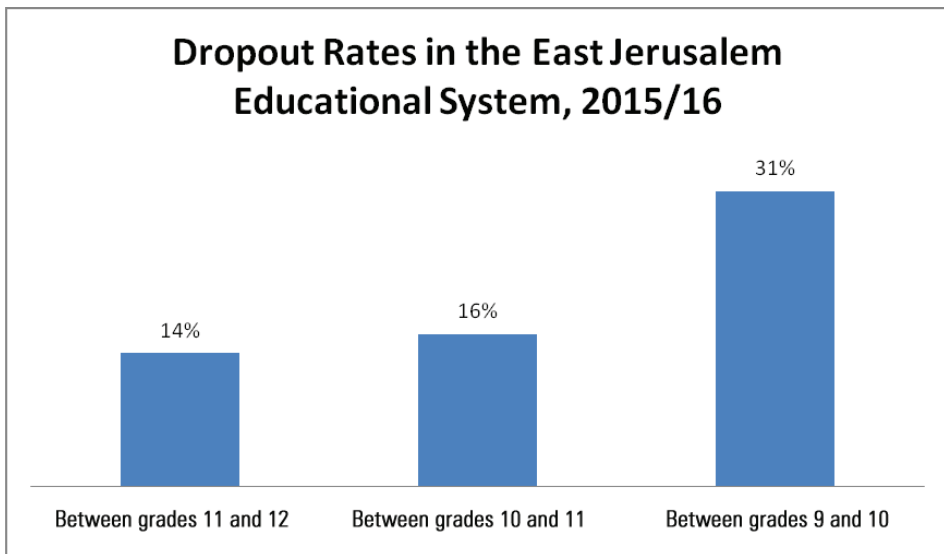
girls is 22%, lower than that among boys, at 34%. Dropout rates are highest during the transition from middle school to high school. According to Municipality data, in 2015/16, 31% of the students in East Jerusalem's official school system dropped out during the transition to 10th grade, 16% dropped out during the transition to 11th grade, and 14% dropped out before entering 12th grade. In one

⁵² Ibid., p. 10.

year, more than 1,300 students dropped out of the system.⁵³ Consequently, currently about 14,700 individuals, accounting for 24% of Jerusalem's Arab population of prime working ages (25-64), have only a primary school or middle school education.⁵⁴ One of the reasons for these high dropout rates is the absence of a system adapted for students who

cannot take the Tawjihi exams; that is, there are no alternative educational programs, such as vocational school, available to these students. Thus, without quality employment on the horizon, these students see no value in remaining in the education system and earning a diploma for 12 years of study.

Figure 1/5: Dropout Rates in the East Jerusalem Educational System⁵⁵



⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/11, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

⁵⁵ R. Peretz, *The education system in East Jerusalem: the state of affairs, 2015-2017*. Department of Development, Planning and Oversight, Education Administration, Jerusalem Municipality, 2016.

The Curriculum and Language Problems

About 95% of the students in East Jerusalem follow the Palestinian-Jordanian curriculum and take the Tawjihi matriculation exams. This curriculum does not offer Hebrew-language instruction, and the subjects taught do not accord with Israeli culture or norms. Nor are the teaching methods at these institutions suited to Israel's higher education institutions. The Tawjihi curriculum is divided into two tracks: humanities and sciences. The scientific track is regarded as more prestigious and more difficult. In 2015 a total of 5,226 students were enrolled in 12th grade in East Jerusalem. Of these students, 50% completed their studies without a diploma, 48% earned a Tawjihi certificate, and 2% qualified for an Israeli high school matriculation certificate. Of the students who took the Tawjihi exams, 62% passed, whereas only 12% of those who took the Israeli matriculation exams passed.⁵⁶

Most residents of East Jerusalem have non-Israeli high school diplomas, which reduces the likelihood of their integration into Israeli institutions of higher education and of finding high-quality jobs in the Israeli employment market. In recent years, the Jerusalem Municipality has been making efforts to expand the number of tracks available in East Jerusalem to pursue an Israeli high school matriculation certificate. As a result of these efforts, the number of students who took the Israeli matriculation exams rose slightly, from 369 in the academic year 2009/10 to 544 in 2010/11.⁵⁷ There is political resistance among parents' organizations and school principals in East Jerusalem to the introduction of the Israeli high school curriculum into schools, which makes it difficult to increase the number of students who take the Israeli matriculation exams.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Hasson, N. Number of East Jerusalem students following the Israeli matriculation curriculum rises by 60% over 4 years. *Haaretz*, 30 April 2015.

Inadequate Physical Infrastructures

In recent years there has been a steady increase in the number of students enrolled in the recognized but unofficial school system in East Jerusalem,⁵⁹ which is run by private education associations only partially subject to government supervision. This education system has the greatest shortage of physical infrastructures: students study in temporary structures, without air conditioning or heating, and the quality

of instruction is poor. According to the Jerusalem Municipality, in 2016 there was a shortage of 1,938 suitable classrooms in East Jerusalem. The pace of construction of new classrooms is very slow, averaging 37 classes per year since 2001.⁶⁰ This lack of adequate physical infrastructures significantly undermines the quality of the education as well as the students' ability to learn and persevere.⁶¹

East Jerusalem Arabs in the City's Employment Market

In 2016 the labor force of Jerusalem's Arab residents (aged 15 and above) numbered approximately 86,100, accounting for 28% of the total labor force in Jerusalem. The labor force participation rate among Arab men (aged 25-64) reached 84% while among women it stood at 22%, compared with 75% and

80% (respectively) among Jerusalem's Jewish residents.⁶² One of the socio-economic failings in East Jerusalem is the lack of correlation between education and employment; among men this correlation is not linear (Figure 1/3).

⁵⁹ R. Peretz, *The education system in East Jerusalem: the state of affairs, 2015-2017*. Department of Development, Planning and Oversight, Education Administration, Jerusalem Municipality, 2016.

⁶⁰ Tatarsky, Aviv and Maimon, Oshrat. *East Jerusalem education report: fifty years of neglect*. Ir Amim, August, 2017.

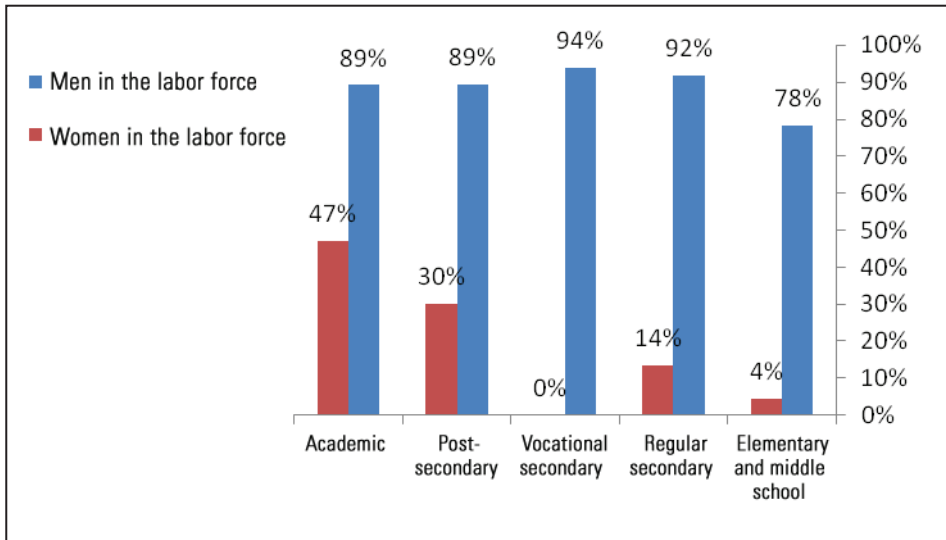
⁶¹ Worgan, Yuval. *The education system in East Jerusalem: classes and curricula*. Knesset Research and Information Center, May 10, 2010.

⁶² *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

Among Arab men, there is no significant difference between the labor force participation rate of educated men and that of uneducated men. In fact, the participation rate of men with an academic education is slightly lower than that of men with a post-secondary certificate or high school diploma. In most households in East Jerusalem, men are the sole or main breadwinners, so there is a strong incentive for them to seek employment, regardless of level of education or occupation. At the same time, it is evident that **the highest proportion of employed persons can be found among those with post-secondary vocational qualifications,**

followed by graduates of regular high schools, with graduates of academic institutions ranking even lower. By far the smallest proportion is that of men with only a primary or middle school education. In contrast, among Arab women the labor force participation rate rises significantly as their level of education increases. Accordingly, most of the employed women in East Jerusalem have a post-secondary education, which explains their extensive integration into the fields of education and health. It should be noted, of course, that the labor force participation rate is not an indication of any correlation between one's level of education and the quality of one's occupation.

