

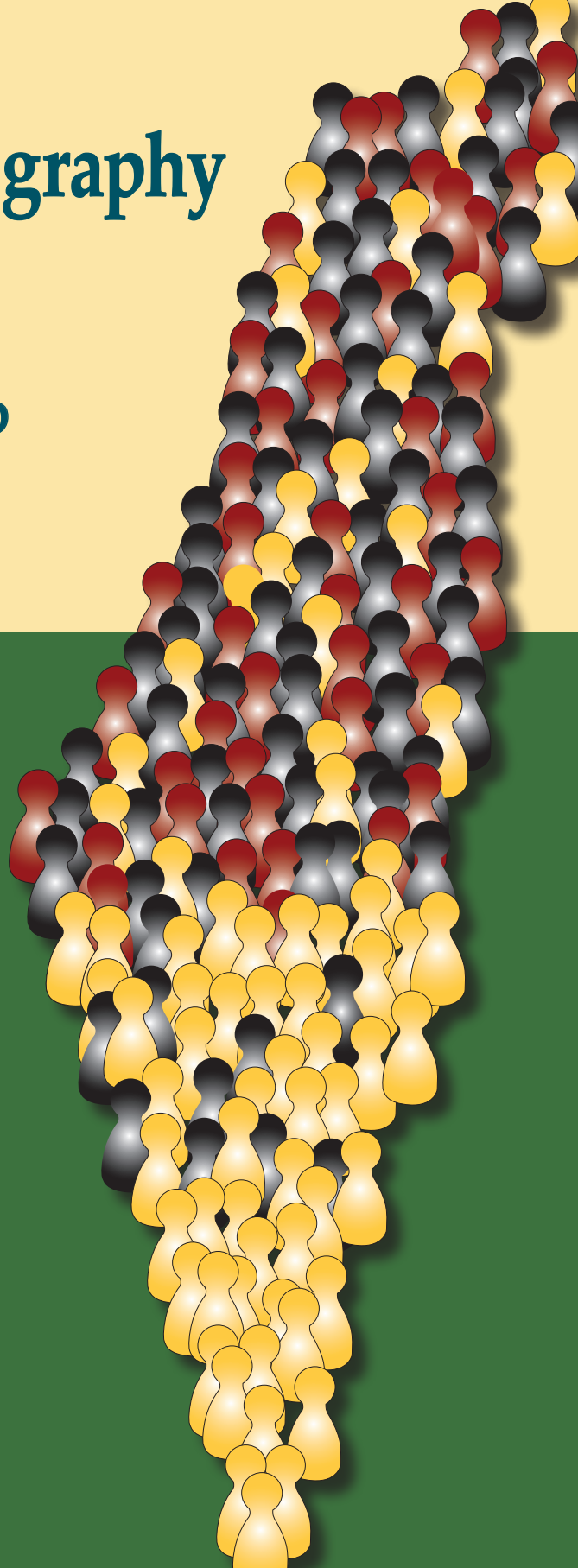
Israel: Demography 2013-2034

**CHALLENGES AND
CHANCES**

**Evgenia Bystrov
Arnon Soffer**



**Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy
University of Haifa**





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Israel: Demography

2013-2034

Challenges and Chances

Evgenia Bystrov
Arnon Soffer

September 2013

The Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy, University of Haifa

The Chair studies issues of national security from a special standpoint that encompasses more than just military elements – that is, how the space that a country occupies is utilized, such as natural resources and distribution, population spread, physical infrastructure, and the environment.

The Chair publishes position papers, books and scientific studies, advises senior decision makers, initiates research, organizes study days and conferences, and assists research students in these fields.

The Chair also promulgates study of these issues at high schools and academic institutions.

The Late Reuven Chaikin (1918-2004)

Reuven Chaikin was born in Tel Aviv, and became a senior partner in the Somech-Chaikin firm of chartered accountants. He evinced profound interest in geography and geopolitics, and contributed greatly to these fields at the University of Haifa.

May his memory be for a blessing.

Prof. Arnon Soffer

Holder of the Reuven Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy

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Preface to the 2013 Edition

This is the sixth edition of the series *Israel: Demography*. Some editions have appeared in English, Arabic and German, and were sold out immediately on publication.

Since our edition, *Israel: 2007-2020, Demography and Density, 2007*, it is our belief that by now the well-informed citizenry of Jewish Israel has personally felt the realization of the authors' warning that Israel is becoming one of the or the most crowded modern state, a state descending into the Third World, a state which the flower of its Jewish youth, their minds broadened by travel after completing military service, are abandoning by first working or studying abroad and then settling there. As part of this slide into Third World status, lack of governance has become the norm.

Though these previously presented challenges are enormous, in this sixth edition the authors add even more new challenges to consider.

First: As 2034 approaches, the Arabs of Israel are coming to the end of their era of high natural increase (which was among the highest in world), but in Israel's Jewish Ultra-Orthodox population, and to a large extent its National Religious population too, high natural increase continues (contrary to general models that link high living standard to decline in birth rate). Jewish Israel is becoming more religious – and mainly, but not only, Ultra-Orthodox.

A second disturbing process is also taking shape: a young Jewish population is streaming into a metropolitan "Tel Aviv State", so abandoning the periphery or countryside, which is accordingly becoming poor, neglected and open to anarchy due to lack of governance.

Within 20 years at most, these demographically identifiable processes will present Israel with two contrasting outcomes: due to government irresponsibility and Jewish national divisiveness, a gloomy economic-social-military-environmental outcome unlike anything the state has been

accustomed to in the past, and fed by a disastrous mass flight of secular Jews from the country, or an opposite outcome arrived at by responsible governmental planning and implementation, via the synthesis of a new Jewish national cohesiveness.

NOTE:

In this study, a clear distinction is made between the smaller political entity called Israel that lies more or less within the 1948 cease fire lines [the de facto Green Line borders existing on the eve of the 1967 Six Day War] and the larger geographical entity – in which the smaller political Israel fits – called Eretz- Israel (Palestine) – that territory west of the Jordan within the boundaries of the British Mandate as existing on the eve of the declaration of the partition of Palestine in November 1947.

Note that the former Syrian Golan, captured in the Six Day War, though never part of the British Mandate, is now also included within current 'Israel', as are contiguous areas of de facto Jewish settlement that intrude beyond the Green Line into either previous no-mans-land areas in Palestine, or, particularly in the case of an expanded Jerusalem, through such no-mans-land areas and into surrounding West Bank territory in Judea and Samaria.

The word 'Palestine' as used in our publication therefore includes current Israel plus Gaza, plus the Palestinian Territories or West Bank area – i e Judea and Samaria. It may also be referred to as The Land of Israel.

We trust the reader derives benefit from this publication and in doing so recognizes the existential importance of our demographic predictions for the future of Israel.

We also encourage the reader to disseminate the internet version of this publication via the link: <http://web.hevra.haifa.ac.il/~ch-strategy>

Arnon Soffer and Evgenia Bystrov, 2013

Introduction

World population today numbers some seven billion people. About 15% of them live in the developed Western countries. Their population is barely increasing, and in some of them, for example in Europe, it is actually decreasing. The remaining six billion – or 85% – live in developing countries. Their growth rate is for the most part high and will continue to be high for many years to come, so much so that the developing world is expected to double in population in about forty years (Figure 1). These data are the key to the future of the entire world, as they are anticipated to cause changes in the nature of the globe, migration movements, famine and disease, movement of goods, and wars, and they will perhaps affect climate change one way or another.

The geographic Middle East, especially Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Eretz Israel (western Land of Israel or British Palestine) is characterized by high natural increase. In fact, natural increase in these populations, which stands at 2.4-3.3%, was among the highest in the world in 2013, signifying a doubling

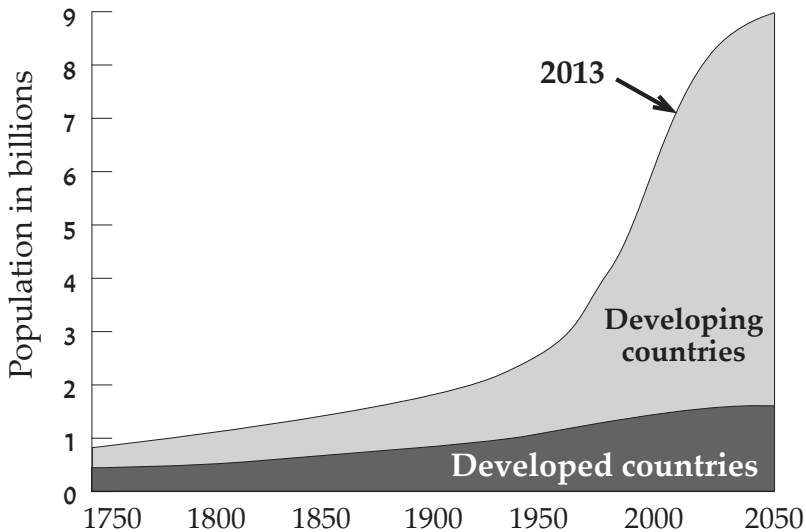


Figure 1: World population growth, 1750-2050

of the regional population in twenty to thirty years (Table 1). In Egypt for example, natural increase fluctuates around 1.9-2%, that is, a doubling of the population in thirty to forty years. It is hardly credible that in so short a time these states will also be able to double their already inadequate infrastructure: hospitals, schools, water supply and drainage, sewage, agricultural land, public transport, and all other needs of human beings in a modern society. And if indeed these states cannot meet the task of doubling infrastructure, a fall in living standards and a feeling of despair among their inhabitants may be expected (as the “Arab Spring” that started in 2011).

Table 1: Changes in population size in the Middle East since 1800 (in millions)

Country	1800	1900	1950	1981	2012	Forecast for 2025	Forecast for 2050
Egypt	3.5	10.0	20.0	44.0	83.7	101	123.3
Turkey	9.5	14.0	21.0	47.0	80	84	91.1
Iran	6.0	10.0	14.0	37.0	79	83	84.3
Iraq	1.0	2.2	5.2	14.0	31	48	62
Syria	1.5	2.2	3.2	9.1	22.5	26	33
Lebanon	0.2	0.5	1.5	2.6	4.1	4.6	4.6
Palestinians	0.1	0.2	0.7	1.2	4.2	6.0	9.4
Jordan	0.2	0.3	0.5	2.0	6.5	7.7	9.7
Israel	0.2	0.5	1.5	4.0	8	9.5	12.3
Saudi Arabia	5.0	6.0	9.0	10.5	26.5	35.5	43.1
Oil Principalities	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.0	5.3	10	13.3
Yemen	2.5	3.0	4.2	7.3	24.7	36.6	61.2
Oman	0.2	0.4	0.6	1.2	3.0	3.5	4
North Sudan	2.0	5.0	9.1	19.0	34	46.8	74
South Sudan					10.6	14.6	25.1
Total Middle Eastern population	32.1	54.5	91.0	199.9	428	516.7	650.5
North Africa	6.0	10.0	22.2	48.6	89	103.5	113.5
Overall Arab population of Middle East and North Africa*	22.0	46.2	87.2	160.7	342	440	544