Figure 1/6: Arab Employees in Jerusalem Aged 25-64 (prime working agents) by Gender, Labor Force Participation Rate, and Highest Certificate Received, 2015⁶³



⁶³ Ibid.

Unemployment and Income

In 2016, the unemployment rate among working-age Arabs in Jerusalem was 5%, lower than the unemployment rate among the city's Jewish population (6%).⁶⁴ However, an analysis of data from the Central Bureau of Statistics for 2016 indicates that the average monthly wage among Arab employees in Jerusalem

was only NIS 5,847, compared with NIS 8,679 on average among Jerusalem residents generally and NIS 8,060 among Israeli-Arab employees.⁶⁵ One of the main factors behind these wage gaps is the discrepancy in levels of education among the population groups.

Distribution across Economic Sectors and Occupations

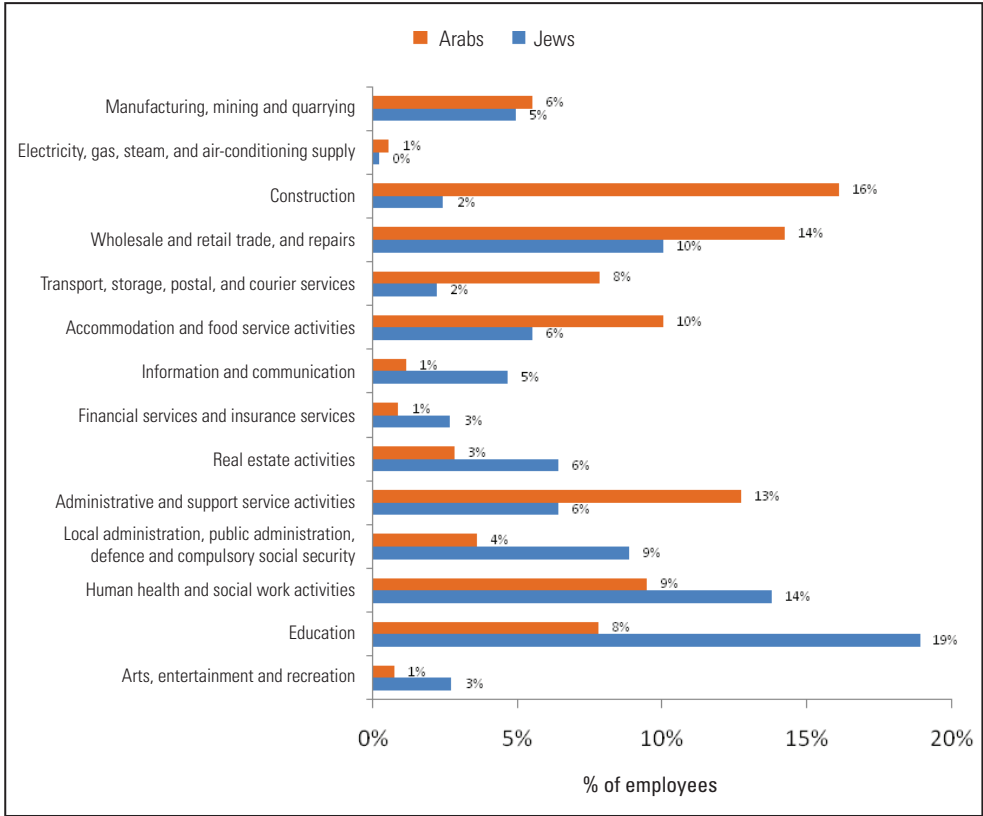
A review of the relative distribution of Arabs and Jews across various economic sectors and occupations reveals the ethnic division of labor in the city. In general, Jerusalem is characterized by a distinct dearth in the banking and finance sector and significant dependence on the public sector and institutions of higher education. However, even within the limited range of employment opportunities available in the city, there is a clear hierarchy between the population groups.

In 2015, the main economic sectors of Jerusalem's employment market in which Arabs worked were construction (15%), trade (14%), administrative and support services (maintenance and cleaning) (13%), and accommodation and food services (10%). In contrast, the main sectors in which Jews worked were education (19%), human health and social work (14%), trade (10%), and local and public administration (9%) (Figure 1/7 and 1/8).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Specially commissioned analysis of state of the Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016

Figure 1/7: Employees in Jerusalem by Select Economic Sector and Nationality, 2015



Source: The National Insurance Institute, 2017⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Employment and Gender

One of the salient characteristics of the employment market for East Jerusalem Arabs is the gender gap that exists in terms of participation in the labor force and distribution across economic sectors. The Arab labor force in Jerusalem exhibits a clear gender divide across economic sectors. According to data from the *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, in 2015 Arab women in Jerusalem were employed primarily in the sectors of education, health, trade, and welfare and social services, whereas Arab men

were employed primarily in the sectors of trade, construction, transportation, and accommodation and food services (Figure 1/5). The gender variance in the labor force of East Jerusalem residents is also evident in the differences between the salient occupations among men and those among women: most employed women hold positions that require a post-secondary education, while employed men primarily hold positions that do not require vocational training or an education (Figure 1/6).

Figure 1/8: Employed Arab Residents of Jerusalem by Select Economic Sectors, 2015

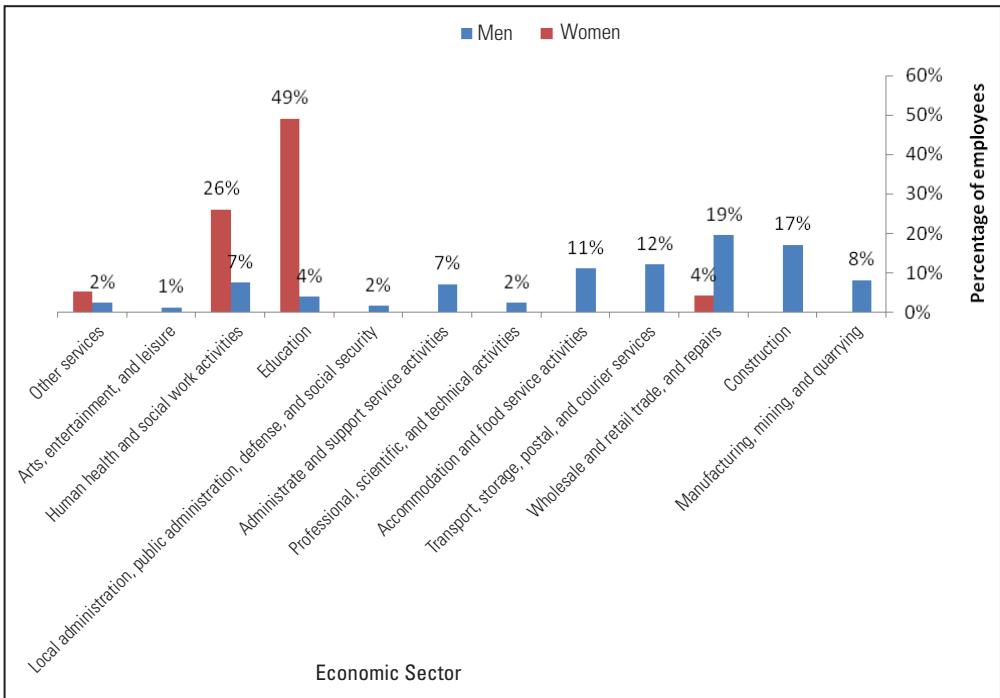
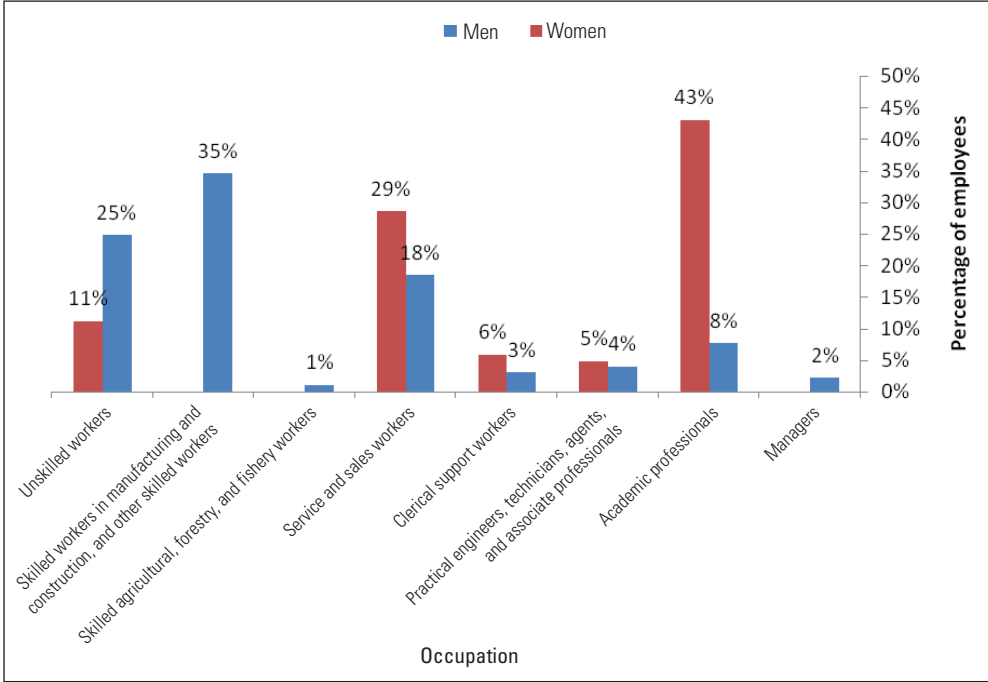


Figure 1/9: Employed Arab Residents Of Jerusalem By Occupation, 2015



Arab Women in Jerusalem’s Employment Market

The employment rate among East Jerusalem women is particularly low, even in relation to the employment rate of Arab women in Israel generally. In 2016, only 22% of Palestinian women aged 25-26 participated in Jerusalem’s labor force,⁶⁷ compared with 35% of the Arab women in Israel.⁶⁸

In recent years the Israeli government has made an effort to increase the employment rate in Israel generally and among Arab women specifically. Among other measures, the government set multi-year employment targets and implemented various policy tools designed to encourage employment.

⁶⁷ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Table 7/1, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

And indeed, the overall employment rate has risen over the past decade, as has the employment rate among Arab women in Israel, which stood at 23.4% a decade ago.⁶⁹ However, the employment rate among Jerusalem's Arab women has not changed significantly in recent years, remaining in the range of 20%.

Apparently these policy tools have not achieved the desired effect among the women of East Jerusalem, whether because of inadequate implementation in the city or because these tools are unsuited to this specific population group, given the

unique barriers described above: the language barrier and high rates of school dropout.

Arab women face additional barriers: A survey conducted by the Riyan occupational guidance center in the Arab neighborhood of Beit Hanina found that 75% of the women who came to the center preferred to work in East Jerusalem (compared with 25% of the men), mainly for reasons of personal safety and security. It also found that many Arab women tend to leave their workplace or discontinue their vocational studies when they marry.

In summation, a series of shortcomings, beginning with the education system in East Jerusalem – which has fostered widespread under-education – and including inadequate integration into the city's employment market, have solidified the inferior status of East Jerusalem Arabs in the employment market and given rise to substantial wage gaps between Jews and Arabs. This situation resulted from the lack of a policy since the city's unification, neglect of educational infrastructures, and the consolidation of a hierarchical, polarized economic system that discriminates between Jews and Arabs. At the same time, over the past decade we have seen a positive change in the approach of municipal and governmental authorities to the education system and employment in East Jerusalem, as well as a growing interest on the part of East Jerusalem residents in integrating into Israeli economic sectors. Despite the tremendous difficulties posed by the vast gaps that emerged during the past 50 years, we see these developments as an important opportunity to institute positive change and promote socio-economic development in East Jerusalem. A functional and regulated vocational training system can play an important part in driving these processes.

⁶⁹ Report of the Commission for the Assessment of Employment Policy, 2010, p. 12: <http://www.boi.org.il/deptdata/papers/paper19h.pdf>

Chapter 2: Vocational Training Tracks for East Jerusalem Residents – a Mapping of the Current Situation and Recommendations for Improvement

In light of the structural shortcomings in the East Jerusalem educational system and the socio-economic distress afflicting the population as a whole, there is a marked need for quality vocational training programs that can address the employment needs both of school dropouts and of high school graduates without an academic education. This

chapter will review the three main vocational training tracks currently available to East Jerusalem residents: vocational schools, private and public colleges in East and West Jerusalem, and the vocational training programs of the Ministry of Economy and the Employment Service.

2.1 Vocational and Technological Schools

In addition to the severe crisis afflicting the municipal education system in East Jerusalem and the limited scale of integration into higher education institutions, the field of secondary vocational education is also underdeveloped. As of 2015, only 2% of Jerusalem's Arab population of prime working ages (25-64) attended an agricultural or vocational high school.⁷⁰ This low rate reflects the absence of a vocational training infrastructure that could have prevented dropout, on the one hand, and cultivated employment

skills among many students who are not suited to or interested in academic studies, on the other. In recent years the Israeli authorities have made an effort to establish new technologically oriented programs and schools for vocational training.

In 2016, the Ministry of Economy, through the Vocational Training Division and in cooperation with the Jerusalem Municipality, established two vocational schools for youth in the neighborhood of Beit Hanina. The schools are run

⁷⁰ *The Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, No. 32, 2018, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

by the educational network Sakhnin. The girls' school has 300 students, and the boys' school has 200 students. The girls' school offers courses in optometry, childcare, and hairdressing. The boys' school offers courses in electricity, computer maintenance, and smartphones. The selection of subjects for vocational training was accepted by the Arab Education Administration of the Jerusalem Municipality on the basis of "the needs identified in the field."⁷¹

In 2016, the Municipality of Jerusalem began implementing a program for the integration of vocational training tracks with Israeli matriculation studies as well as Tawjihi studies (with the recognition of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Economy). The implementation encountered difficulties due mainly to the absence of an infrastructure for workshops and lack of the necessary equipment for vocational studies, as well as opposition by East Jerusalem residents to implementation of the Israeli curriculum. The program was implemented in eight humanities schools in East Jerusalem that have a total of 18 vocational studies tracks: an Israeli matriculation certificate requiring 21 credits, a technological certificate requiring 14 matriculation credits, and a certificate requiring 8 matriculation credits. During the 2017/18 school year, the total number of students enrolled

in the technological tracks was 540, constituting approximately 1% of the total number of students in East Jerusalem's municipal school system.

Both the recognized but unofficial education system and the private education system include additional vocational schools that accept students who have been expelled from the municipal system. These include the schools of the Amal network and the Sakhnin network in Atarot as well as the arts school in Sheikh Jarrah. By our assessment, about 1,500 East Jerusalem high school students are enrolled in vocational schools or vocational training tracks in humanities schools (about 5% of all students of high school age).

Thus we conclude that the vocational education system in East Jerusalem is limited in scope and, to date, has not provided a suitable alternative for high school dropouts. In recent years the Israeli government and Jerusalem Municipality have made a renewed effort to invest in establishing vocational schools and dedicated vocational training tracks. The results of the welcome investment should be periodically examined over the next few years. Alongside these changes, however, there are two points that deserve attention: First, the distribution of vocational schools in East Jerusalem is imbalanced, as it leaves

⁷¹ Interview with the director of the Vocational Training Division at the Ministry of Economy.

Table 2/1: Technological Studies Tracks, 2017/18

School	Track	Track number	Year established	Newly established	Number of students
Beit Hanina – Ibn Khaldun Comprehensive	Hotel cooking and baking	3410		2017/18	25
Ras Al-Amud Girls' School	Hairdressing and cosmetics	2030	2015/16		65
	Early childcare	2510	2016/17		50
Beit Hanina High School	Control systems and energy	3310		2017/18	15
Ras Al-Amud Boys' School	Car mechanics	1030		2017/18	0
	Car electronics	1040		2017/18	0
Abdallah Girls' School	Hairdressing and cosmetics	2030		2017/18	20
	Early childcare	2510	2016/17		55
Science and Technology	Biotechnology	1610		2017/18	20
	Electrical engineering and computer	1140	2016/17		40
	Software engineering	1410	2016/17		30
Beit Safafa	Biotechnology	1610		2017/18	20
	Hotel management	1920		2017/18	25
	Telecommunications	3510		2017/18	25
Shu'afat	Telecommunications	3510		2017/18	25
Sur Baher Girls' School	Early childcare	2510		2017/18	25
Afaq	Hairdressing and cosmetics	2030	2015/16		18
	Robotics			2017/18	12
	Early childcare	2510	2016/17		12
Ibn Rushd Comprehensive	Control systems and energy	3310	2014/15		58
Total					540

the neighborhoods in the southern part of East Jerusalem without the infrastructures necessary for vocational education. Likewise, as noted above, most of the new programs also seek to promote Israeli matriculation studies in East Jerusalem. In view of the continuing

political resistance in East Jerusalem to the introduction of Israeli matriculation programs, consideration should also be given to providing vocational training tracks as part of or alongside the existing Jordanian curriculum (Tawjihi).

2.2 Private Vocational Colleges in East Jerusalem

Private colleges are an important element in the development of vocational training programs in East Jerusalem. **In 2017, a total of 21 private vocational colleges for adults operated in East Jerusalem.**

Most of the colleges are located in East Jerusalem's central business district. The most popular subjects at these colleges are general secretarial training, medical secretarial training, payroll accounting, and early childhood education. Other popular subjects include cosmetics, hairdressing, professional driving, alternative medicine, and electricity.