Sources: World Bank data for 1950, 1981; Population Reference Bureau (PRB) in Washington for 2012 and future forecasts. Data for 1800 and 1900 are estimated. The Palestinians are counted according to a low estimate

* Excluding Iranians, Turks and Jews

Such a discontented population is inherently restive, and it is most reasonable to assume that its members will resort to acts of radical protest, including terrorism and an extremist Muslim holy war. The events of 9/11, the earlier attempt in 1993 to destroy the World Trade Center (Twin Towers), the appalling terror attacks in 2001-2013 against embassies of the USA, Britain, France, Australia, Israel, Russia, and others, and against Israeli facilities all over the world, the shocking terror in Spain, Russia, Uzbekistan, Iraq, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, India, France, Georgia, and Pakistan, and the extremist Muslim undergrounds that have sprung up worldwide, especially in Iraq, are striking testimony to what may be referred to as a third world war: a conflict between extremist Islam, partly – though sometimes falsely seen as solely – representing the developing world, and the developed West.

In this developed West, many questions are arising about its resilience in the face of this conflict. In a country such as France, which is inundated with a North African population, the proportion of Muslims has steadily risen: six to ten million Muslims already live in France (according to official and unofficial statistics), and Muslim natural increase is high whereas in the rest of the French population it is in fact diminishing (0.4% natural increase in 2012). While the rich developed countries are aware of this situation, and presently are doing everything to help in the making some attempt to lower the Third World's high birth rate and boost development, they certainly do not feel responsible for Third World welfare. They are therefore simultaneously taking dramatic steps in preparation for a prolonged struggle that will drag on for many years, particularly against illegal refugee immigration from the Third World. The European Union, for example, is currently enclosing itself behind fences and walls to stop waves of economic refugee invaders from the Third World.

In small, densely populated Israel, all these demographic processes are taking place all the more faster. Within a decade enormous changes have taken place, with effects that are more evident than in Europe, and they have left their mark drastically on all areas of life. Not surprisingly, today

the term 'demographic threat' has become widespread and common in population research in Israel to describe the situation. And this has also stimulated some official action: the construction of the separation fence has won wide support among the Jewish public, both as a national defense project and as part of the implementation of demographic policy in Israel.

This study aims to analyze the challenges that Israel may have to face in the coming twenty years owing to demographic developments within and around it. Clearly, in such a forecast, as in every forecast, there is an element of chance and some degree of error. Whoever in 1930 made forecasts about the future of the Jewish people in the following two decades could not have foreseen what was about to take place. It would have been hard to predict that three years after the end of the Holocaust a Jewish state would arise. Those who in 1970 conducted forecasts about Israel for the next two decades could not have envisaged the collapse of the Soviet Union and the immigration of about a million Jews to Israel. Examples of errors in forecasting are not lacking. Yet for all their limitations, forecasts are essential for society generally and for decision makers particularly, as they make it possible to prepare for the future in fields where changes cannot be made from one day to the next. Examples are building schools, training teachers, training the army and police, providing water resources, building transport systems and establishing power stations – for all these, the accepted time for forecasting is fifteen to twenty years. The UN prepares forecasts for even longer periods, as shown in Figure 1 and Table 1.

In an array of social, economic, security, geographic, and ecological domains, what happens in Israel cannot be separated from what happens in the Gaza Strip, in Judea and Samaria and on the borders of the other neighboring countries. Therefore, Israel's demography needs to be analyzed in parallel with Palestine's demography. Processes taking place around the borders of Israel are also discussed.

Difficulties in instilling the importance of demographic issues among Israel's decision-makers in general, and among extremist groups on the Israeli right and left in particular

*"The irony is that, today, the primary threats to our survival, both of our organizations and of our societies, come not from sudden events but from slow, gradual processes; the arms race, environmental decay, the erosion of a society's public education system, [...] are all slow, gradual processes. [...] If we focus on events, the best we can ever do is predict an event before it happens so that we can react optimally."*¹ (Senge 1990: 21-22).

Projecting the content of this statement onto Israeli society accordingly yields an unsurprising result: what is not a burning issue is nowhere to be found on the national agenda, and therefore is not discussed by successive Israeli governments of varying political hue. This holds true for all such matters at stake: from Jewish–Palestinian relations to increasing population density in Israel, which we in fact believe poses at least as much danger to Israel as do poor Jewish-Palestinian relations.