The largest college in East Jerusalem is **Anwar College**, established in 2006 with the support of the Ministry of Economy. The college offers courses in the following subjects: medical secretarial training, teacher training, daycare and preschool childcare, bookkeeping, precision instrumentation, marketing, and business-oriented Hebrew language studies aimed at facilitating integration into the employment market. The greatest demand is for the subjects of secretarial

training and childcare. The college offers 23 courses per year with approximately 25 students in each course (totaling about 500 students per year). The language of instruction is Hebrew. Moreover, the college operates cooperative programs with the Center for the Advancement of Entrepreneurship (MATI) in order to assist entrepreneurial students seeking to establish an independent business. According to the college administration, about 70%-75% of graduates find work in the subject they studied. Most are employed in Jerusalem, primarily at medical clinics and preschools.

Another example is **Haifa College**, established in 2009 with the support of the Ministry of Economy. It offers courses in medical secretarial training and early childcare, and has a total of 60 students. The duration of studies is 13 months and includes 3 months of Hebrew-language instruction. The cost of tuition is 10,000 NIS. In addition, the early childcare training program includes 400 hours of unpaid internship work, for

which some of the workplaces require the interns to pay. Efforts were made in the past to offer courses in other subjects, such as marketing and sales promotion, but insufficient registration led to the termination of these courses.

Most of the students at the college are women aged 18-19, who completed high school without a certificate of completion or with a certificate of completion but low grades. Graduates of the college find it difficult to integrate into the labor market upon completing their studies, as the market in East Jerusalem is flooded with caregivers and medical secretaries, although some graduates have found employment in East Jerusalem. According to the college's data, about a third of the graduates in the field of early childcare find work upon completing their studies. Graduates of the medical secretarial program are less successful at entering the labor market (mainly finding work at clinics in East Jerusalem, and a few in hospitals). The duration of studies and internships poses a significant economic challenge because of the difficulty in integrating work with studies.

A unique example of a vocational training program is provided by **Riyan College of Alternative Medicine**. The college was established in 2011 with support from the Ministry of Economy. It offers courses in alternative medicine, including Chinese medicine, naturopathy, and medical physiotherapy, among others. The duration of studies is between one

and four years. The college has 20-30 students, and acceptance requires a certificate attesting to 12 years of study. The language of instruction is Arabic. Graduates receive a certificate recognized by professional associations in Israel, and the training takes place at hospitals and at medical centers affiliated with Riyan College. The college helps graduates find employment, and according to its administration, most of the graduates are able to secure employment at medical institutions and centers in Jerusalem.

Shortcomings in the Private Vocational Training Market in East Jerusalem

1. **Recognition and accreditation:** Recognition and accreditation pose the main challenge in the private colleges market in East Jerusalem. Only eight of the colleges operating in East Jerusalem are supervised by the Vocational Training Division of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services 'social affairs and social services'. As noted, graduates of colleges that offer courses without the supervision and recognition of the Ministry of Labor do not earn a vocational certificate from the Ministry and are not entitled to work in their field of training. Occasionally colleges that offer only one course recognized by the Ministry also present other courses as recognized.

Yet the students who then enroll in and successfully complete such a course are not entitled to a vocational certificate. Moreover, most of the vocational certificates require 12 years of study as a precondition. From interviews we conducted for the sake of this study with activists and decision-makers in the field, it emerged that the colleges often do not inform students of the preconditions they must meet in order to take their final exams. As a consequence, these students are not entitled to a vocational certificate despite having successfully completed their studies.

2. **A limited selection of subjects:**
As noted, one of the salient characteristics of vocational training programs, which holds for colleges as well, is the lack of variety in terms of fields of study. Most of the colleges teach childcare and medical secretarial training, which has resulted in a surplus of workers in these fields. Moreover, the language of instruction at most East Jerusalem colleges is Arabic, with only a limited number of hours devoted to the study of Hebrew. The scope of Hebrew-language instruction does not provide a sufficient grounding in the language for integration into the West Jerusalem labor market.

Supervision over the colleges in East Jerusalem needs to be increased significantly. It is also necessary to develop a comprehensive and reliable information network covering all the options for vocational training in the city, which clearly and comprehensibly presents the prerequisites for receiving a recognized certificate, lists the recognized courses and training tracks, and provides details about occupations for which there is a demand in the municipal and national markets.

2.3 Public and Private Colleges in West Jerusalem

The past decade has seen a significant rise in the number of East Jerusalem students enrolled in Israeli higher education institutions in West Jerusalem. For the most part these institutions

provide an academic education, but many of the Arab students who enroll choose to pursue practical “vocational” studies. We therefore believe that these institutions should be included in a mapping of the

vocational training programs currently available to young East Jerusalem residents.

A data analysis we conducted for the 18-25 age group (the main age range of Arab students in Israel) in East Jerusalem found that 21% currently attend post-secondary (6%) or academic (15%) institutions; in all they number about 12,000 students (in both groups). The majority (79%) attend Arab post-secondary institutions:

Palestinian universities such as Al-Quds or Bir Zeit, Jordanian universities, or Arab colleges in East Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities. Of this group, about 2,500 (21%) are currently enrolled in Israeli institutions: preparatory programs, colleges, or the Hebrew University in West Jerusalem.

The following table presents the number of East Jerusalem students enrolled in academic institutions in West Jerusalem.

Table 2/2: Arab Students from East Jerusalem in Israeli Institutions of Higher Education, 2017/18

Name of institution	Studies toward a degree	Preparatory studies	Main fields of study
Hadassah College	400		Human Resource Management; Health Systems Management
Azrieli	20	80	Pharmaceutical Engineering; Software and Electronics
David Yellin	350		Teaching Certificate; Special Education
The Hebrew University	610	210	Nursing; Humanities and Social Sciences
The Open University	250		
Ono College	715		Education and Society; Business Administration
Bezalel	125	50	Visual Communication; Photography
Total	2,470	340	

Over the years, students from East Jerusalem have been attending long-standing colleges such as David Yellin Teachers College and Hadassah College. In recent years, however, with the encouragement of the Council for Higher Education, a number of subsidized pre-academic preparatory courses have been established with the aim of preparing Tawjihi graduates for higher education. In 2017/18, a total of 460 students from East Jerusalem were enrolled in these preparatory programs.⁷² As a result of these measures, the number of students from East Jerusalem attending colleges and the Hebrew University has risen.

One example of a specialized preparatory program is that of Hadassah College, which is designed for Arab students, most of whom are residents of East Jerusalem. The program is intended to prepare students for academic studies, and in addition to Hebrew-language instruction it offers classes in mathematics, biology, and scientific writing. The program has about 50 students, most of whom continue as students at Hadassah College. Tuition is NIS 17,000, although in practice about half of the students receive a full scholarship.

Since 2014, Azrieli College has been running a preparatory program attended by 150 students, mostly Arabs from

East Jerusalem. According to the data, however, the success rates of these students are low and dropout rates are high. During the last academic year (2016/17), only 20 of the 80 Arab students from East Jerusalem completed the program successfully. Because residents of East Jerusalem are entitled to a full scholarship, many enroll in the program to study Hebrew rather than out of an interest in engineering. Consequently, Azrieli College has implemented stricter admission requirements that are adapted for continuing studies at the college.

Another characteristic of the Arab East Jerusalem residents who attend higher education institutions in West Jerusalem is a tendency to choose a limited number of fields of study. As Table 2/2 indicates, most Arab students from East Jerusalem choose programs in health or education or vocationally oriented programs, mainly because they view these subjects as practical and the admission requirements are lower than for other fields of study.⁷³ Thus, for example, students who were denied admission to the Hebrew University for nursing studies have enrolled at Hadassah College and opted, by default, to study health systems management, which enables them to seek employment as medical secretaries.⁷⁴

⁷² Council for Higher Education.

⁷³ Interview with Ahmed Asmar, coordinator of Arab student admissions at the Hebrew University.

⁷⁴ Interview with Luna Ishti, Arab student coordinator at Hadassah College.

Assistance in Employment Integration

Most institutions have a coordinator for the Arab community, whose role is to assist Arab students cope with the challenges they face (including language gaps and learning abilities). Some colleges also provide occupational guidance for Arab students, as well as generic workshops aimed at preparing students for interviews and assisting them in writing resumes, understanding salary terms and conditions, dealing with employment contracts, and the like. The center for occupational guidance at Hadassah College has implemented an internship project named “The Next Thing” in which 15 Arab students participate. This project, which includes 120 hours of practical internship work, aims to redress the lack of employment experience characteristic of Arab students (keeping in mind that Arab students begin their studies at a younger age than their Jewish colleagues, who serve in the military and gain employment experience in that context).

Most of the students in education who graduate from David Yellin College find work in East Jerusalem schools as employees of the Ministry of Education. A few have found work at institutions

in West Jerusalem, such as Hadassh Hospital, Shaare Zedek Hospital, Alyn Hospital, or the school for the deaf in Kiryat Yovel (60% of the children attending this school are from East Jerusalem, which lacks such a school). Most choose to work for the Ministry of Education because of financial considerations, given that the salaries in East Jerusalem are lower than the Ministry’s salaries.

A majority of the students from East Jerusalem who attend Azrieli College drop out. Those who graduate usually do so with distinction and integrate successfully into their chosen vocation, and some go on to pursue graduate degrees abroad.

At the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design, where 25 Arab students from East Jerusalem are enrolled, a career center funded by the Planning and Budgetary Committee of the Council for Higher Education was established in 2017. The center provides guidance for the students and prepares them for the labor market. The Academy also runs a program in education that grants certification, and many Arab students participate in this program.

In recent years the Israeli higher education system in Jerusalem has made a visible effort to integrate students from East Jerusalem. Most of the programs are still in their initial stages, and their success can only be assessed over time. The main challenge faced by Israeli institutions is the need to bridge the gaps that are developing in the elementary and middle school education systems in East Jerusalem. Given the language barrier and different study habits, the best and most skilled students are those who manage to overcome the obstacle course on the way to earning an Israeli degree. The current system of preparatory courses can accommodate only a limited number of students, and therefore consideration should be given to the establishment of general intermediate programs that will provide subsidized training over the course of a year for all high school graduates (not only those who excel) in order to bridge gaps. Such programs should include Hebrew and English language instruction as well as the acquisition of learning skills that will allow the students to compete in the labor market.

Vocational Training for Adults

A number of targeted policy programs have been implemented in recent years, with the aim of reducing socio-economic gaps and promoting employment integration of the Arab population across the country and in Jerusalem. These programs focus on the strengthening and development of physical and transportation infrastructures, investment in employment-supporting institutions such as daycare centers, and the promotion of vocational training and occupational guidance centers.

Over the past three years, the government has adopted a number of resolutions that

focus on the employment integration of East Jerusalem residents.⁷⁵ One example is Resolution 2684 of May 2017, establishing a five-year plan to reduce socio-economic gaps in East Jerusalem and promote economic development. Like the national programs for the Arab population, this program too includes investment in the development of transportation infrastructures, the development of commerce and business zones, programs aimed at fostering employment, improvement in the quality of education, greater integration in academia, and the like. The program is

⁷⁵ Government Resolution 1175 was adopted in 2014. Resolution 922 was adopted in 2015.

in the process of being consolidated, and the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research is involved in the formulation and construction of this five-year plan.

Below we review the policy tools currently employed to promote quality employment integration for the residents of East Jerusalem, with attention to the challenges and limitations of these tools.

The Vocational Training Division of the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services

The goal of the Vocational Training Division, based at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, is to develop and institute courses for jobseekers in Israel – that is, to initiate vocational training activities that will bring unemployed persons back to the labor force. The vocational training courses are intended for the unemployed only, a population group that comes under the purview of the Employment Bureau, which recruits candidates for these courses. The courses are not intended for those who are not part of the labor market. Besides providing vocational training for adults, the Vocational Training Division also operates two vocational schools for youth. The target audience of these schools is youth aged 14, and the goal is to provide them with recognized vocational training.

The first track for vocational training is a fully funded daytime program.

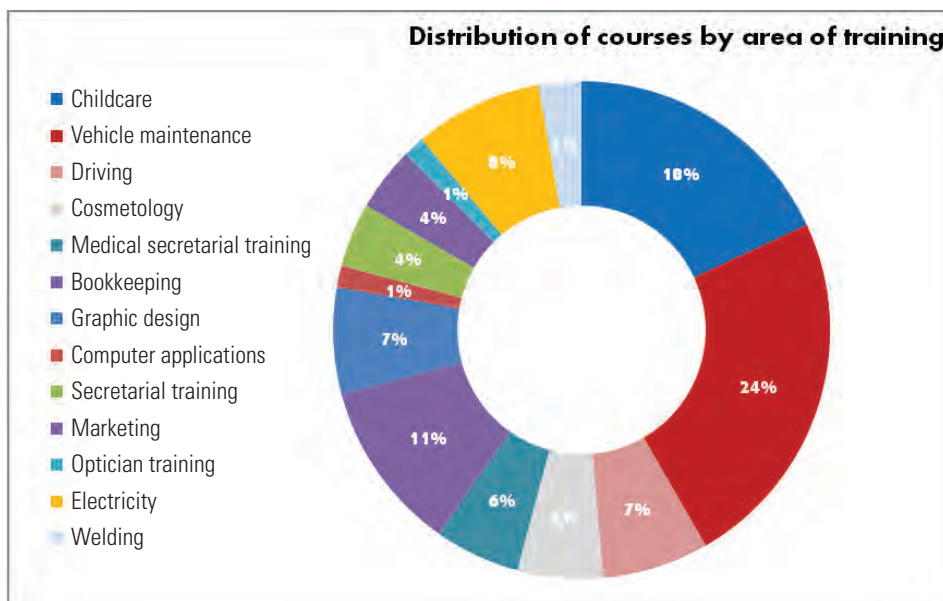
It offers courses that take place 5 days a week for 8 hours per day, over the course of 4-14 months. Attendance is mandatory and students must pass examinations in order to complete the course, at the end of which they receive a certificate of completion.

Within the framework of the Vocational Training Division, there are two training systems. The first comprises vocational training centers owned by the state (there are currently 5 centers, following a decision in 2017 to close 20 training centers). The second involves external entities such as schools and colleges supervised by the Vocational Training Division. Through a bidding for adult training, a franchisee is chosen to implement the vocational training program. The program itself is set by the regional authority for vocational training, and the curriculum is based on identified market needs. The market's needs are identified using data of the Research and Policy Division at the Ministry of Labor, Employment Service data on occupations in which there is a shortage of workers, and information from professional associations such as manufacturers, hoteliers, and so on. There is no comprehensive, uniform survey that systematically examines the occupations in which the market is lacking.

On the face of it, there appears to be a variety of vocational training courses operated by the Division, with

a concentration of courses in the areas of childcare and vehicle maintenance. An assessment of the distribution of courses by vocational occupation, however, reveals that there is not much variety, and that most of the students are enrolled in vocational courses in areas of construction and vehicle maintenance.

The following graph presents the distribution of vocational training courses currently operated by the Division, by area of training.



The selected franchisees are responsible for operating the program established by the head of the Vocational Training Division. The franchisee recruits candidates, runs the course, and finds placements for the graduates in accordance with the placement requirements to which the franchisee is

committed. The regional officer within the Ministry of Labor's Vocational Training Division oversees and monitors the franchisee. The franchisee, for its part, maintains contact with vocational schools and colleges recognized and supervised by the Division in accordance with the set program. Currently there are two

franchisees responsible for operating the adult vocational training system: the Sakhnin Network is responsible for northern Israel, from the Golan Heights to the city of Hadera, and the Atid Network oversees the geographic region from Netanya to Eilat.

In order to open a training course, there must be a minimum of 18 students per class (with the possibility of a special exemption when there are fewer students). According to the data of the Vocational Training Division, about 90% of the students who complete the course take the final examination that grants them a vocational certificate. The students receive no income while enrolled in the course, as the program does not allow students to work, and some receive unemployment benefits. Students who have successfully completed the course and found employment are entitled to a grant of NIS 8,000, provided that they have been employed for at least one year following completion of the course.

In addition to the courses offered by the Vocational Training Division, whether through training centers or through an external franchisee, there are a number of additional training tracks, one of which is the “vouchers” program. This program enables those wishing to integrate into

the labor market (including those who are not unemployed) to acquire a vocation through partially funded training courses at colleges recognized by the Division. The vouchers cover up to NIS 8,000 of the cost of a course.⁷⁶ A candidate is entitled to a voucher after undergoing a vocational assessment by the Employment Bureau or by one of the Riyan centers. In addition to receiving subsidies for the course, a candidate who has been working for four months (during the year following completion of the course) is entitled to a placement grant. As noted, the Vocational Training Division recognizes 10 colleges in East Jerusalem and is responsible for supervising the colleges through external overseers. If a college deviates from the guidelines, the Division has the authority to implement sanctions, including the termination of courses and funding. The Ministry of Labor is currently transitioning to the use of vouchers as the primary tool for covering the tuition costs of vocational training courses at various colleges. In the past year there has been an increase in the use of vouchers among East Jerusalem residents.

This shift away from courses run by the Ministry or a franchisee stems from an interest in granting students more freedom in choosing a vocation.

⁷⁶ Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, financial aid and grants: <http://employment.molsa.gov.il/Employment/ManpowerTraining/AdultsTraining/Grants/Pages/default.aspx>.