In Israeli society no serious discussion of the demographic issue has been held for many years. In fact, in the period 2005-2013, the Israeli political right showed a clear tendency to explicitly deny demographic trends by choosing to ignore glaringly evident facts and figures (Fattal 2013). On the left too some still refuse to read the demographic map of the Middle East correctly, and therefore cannot acknowledge Israel's parlous state. There may be various reasons for this: difficulty in digesting abstract statistical data; deep belief that all will turn out for the best (with the help of God); unwillingness to face up to the idea of partition of Palestine; a feeling that what is happening is a slow process that carries no threat; or the opposite – a tendency to fend off discussion about this topic precisely because of the real threat that would emerge after such discourse, one which would demand making some hard decisions that neither side wishes to make.

1 Italics in original

The data highlight urgent demographic challenges for which Israel needs truly gifted and responsible leadership. It is surprising to come across elites who seem nonplussed in the face of these data. “Life in Israel is wonderful – no problems,” says a senior industrialist; “What are you talking about? From my window on the 17th floor you don’t see any of the problems you have found,” responds the CEO of one of the large corporations in the state.

This introduction concludes with an answer to the question the authors are asked a great deal: “Why do you go on worrying people, so quixotically? Who’s paying any attention?” Well, the reader should know that the authors’ voice is not a voice crying in the wilderness. The authors do have an array of achievements as academics, and their words have indeed sometimes fallen on attentive ears:

- On 18 July 2010, at an appearance of the Head of the Chaikin Chair in Geostrategy (co-author Arnon Soffer) before Israeli government and officials, the last government opponents to a fence along the Egyptian border became convinced of its necessity; it was urgently approved, and was being constructed and completed during 2013.
- The separation fence in Judea and Samaria has been established and consolidated, its line generally according with the authors’ perception of “Palestinians are there and Israelis are here”.
- The report on climate change and geostrategy, conducted under the auspices of the Israel Climate Change Information Center in 2011, focused on “climate refugees” and recommended constructing a defense system not only on the Egyptian (Sinai) but also on the Jordanian border (Soffer and Berkovsky 2012).
- The IDF (Israel Defense Forces) has been listening to the authors for many years, by taking seriously the matter of population dispersal southwards.

- New settlements have been founded within the 1967 borders in key areas facing Mount Hebron and in the Mount Alexander area.
- Various editions of this monograph have indeed been contributing to the appearance of demographic issues such as population density on the national agenda.
- The issue of “Tel Aviv State” has also risen in public discourse, and on the national agenda.
- The grave question of the Bedouin has found its way onto the national agenda. Demographic changes and practical solutions to problems caused by those changes are described in Chapter Four.
- The document on “Agriculture – a foundation stone in Israel’s security” (2010-2013) has fortified the position of hundreds and thousands of farmers.
- Severe criticism of the 2009 limits set on irrigation for gardening produced impressive results.

In subsequent publications yet other important gains from publishing and promulgating our work will be set forth.

Chapter One: The demographic dimension in Israel and the Land of Israel (Palestine)

The State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state can continue to exist only if it has a clear Jewish majority, which supports modernity, lives in territory whose dimensions and borders permit actualization of the state's sovereignty and defense, and if it enjoys a quality of life that befits a Western society. However, since demographic processes in Eretz Israel (British Palestine) threaten the capacity to realize them, attainment of these essential conditions for supporting democratic and liberal values is not self-evident.

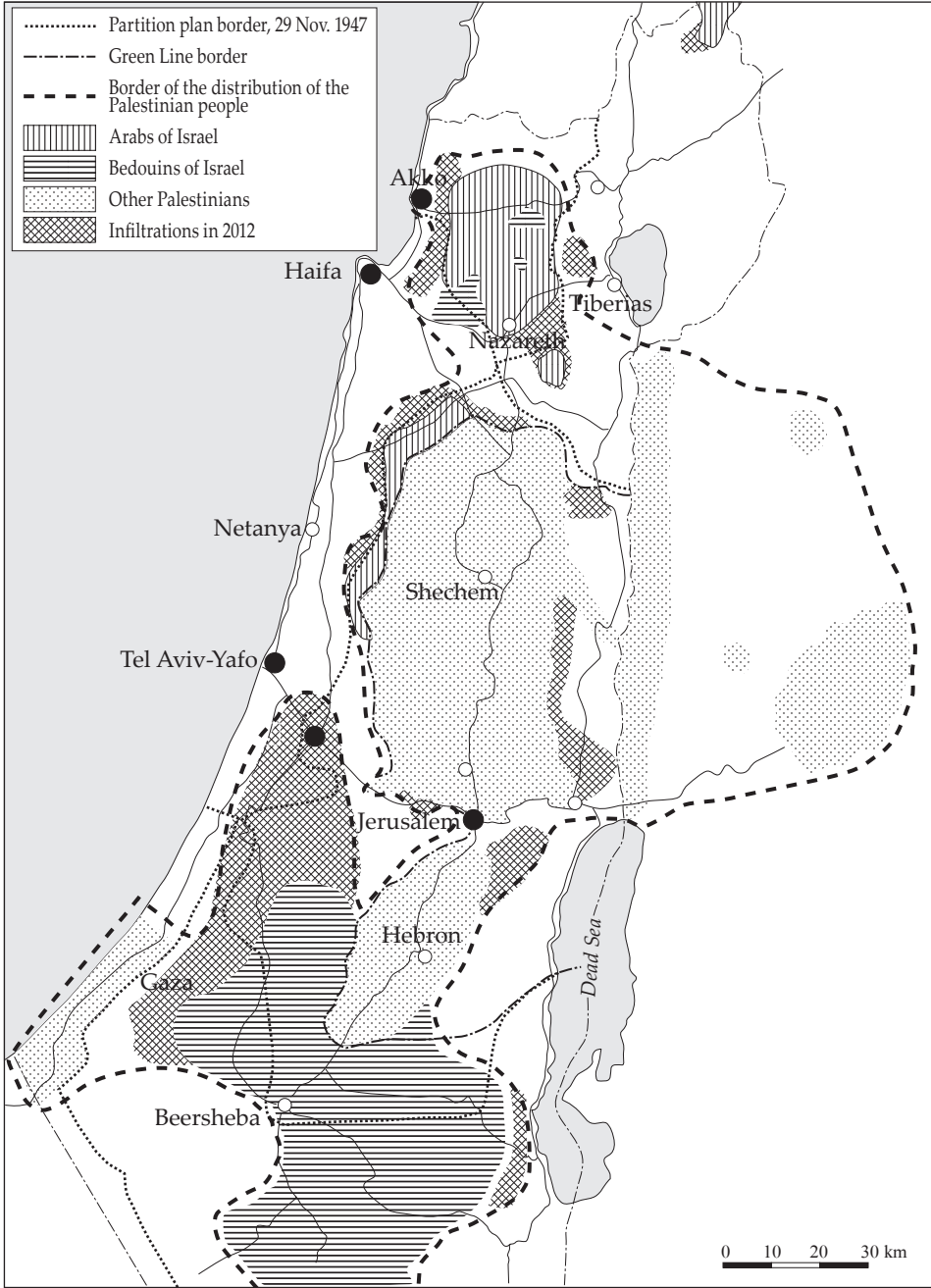
In recent years demographic factors have become increasingly dominant in determining the relations between Jews and Arabs both in Israel and throughout Palestine (Table 2, Map 1).