Additional training tracks include industry-based classrooms: an industrial enterprise that seeks train workers can receive financial assistance from the Ministry of Labor for the training of its workers, on the condition that it employs some of the students who successfully complete the course. A similar track is the “Starter” program run cooperatively with the Joint Distribution Committee, whereby a number of enterprises combine efforts for employee training. This approach has the advantage of greater involvement on the part of employers, beginning with design of the program, through practical training, to the recruitment of candidates.

Our survey found that there are currently 21 adult vocational training colleges operating in East Jerusalem (in the neighborhoods of Salah al-Din, al-Zahra, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Battuta).⁷⁷ The Vocational Training Division in the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services (formerly the Ministry of Economy), the body responsible for vocational training, recognizes only 10 colleges subject to its supervision, two of which operate in West Jerusalem.

⁷⁷ Our survey did not closely examine Beit Safafa, Sur Baher, Kafr 'Aqb, and the Old City.

The Riyan Centers of East Jerusalem (Ministry of Economy and the Joint Distribution Committee)

The Unit for Integrating the Arab, Druze, and Circassian Populations, located in the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, is responsible for implementing employment programs that focus on overcoming barriers that prevent integration into the employment market by the Arab, Druze, and Circassian communities in Israel. In the context of employment programs focused on workers, the Riyan centers for the occupational guidance of the Arab population were established in Israel. These centers provide guidance and counseling for unemployed persons in order to promote their quality employment integration. The main target groups are individuals who unemployed or not part of the labor force, and who do not receive benefits from the National Insurance Institute. The centers offer them individually adapted career guidance and placement services.

The Riyan centers were established following a government decision that recognized the necessity of addressing the low employment rates among the Arab population while accommodating the unique needs of this population.

Currently there are 22 centers in operation, providing services for about 64 localities. The occupational guidance centers are part of a joint project of the Prime Minister's Office, JDC-Israel, and Yad Hanadiv Foundation, and it is operated by the company Al-Fanar.

The first Riyan center was established in 2015 in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Beit Hanina, and another center is currently being established in East Jerusalem. During the first two years of the center's operation, 2,300 people participated in its activities. Among the salient characteristics of the center's target population is the fact that 74% of the participants are in the age range of 18-34 years, and about one-third of the center's clients have not completed 12 years of schooling.

The low level of education constitutes the main obstacle to quality employment for the population of East Jerusalem, because completing 12 years of schooling is a prerequisite for obtaining a vocational certificate from a training program. Currently there is only one designated program, located in an East Jerusalem community center, that enables East Jerusalem residents to complete 12 years of schooling, and the Riyan center refers applicants to this program.

The Riyan Center in Jerusalem runs vocational training courses along several different channels:

1. Fully funded courses in the framework of the activities of the Vocational Training Division in East Jerusalem: These are aimed at enhancing the eligibility for participation in courses intended for unemployed persons (as recognized by the Employment Bureau) on the part of Riyan Center's target audience. The center's participants are allowed to work part-time and are entitled to a subsistence stipend of a few hundred shekels per month.

The selection of fields for vocational training courses is based on an assessment of the needs of employers, which are determined through a survey conducted by the Manufacturers' Association of Israel, interviews with managers of the city's employment centers, and a review of occupations in which applicants are interested. Over the past two years, the center has operated courses in the fields of software application development, social network management, hotel senior management, photography, confectionery and cooking, fashion design, smart phone technology, cosmetics, and professional beautician training.

Candidates are actively recruited, usually by a community activist

employed at the center. This activist, who is familiar with the city's neighborhoods and accessible to the population, disseminates information about the center's activities.

Recruitment for technologically oriented courses takes longer than recruitment for other courses because of the challenge of finding students who meet the admission standards and pass the qualifying exams. Most of the students who enroll in these courses have an academic education from unrecognized institutions.

2. A second vocational training track is the "vouchers" program operated by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which grants partial funding for vocational training courses at recognized colleges. Women are entitled to subsidies amounting to 80% of the cost of a course, and men are entitled to 75%. Moreover, if the course is in an area for which there is a recognized demand (that is, it has been recognized that the labor market suffers from a significant shortage of workers in this area), subsidization increases to 85% and 80% respectively. The target audience for this program is individuals over the age of 18 who have completed 12 years of study and do not receive financial support. A student who completes the course, passes the final exams, and finds employment

(within nine months) is entitled to a placement grant (NIS 2,000 for women, NIS 1,500 for men). The duration of studies is up to one year.

In terms of placement rates, 37% of the participants find work at the end of the vocational training program, with a placement rate of 74% for men and 20% for women. Participants who do not find work (mainly because of the language barrier and because they do not have 12 years of schooling) receive personal assistance from the program coordinators, who create an individual employment program tailored to each candidate and help them find work.

Ministry for Jerusalem Affairs, East Jerusalem Economic Development Department

The Department for Economic Development of the Ministry for Jerusalem Affairs works to reduce the gaps between East and West Jerusalem. One of the Department's main projects for promoting employment in East Jerusalem focuses on the development of business initiatives aimed at establishing new businesses and increasing the economic activity of existing businesses. The project began to operate in April 2014 in cooperation with the Ministry of Economy's the Jerusalem Business Development (MATI). The program

provides assistance through five channels: grants, loans, business consultation, training, and the licensing of home-based daycare centers.

About one-third of MATI's activity takes place in East Jerusalem, where the target audience is entrepreneurs who wish to establish new businesses or existing business owners who seek assistance in expanding their business activities.

MATI's activities focus on training entrepreneurs and business managers by providing counseling, business advice, and assistance to entrepreneurs and business owners, as well as guidance in the preparation of business plans and the acquisition of loans and grants. Most of the businesses that receive support from MATI are traditional enterprises: beauty parlors, nursery schools and daycare, minimarkets, repair garages, tourist agencies, and the like.

MATI operates business entrepreneurship courses in East Jerusalem. To date it has run 218 courses with 3,800 participants, men and women. The courses provide the tools needed to establish a new business. They were held at community centers in Sur Baher, Beit Hanina, Wadi Joz, Jabel Mukaber, and Issawiya, as well as Anwar College in East Jerusalem.

In addition, MATI has conducted vocational training programs that incorporate business entrepreneurship. The need for such training courses emerged from the field, and graduates

continue to receive assistance through counseling, loans, and grants in order to set up a business in the field in which they were trained. To date 33 courses that combine vocational training and business entrepreneurship have been held, with 560 participants. The fields of vocational training were chosen in accordance with the needs in East Jerusalem as identified by MATI employees. The areas in which such a need was identified include the training of digital marketing managers and the training of cellular technicians. MATI also ran a vocational training course in cosmetics and hairdressing in response to requests by women who approached the center. Likewise, interviews with East Jerusalem colleges also identified a need for vocational training in cosmetics.

MATI's vocational training activities are carried out on a small scale because the target audience is entrepreneurs who are interested in starting a business, and the vocational training is offered as a service to promote the establishment of a business in their field of training. The main advantages of the vocational training courses offered by MATI include flexibility in selecting the areas of activity (which allows for training in innovative and progressive vocations); nearly complete financing of the cost of the courses; and the relatively short duration of the courses, which minimizes dropout rates and facilitates rapid integration into the labor market. The main disadvantage of these courses is that they do not grant

participants a recognized vocational certificate that entitles them to work in their field of training.

In addition to the vocational training courses, MATI operates Hebrew language courses. In the context of its activities in East Jerusalem, it identified the lack of proficiency in Hebrew as a significant barrier for business owners, mainly because entrepreneurs who seek to expand their business or establish a new one require funding, and the applications for funding are in Hebrew. Moreover, in order to expand their clientele base, business owners must reach markets beyond East Jerusalem, which requires knowledge of the Hebrew language (MATI has operated 16 Hebrew courses for 283 entrepreneurs).

An interesting aspect of MATI's activity in East Jerusalem is that 65% of the applicants for assistance and support are women. In addition, the proportion of women among entrepreneurs who established new businesses is 71% – higher than the proportion of men. A possible explanation is that women are responsible for the home and the children, which makes it difficult for them to integrate into the labor market. Thus they require the employment flexibility that having an independent business can offer.

Summary

1. The target population of the various programs: The currently available policy tools for promoting employment are directed mainly at jobseekers and **do not address the needs of those who are not seeking employment.** In other words, at present only individuals actively in search of employment are in a position to learn about and make use of these policy tools, including vocational training programs. This limitation has a significant bearing on the employment of East Jerusalem resident because, as noted, the Arab women of East Jerusalem have a very low labor force participation rate, at 22%. That is, only 22% of working-age women (25-64) are seeking employment. **There is tremendous economic potential in increasing the participation rate of East Jerusalem Arab women in the labor market,** amounting to an estimated NIS 457-643 million per year. This would be a substantial contribution both to the city's economy and to the welfare of East Jerusalem residents.⁷⁸
2. **Limited selection of fields in which training is available:** As

⁷⁸ Yamit Naftali and Yuval Shiftan, *The employment potential of Arab women in Jerusalem, 2017*, Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research.

described above, the main policy tool for promoting quality employment is the vocational training courses of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. As detailed in Chapter 2, the areas in which vocational training is currently available are traditional, gendered, and lack variety. Even in MATI's entrepreneurship programs, most of the women entrepreneurs pursue traditional occupations. This lack of variety has resulted in a surplus of childcare providers, cosmeticians, hairdressers, construction workers, and vehicle repairmen. The supply exceeds the demand, reduces the likelihood of finding employment, and undercuts wage levels substantially.

3. **The educational and training**

formats: The nature, duration, and spread of the courses make it difficult for participants to combine work and study. This, alongside a shortage of supporting grants, creates a significant financial burden for those who seek training and results in many of them dropping out. In addition, lack of supervision and enforcement by the Ministry of Labor, lack of quality control, lack of standardization, inaccurate information, and the vast differences among the many programs also pose difficulties for the target audience.

4. **The Hebrew language barrier:**

Most East Jerusalem residents have limited proficiency in Hebrew because it is not part of their school curriculum and because of the lack of integration with West Jerusalem residents. Hebrew-language instruction for adults in East Jerusalem lacks enforcement as well as a systemic vision, and there is a dearth of quality programs that teach Hebrew.

Chapter 3: Recommendations and Proposed Policy Tools

Our review of the currently available policy tools for promoting the employment integration of East Jerusalem residents has found that they provide only a partial solution to the barriers facing this community. In addition, they are of limited

effectiveness in improving employment integration for East Jerusalem residents. In this chapter we propose practical policy tools for overcoming existing barriers and shortcomings.

The Secondary School System in East Jerusalem

The Problems

1. As noted above, most residents of East Jerusalem attend secondary schools where the curriculum is adapted to Palestinian matriculation exams. As a result, the subject matter, teaching methods, and language of instruction do not prepare them for the Israeli labor market;
2. Lack of resources and infrastructure: Schools in East Jerusalem suffer from overcrowding, a lack of suitable facilities and classrooms, and a shortage of vocational schools;
3. There are high dropout rates because of the lack of alternative educational programs, including vocational training tracks, for students who fail to integrate into the Tawjihi system.
4. The inclusion of vocational studies in school programs requires implementation of the Israeli curriculum, which encounters resistance on the part of school principals, parents' associations, and East Jerusalem residents;
5. Even in schools that provide vocational training, the subjects offered are traditional, gendered, and lacking in variety.

Proposed Policy Tools

1. **Prioritized budgeting for vocational schools** for the purpose of establishing workshops and investing in the equipment required for vocational education;
 2. **Creating a curriculum for recognized vocational training** that combines the Tawjihi curriculum and does not require students to follow the Israeli curriculum. This will facilitate implementation of the program and will not generate resistance among the population;
 3. **Offering students new and varied fields of training**, as well
- as guidance, through meetings with professionals in the various fields taught, or through a marketing campaign focused on vocational education in new and diverse fields of study for East Jerusalem residents, in cooperation with graduates who have successfully integrated into the employment market;
4. In addition, we **recommend implementing a combination of policy tools** that offer guidance and counseling for secondary school students to facilitate their employment integration. Examples include career counseling, resume writing, preparation for interviews, and the like.

Table 3/1: Barriers and Challenges in the Secondary School System in East Jerusalem

	Problem/Challenge	Recommended policy tools
Secondary schools	Lack of vocational training infrastructures at the schools	Prioritized budgeting for vocational schools
	Resistance to the Israeli curriculum	A vocational training program that combines the Tawjihi curriculum (independent of Israeli matriculation program)
	Traditional and gendered areas of vocational training	Exposure to innovative vocations
	Lack of incentives to complete a high school education	Combination of guidance and soft policy tools for employment integration and entrepreneurship

Post-Secondary Vocational Training

Our review of the policy tools available to improve the quality of employment options for East Jerusalem residents found that the main policy tool currently in use is a series of vocational training programs offered directly by the Employment Service and Ministry of Labor or through vouchers that subsidize studies at private institutions. At present the private colleges in East Jerusalem are unregulated and unsupervised, as reflected in the fact that most of these institutions are not recognized by the Ministry of Labor. Consequently, the students at these colleges are not entitled to take the final exams that grant a vocational certificate. Such a certificate is crucial for quality employment integration in West Jerusalem, as it provides a standardized measure of an individual's professional qualifications.

The various problems related to the activities of these colleges (as detailed in Chapter 2) – including the reliability of the information they provide students and the inconsistency of their admission standards – undermine the effectiveness of the education they provide. In order to maximize effectiveness, we recommend the following measures:

1. **Establishing and maintaining a database** that is accessible to East Jerusalem residents, in Arabic, which includes guidance and a mapping of vocational training programs and colleges suited to East Jerusalem residents. This database should be made accessible to the Arabic-speaking public through a dedicated website containing all the relevant information, including course listings at recognized colleges, admission requirements for each course, and the employment options available in each field of study. The website should be frequently updated;
2. **Strengthening and improving the system of supervision and oversight over colleges** operating in East Jerusalem by increasing the number of Ministry of Labor supervisors and instituting sanctions, such as the revocation of Ministry recognition for courses at colleges that provide false or misleading information to students;
3. **Establishing and expanding educational programs for the completion of 12 years of study**, such as the Ministry of Education's project on continuing education, in cooperation with the East Jerusalem's association of community centers, located in Beit Safafa. We recommend establishing dedicated programs for continuing education or for the integration of continuing education

tracks (for the completion of 12 years of study) with the vocational training courses offered at the colleges. The lack of a certificate of completion attesting to 12 years of study is currently the main barrier preventing East Jerusalem residents from acquiring a recognized vocational certificate. Such programs would open up the world of vocational training to large numbers of people.

4. **Strengthening and reinforcing dedicated frameworks for Hebrew-language instruction** and establishing dedicated frameworks for Hebrew-language instruction in East Jerusalem, including the ulpan system for intensive language instruction, which has been very successful in teaching Hebrew to new immigrants. There are currently various programs for Hebrew-language instruction, but they are financially inaccessible because of their high tuition. Moreover, the quality of education at these programs is quite low.
5. **Adapting and relaxing the structure of and admission requirements for training courses**, so as to enable students to work while they are enrolled, as well as establishing a financial aid network (through subsidies and grants). Such changes would reduce the financial

burden for students as well as the dropout rates. Salary subsidies for apprenticeships can be offered to those who graduate with distinction.

6. **Diversifying the areas of training, entrepreneurship options, and vocations** promoted by the state among East Jerusalem residents. As noted, the lack of variety in terms of vocational training options prevents the integration of students into advanced fields, especially in view of the frequent changes in the world of high-level employment. Given that previous efforts to diversify vocational training options did not generate sufficient demand, we recommend establishing an Arabic-language database that will provide information on the world of high-level employment and vocations for which there is a market demand, acceptable salary levels in the various professions, and employment opportunities on the horizon.

Table 3/2: Barriers and Challenges in the System of Vocational Training Colleges in East Jerusalem

	Challenges	Recommended policy tools
East Jerusalem colleges	Lack of certificate attesting to 12 years of study	Programs for the completion of 12 years of study
	Unregulated and unsupervised market	Supervision, oversight, and transparency – increasing the number of supervisors and establishing an Arabic-language database of vocational training programs and colleges
	Traditional and gendered vocations (on the demand side as well)	Exposure to a diverse range of innovative and advanced vocational training options
	Difficulties combining work and vocational training	Greater structural flexibility in the courses and state-subsidized apprenticeships and internships

Institutions of Higher Education

The main obstacles identified by East Jerusalem seeking a higher education the difficulty of persevering because of the language barrier, age gaps, and learning skills (as detailed in Chapter 2). In formulating recommendations to address these problems, we found it appropriate to distinguish between institutions of higher education in West Jerusalem recognized by the Council for Higher Education and institutions that do not enjoy such recognition.

In order to address the challenges facing students from East Jerusalem

who are suited to academic studies, we recommend a number of policy tools:

1. **Instituting preparatory courses adapted to the students' skills in order to prepare them for academic studies:** various academic institutions in West Jerusalem currently operate pre-academic preparatory programs that provide students with basic learning tools and prepare them for academic studies. Despite the efforts of these preparatory courses to address the gaps affecting students from East

Jerusalem, dropout rates during the preparatory stage and later studies are still very high. In addition, the preparatory programs can only accommodate a limited number of students, and therefore only the best students are accepted.