Anyone who speaks of Israel annexing the Palestinian-inhabited territories of Judea and Samaria, with or without the Gaza Strip, also suggests making the Jews a minority in their own homeland, so putting an end to a predominantly Jewish entity in Palestine.

The fate of the Jews will then be like that of other minorities in the Middle East (e.g. Copts in Egypt, Christians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, and minority ethnic and religious groups in Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey and Syria).

Anyone who tries to annex only Judea and Samaria, will find a situation not greatly different (as Table 2 shows): in 2013 the Jews make up 61% of the population of Palestine (without Gaza), which is tiny majority, but by 2034 this will have fallen to 55.8%.

As Table 2 shows, already as of 2013 Jews made up only 52.2% of the population of British Palestine (Including Gaza), which by 2034 will have fallen to 46.4%.



Map 1: Distribution of the Palestinian people in Palestine, 2012

Table 2: Population composition in Israel and Palestine (in thousands and percent)

Population group	2013	%	2024	%	2034	%
Jews	6,042	75.4	7,087	74.0	8,244	73.8
Others (mostly natives of the former Soviet Union)	313	3.9	390	4.1	400	3.6
Total Jews and other	6,355	79.3	7,477	78.1	8,644	77.4
Druze	133	1.7	160	1.7	175	1.6
Arabs	1,523	19.0	1,935	20.2	2,355	21.1
Of these (Arabs):						
Christians	130	1.6	165	1.7	180	1.6
Muslims	1,393	17.4	1,770	18.5	2,175	19.5
Of these (Muslims):						
Muslims in East Jerusalem	281	3.5	330	3.4	400	3.6
Bedouins – South	200	2.5	350	3.7	520	4.7
Total citizens and residents in Israel	8,011	100	9,572	100	11,174	100
Arabs of Judea and Samaria (excluding Jerusalem)	2,420		3,550		4,290	
Residents of the Gaza Strip	1,746		2,563		3,150	
Total in the Palestine Authority	4,166		6,113		7,440	
Total citizens of Eretz Israel (British Palestine)	12,177		15,685		18,614	
Percentage of Jews and others in Palestine	52.2		47.7		46.4	
Percentage of Jews and others excluding Gaza Strip	61		57		55.8	

Notes: This table is incomplete as an important component is missing: foreign workers, migrants from Africa, and others. If the above data are augmented with all people present in Israel (in 2013) who are not citizens, some 252,000 others have to be added, as follows:

55,000 – Migrants from Africa

80,000 – Foreign workers (with permit)

15,000 – Estimate of illegal foreign workers

102,000 – Foreign workers who entered as tourists

252,000 – Total persons

- Forecasts of other sojourners in the future are not presented here, because this depends on government policy, which has the power to change these figures
- In all calculations of – water consumption, sewage production, education systems, state and municipal taxes, national insurance, health, transport, energy generation, the need for police and other security forces, the determining factor is the person who lives in the country de facto, not the identity card he/she carries in his/her pocket which is important only at election time. Furthermore, the experience of Western countries, including the USA, Germany, France and the Netherlands, shows that groups of illegal migrants and foreign workers gradually become a population of permanent residents with full rights. This matter is bound to be of concern for Israel, because despite its array of present and future difficulties, Israel is a sought out destination for all inhabitants within the first and second circle of surrounding nations, and also for migrants from Africa seeking refuge.

Sources:

For Israel, according to CBS, present and future.