In order to cope with this challenge, we recommend setting up a pre-academic preparatory program that is not part of an institution of higher education and does not require the further pursuit of studies at any institution. This preparatory program would accommodate large numbers of students in order to reduce gaps among all high school graduates in East Jerusalem. The institution can focus on vocational needs while combining quality Hebrew-language instruction, continuing education, and soft, generic vocational tools.

2. Most of the higher education institutions in West Jerusalem have a coordinator who is responsible for the students from East Jerusalem, and whose role is to advise and guide them during their studies at the institution. Currently the scope of assistance and services provided to students is quite limited and therefore does not achieve the desired effect. To assist enrolled students and prevent dropout, we recommend expanding the scope of these activities and

establishing a counseling and support system dedicated to students from East Jerusalem. This system would offer tools and solutions for coping with difficulties during the course of studies, provide occupational guidance, extend the range of services available to students, and make these services accessible to large numbers of students.

3. **Development of professional retraining programs:** graduates of academic institutions have academic abilities and skills acquired during the course of their studies that enable employment integration in a range of fields other than education and healthcare (two areas in which even academically qualified East Jerusalem residents are frequently employed). Training and retraining programs should be developed for a variety of industries such as, for example, the high-tech industry.

Table C3: Barriers and Challenges in Higher Education Institutions in West Jerusalem

	Problems	Tools
Higher education institutions in West Jerusalem	Difficulties in perseverance	Expanding the scope of assistance and guidance
	Age gaps, language barrier, and learning skill discrepancies	A general preparatory program in East Jerusalem, unaffiliated with any academic institution
	High admission standards	
	Lack of variety in vocational training options	Professional retraining programs

Vocational Training Programs

The challenges identified in vocational training programs run by the Ministry of Labor and by private colleges are, as noted, the lack of variety in terms of vocational subjects, and the concentration of training programs in traditional, gendered vocations available to jobseekers, instead of the promotion of employment for the population as a whole, including those already employed in low-quality work and those who do not participate in the labor force and hence are not seeking employment. In addition, the duration of the training programs does not allow students to combine work and studies, which in turn makes it difficult for them to complete the program. To address these challenges we recommend the following measures:

1. **Establishing an online Arabic-language database** to provide

information about new areas of employment, the current employment market, salary scales, and employment opportunities on the horizon;

2. **Implementing programs aimed at integrating academic graduates from East Jerusalem** into the public sector. The public sector is the largest employer in Jerusalem, and it offers a wide range of occupations. A program focused on identifying employment positions and promoting the integration of academically educated East Jerusalem residents is expected to foster quality employment among this population group.
3. **Providing financial assistance during the course of studies**, and instituting courses that make it possible to combine work and study.

Another challenge identified with the activities of employment bureaus is the inaccessibility of their services to those who do not participate in the labor market. That is, currently only individuals actively seeking employment are exposed to and entitled to use the policy tools provided by employment bureaus, including vocational training programs. To increase participation in the workforce on the part of this population group, it is necessary to implement proactive tools that will expose it to employment options and provide it with the means of integrating into the employment market. One of the tools we recommend towards this end is entrepreneurial training.

Arab women are often unable to integrate into the employment market because of social norms and a conservative culture that expects women to bear the burden of running the home and disapproves of their working outside the home. There are also external barriers that make it difficult for Arab women to seek employment: the lack of early childcare facilities (up to age 3) and the lack of suitable transportation options. Vocational training programs should place an emphasis on the nature of training. The program should be of short duration because these women are financially unable to commit to a training course of one to two years.

Table 3/4: Barriers and Challenges in Employment Services

	Challenges	Tools
Employment services	Difficulties in finding quality employment for academic graduates	Programs that foster the integration of academic graduates into the public sector and other sectors
	Services for individuals not seeking employment (not participating in the workforce)	Proactive policy tools to promote participation in the labor market
	Traditional, gendered vocations (on the demand side as well)	Exposure to a variety of innovative and advanced vocations
	Lengthy duration of the vocational training, which does not allow participants to combine work and study	Financial assistance for students and shorter courses

Conclusions

As this report is being prepared, the State of Israel is celebrating 70 years of independence. Jerusalem, Israel's capital, houses the Knesset, the government, and the Israeli judicial system. The country has seen impressive developments in its economy, security, and quality of life. At the same time, however, the difficult circumstances in East Jerusalem and the poverty and social distress that afflict nearly half of the capital's residents attest to their disenfranchisement and serve as a warning that must not be ignored.

Inequality is inherent not only in the political situation and institutionalized discrimination but also, mainly, in the inadequacy of East Jerusalem's education system (both public and private), which stems from its lack of resources and infrastructure. The schools in East Jerusalem suffer from high dropout rates and enormous gaps in the abilities, learning skills, and Hebrew-language proficiency of young Palestinians compared with their Jewish counterparts in West Jerusalem. These gaps are reflected in the inequitable division of labor between Jews and Arabs in the city and the low income levels among Arab workers.

In this study we focused on analyzing the field of vocational training in East Jerusalem. The development and improvement of vocational training programs in the secondary and post-secondary education systems can provide significant leverage for the socio-economic advancement of East Jerusalem residents and help break the cycle of poverty for many families. Vocational training at the secondary school level is likely to reduce dropout rates, and quality vocational training for adults is expected to lead to higher earnings and improve the employment integration of currently unskilled workers.

However, the currently available options for vocational training have many shortcomings. The selection of vocational schools and technological study tracks is limited in scope and urgently requires further development and expansion. The private colleges market, which provides vocational training in East Jerusalem, is unregulated and unsupervised, providing fertile ground for fraud and the exploitation of young people seeking to advance in the employment market. At the same time, growing numbers of students from East Jerusalem have been enrolling in West Jerusalem's higher education

institutions, although this development is still in its early stages and there are vast inherent discrepancies in terms of knowledge, learning skills, and language between Arab and Jewish students.

Among our proposals and policy recommendations to improve the vocational training system, the most important elements are the following: the formulation of a comprehensive policy covering all aspects of the training, from secondary schools to post-secondary training programs; regulation and

supervision of the private colleges that offer Hebrew-language instruction and vocational training in East Jerusalem; and the creation of an Arabic-language database to provide East Jerusalem residents with accurate and up-to-date information on the requirements for obtaining recognized vocational certification, current demands of the marketplace for various occupations, and a mapping of recognized vocational and academic studies programs in East and West Jerusalem.

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Interviews

- Hadassah College, Luna Ishti – Employment Coordinator
- Azrieli College, Olga Firger – Director of Graduate Affairs and Occupational Guidance
- Azrieli College, Lina Salah – Coordinator for the Arab Community
- David Yellin College, Dr. Yasser Sanduka – Chair, Special Education Department and Program
- Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Shir Pines – Coordinator of Projects to Increase Accessibility for the Arab Community
- Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Tamar Arman – Social Involvement and Student Advancement Coordinator, representative of HaTikva HaIsraelit BaAcademia
- Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Marwa Bakri – Coordinator of Academic Accessibility for the Arab Sector
- Ono College, Adv. Moshe Shimoni – Chair, Ono Academic College, Jerusalem Campus
- The Hebrew University, Ahmed Asmar – Student Coordinator for the Arab Community
- The Open University, Dr. Ramadan Abu-Aqlin – Assistant to the Dean of Academic Studies for Students from the Arab Community
- Haifa College in East Jerusalem – Osama Qunbar – Director of the College
- Anwar Al-Quds College, Adal Jit – Director of the College
- Riyan College for Alternative Medicine, Hazen Julani – Director of the College
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, Ella Eyal Bar-David – Senior Director for Minority Employment
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, Iman Tarbiya-Alqasam – Senior Coordinator, Arab, Druze, and Circassian Employment
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, Research and Economics Department, Alon Porat – Vocational Training
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, Research and Economics Department, Gali Liss – Minority Employment
- Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Social Services, Gidon Ben-Zaken – Director of the Vocational Training Division

- Riyan Center for Occupational Guidance in East Jerusalem, Wafa Ayub – Director
- Joint-Tevet, Rana Moussa – Director of the East Jerusalem Program
- Ministry of Education, Yafa Yashar – Supervisor of the Jerusalem District and Jerusalem Education Administration
- MATI, Golan Tuvi – Director General
- MATI, Michal Shaul-Wallach – Deputy Director General and Director of Business Development
- MATI, Riam Jaber – Director of the East Jerusalem Branch
- Ministry for Jerusalem Affairs, Department for the Economic Development of East Jerusalem, Yaara Issar – Director of the Infrastructures Program of The JDC (Joint Distribution Committee), Planning as a Driver of Growth
- Jerusalem Municipality, Maha Abu Qatish – Director of the Department for Secondary Education, Jerusalem Education Administration, East Jerusalem
- Jerusalem Municipality, Lara Mubarak – Director of Arab Education