For foreigners and others, partial data according to the Migration Police, Oz units, CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics) 2013, authors' data

For the Palestine Authority, according to the 2007 census, calculated up to 2013, excluding the Arabs of East Jerusalem, who were counted as Israelis.

Forecast to 2015-2030 according to authors' calculations, assuming a decline in natural increase among the Arab [excluding Bedouin] population in all parts of Israel and Palestine

As for the demography within the State of Israel itself, Table 2 shows several extremely important processes taking place in Israeli society between 2013 and 2034 (without even including foreigners):

On the one hand, for the first time in recent years, the forecast by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (hereinafter CBS) is that the Arab (Muslim) sector as a whole will end its demographic momentum and the population will stabilize at about 2.2 million Muslims.

Most significantly however, high natural increase will continue among the Bedouin. Currently only about 14% of all Muslims in Israel, by 2030 they will amount to 23-25% of this group. This is a great challenge for Israeli society, the most problematic question being how to advance their lot and integrate them after 80 years of disregarding their existence and spread (both numerical and territorial), with children now constituting 63% of their society.

Overall though, because of lesser growth among the Arabs generally, and continued relatively high natural increase of Ultra-Orthodox and National-Religious Jews in Israel, the proportion of Jews is likely actually to rise towards 2030, and if as predicted in 2025 the proportion of Jews in Israel reaches 72.1%, it is likely to grow to 73.1% by 2030 (ICBS 2010).

As discussed below though, secular Israel will decrease by that year to some 50% of the population, while the religious population will steadily increase. This will be expressed mainly in the numbers of school students in Israel in 2030 (see Chapter Five). A question to which there is no answer yet is

whether secular youth wants to continue living in such a religious state, or whether they will emigrate. Furthermore, the question of religiosity will be only one component in the complex of difficulties awaiting secular Jews and especially the youth by that year, as the following chapters explore:

In Chapter 2, the dynamic demographic processes around the borders of Israel and the danger of a deluge of illegal migrants.

In Chapter 3, the fact that the main population hub of Israel is becoming the most densely populated zone in the Western developed world, with implications for quality of life including potential descent into the Third World, which for Israel is a situation that cannot be countenanced.

In Chapter 4, the way relations between Jews and Arabs within Israel, and throughout Palestine, are heading.

In Chapter 5, Jewish Israel as moving toward becoming a religious (Ultra-Orthodox, National-Religious) state trends and their implications.

In Chapter 6, the problem of Jewish population in Israel concentrating in "Tel Aviv State": does this signify some kind of peril to the future of Israel?

Since in some areas the authors are not specialists, and in others much has already been written in other books, reviews, monographs and articles many other important inferences which may be drawn from Table 2 are not discussed.

Chapter Two: Processes around the Borders of Israel

Decision makers, concerned as they are with daily burning issues, do not take time out to survey the much less evident yet nation-threatening processes around Israel's borders, which despite being gradual, must be managed urgently. Millions of surrounding Arabs are inexorably moving closer to the borders of Israel. This feature seems strange, for Israel's boundaries with its neighbors are war frontiers; still, they constitute a kind of magnet for millions, mostly poor and disaffected, with implications worthy of consideration.

Firstly, the sheer numbers involved: As of 2013 about 6 million Arabs in surrounding states lived contiguous to their borders with Israel, and within about 50 kilometers a further 15 million or so. In less than 20 years this population will double, and reach 10 million contiguously and 30 million within 50 kilometers. This increase will cause a rise in demand for water (for both domestic and agricultural use).

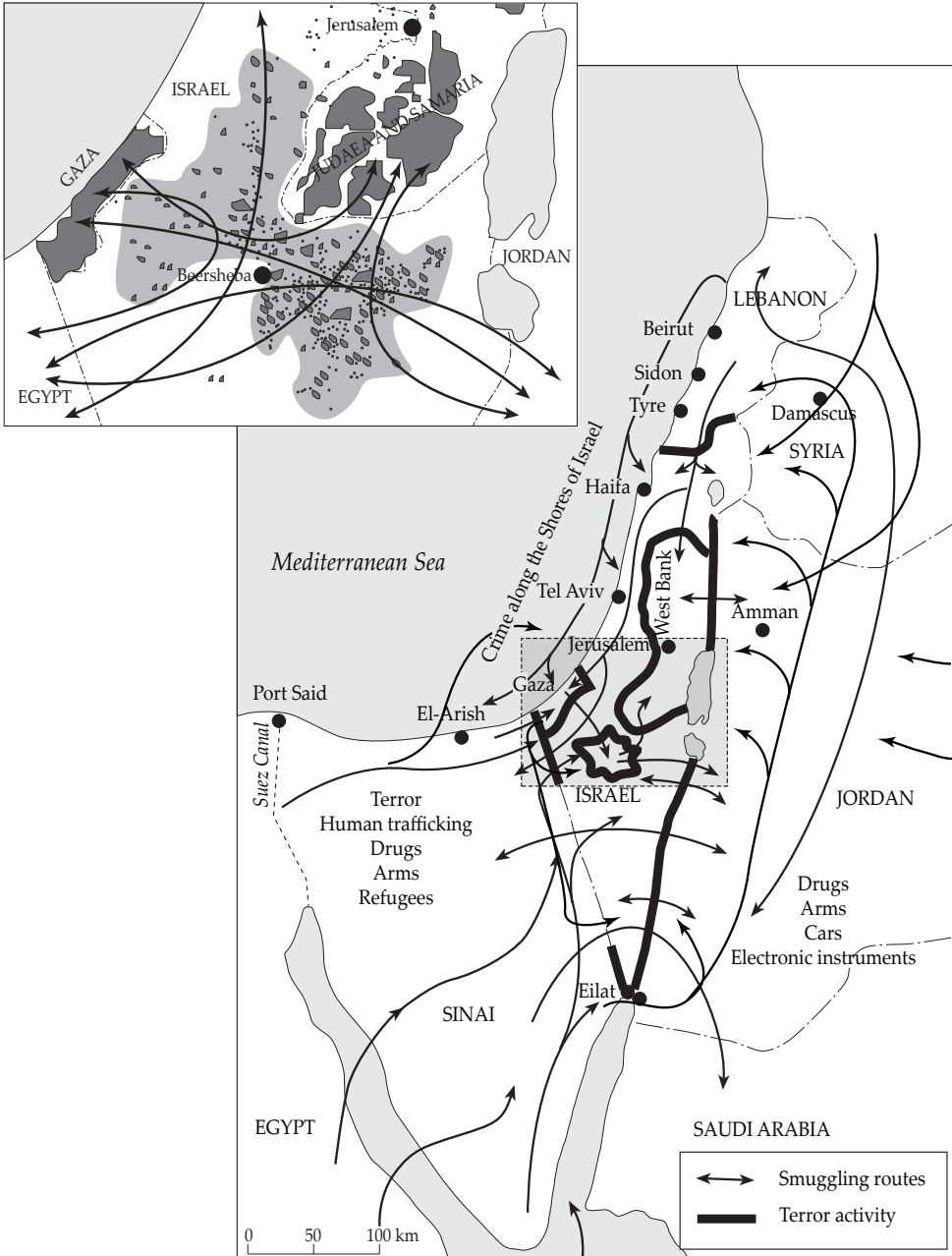
Secondly, weakening of Egyptian governmental control in Sinai in recent years, more especially since the 2011 upheaval, has turned the peninsula into a security wilderness. As of 2013, the Bedouin in Sinai rule; they are armed, violent, and in fact dictate the agenda there. This has the gravest repercussions for Israel's relations with the Egyptian government, for the peninsula's inhabitants will affect the scale and variety of attempts to penetrate Israel: to perpetrate terrorist acts, smuggle arms, infiltrate illegal immigrants from all over Africa, and commit other illegal activity. As a result of this new lawlessness, and after more than 30 years of quietude, Sinai is reverting to a hot and dangerous border zone. In response, construction of the fence along the Egyptian border will certainly make its mark on penetration attempts, though these may now perhaps shift to the Jordanian border and the Mediterranean and Red seashores.

Southern Syria as well as the border with southern Lebanon areas are not different from Sinai as result of the civil war in Syria that continued since 2011.

Another result of population increase around these borders is an increase in activities of the criminal world in Israel's neighbors (Egypt (Sinai), Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and even Saudi Arabia and Iraq). Israel serves as a land bridge not only between these countries, principally between the Levantine states and Egypt (Map 2), but also as a Bedouin to Bedouin bridge (Chapter 4). At issue here are war materiel, drugs, human trafficking including that for sexual exploitation, theft of agricultural produce and infiltration of foreign populations (mainly Sudanese and Egyptians from the west, and Jordanians, Iraqis and Palestinians from the east) into so-attractive Israel. As of 2013, efforts to improve the situation were under way including via ongoing electronic and physical borders fence-building. On the other side of the fence, both physically and metaphorically, frontier-style deterioration in law and order in Israeli settlements springing up close to the borders both within pre-1967 Israel and in 1949 armistice-established 'no-man's-land' zones is also well exploited by criminal elements within Israel.

Clearly, this whole situation requires even more comprehensive border control along the lines of the maximum security northern boundary of Israel, and a fully completed barrier between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. In parallel, more creative technological methods of border defense have to be sought, trialled and implemented more effective than merely operating patrols or laying minefields.

All these demographic processes surrounding Israel have implications for all walks of life: political, geopolitical, cultural, and quotidian. Demographic pressures and political processes in the Middle are pulling Israel's near and far neighbors towards pitfalls, and Israel must do everything it can not to join them. Israel must remain an island of enlightenment and stability in this unenlightened and turbulent part of the world. The situation calls for greater separation between this country and its neighbors in the form of physical barriers (fences, walls and electronic barriers), the most efficient means of defense available using technological superiority, and a supporting juridical system.



Map 2: Crime along the borders of Israel

These are the challenges faced and the responses needed until natural increase in the Middle East decelerates, overall rate of population increase slows, and Israel's regional neighbors abandon their hope of salvation through radical Islam and the destruction of Israel, and begin to take an interest in globalization and its benefits.

In the meantime, assuming that these concerning trends continue as they are, the timeframe is at most a single generation – twenty to thirty years at most.

However, 'Tel Aviv State', the pivotal point of political, economic, cultural, and demographic power, with the cosmopolitan air that prevails over it today, does not signal readiness for the proactive responses needed. This matter must be placed on the national agenda, because many lives depend on it.

Quite apart from demographic pressure, climate change promises additional hardship, such as increasing water shortage, with the need to desalinate more water both for essential daily use and in order to beautify the often parched land; sea levels will rise drastically, as will the frequency of droughts. Israel may also face masses of climate change refugees (e.g. the waves of refugees from the Nile basin toward Israel, as well as the refugees from Syria to Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon).

Chapter Three: Israel the Most Densely Populated State in the Western World

In every presentation we have given to either the general or even the educated public, whenever the matter of Israel having the highest population density in the Western world is mentioned, eyebrows are raised and people ask what that has to do with the state's troubles.

First some facts: as of 2013, with Israel's population density at 357 ppsk (people per square km), the Netherlands was formally considered the most densely populated Western state at 403 ppsk, Belgium second and close to Israel at 364, and Japan third and slightly less than Israel at 338. However, South Korea had more than all these: 492 ppsk. Formally this is correct, but these other economically comparable states do not have bleak wasteland covering 60% of their area, as is the case in Israel. And if one calculates density in Israel in respect of the region where most people actually live, namely from Beersheba northward, density in 2013 would be 860 persons per square km, clearly the highest of comparable Western countries. City-states and other unusual examples such as Monaco with 35,835 people per square km, Malta with 1,326, or San Marino with 522, are not comparable.

Of even more concern, by 2034 not only will Israel's population density be even higher, but its population will also be poorer, because almost the entire added population will be largely Muslim Arabs and Ultra-Orthodox Jews, two relatively poor population groups with large numbers of children.

To even keep up with current – let alone increased – living standards, between the time of writing until 2030, Israel will need to plan and implement augmented systems of mass public transport, sewage, power stations and transmission of electricity, gas and water, and goods conveyance, these essential services all needing to flow safely and efficiently. But what is more, all needing attention in the face of ongoing pressing demands for high military preparedness.

In such a densely crowded state there is understandably conflict over every piece of empty ground, causing continuously rising land prices. The culture of “a detached house with a red tile roof”, widespread in an Israeli society mimicking America, does not suit such overpopulation. Only forward planning involving for example construction of skyscrapers rather than one- or two-family dwellings, railroads rather than roads, and instilling a culture of obedience of law under an improved legal system, can help overcome this impending overpopulation disaster. For when a State is so packed that carrying capacity of infrastructure collapses, governance breaks down, with no one organized enough to stem the tide. All this ten times worse in central Tel Aviv, where density as of 2013 reached over 7,505 persons per square km.

Will the Israel of 2013 be able to reach safe haven on this issue by 2034? In a worst case scenario, Israel is marching with utter certainty towards becoming a Third World state with much of the educated and working population emigrating quicksmart, so intensifying her decline.

Although negative results of such high density can already be seen in Egypt and in Gaza, quite the opposite positive outcomes can also occur: As of 2012, Singapore exemplifies a state of 5.2 million people, which manages to function extremely successfully with a density of 7,751 persons per square kilometer, as does Hong Kong with 7.1 million and 6,488 persons per square kilometer. But how? By law enforcement: decades of strong government have made social, economic and political life extremely well-ordered, with populations by now well-disciplined albeit sometimes at the price of some lack of political freedom.

For Israel too, such positive solutions are not beyond reach. Immediately, plans for a more rapid, accessible and affordable transport system need to be prepared. High-rise construction has to be carried out. There is a need to clarify to the courts on all levels that controlled building and infrastructure development can no longer be held up by Supreme Court injunctions. And the national planning branch of the Interior Ministry must be required at

once to propose spatial solutions for the population picture that is taking shape.

In order to counter the feeling of suffocation generated by overcrowding, spatial expansion is needed (marine-including artificial islands for airports, industries, tanks farms). Airspace, and underground dimensions in construction have to be exploited for parking, public buildings, infrastructure, shopping centers and the like. The public have to be taught to live with a sense of shortage of land. The IDF alone holds 45-50% of State land (Oren 2005), and this must be reduced.

And while population dispersal is obviously another fitting strategy in the attempt to mitigate this feeling of suffocation, it demands courageous political, social and economic decisions by Israeli policy makers: we return to this strategy in detail in succeeding chapters.

Damage from high population density leads to yet another tough conclusion: Israel cannot permit unlimited and uncontrolled entry of foreign citizens – legally or otherwise. The Law of Return allows any Jew anywhere to come and live in the historic homeland. This unique provision demands utmost caution with respect to land usage, long-term planning, and awareness that Israel – previously defined as effectively the densest of Western countries – has special needs requiring to be addressed in the short term so as to allow a high standard of living to continue.

In particular, the Western is also a glutton for leisure and recreation areas, lawns in both residential and nearby industrial areas, and produces solid [non-biological] waste of more than 1.5-2 kilos daily. The Western person also needs parking lots, highways, malls, educational institutions often covering large areas, space for sports installations, power stations, refineries, desalination plants – all these being hungry for land which is in such short supply in Israel.

One inescapable conclusion is clear: apart from day to day pressing political, social, and military concerns, already high but still rising population

density is another massive challenge that Israel faces. But since planning and implementing requisite solutions takes far longer than the term of office of the elected administration of the day, it is not on any particular government's agenda. Moreover, typical politics – especially Israeli – rather than exhibiting much proactive long term strategic planning and implementation, instead is characterized by reactive tactical responses to urgent political, military or other pressures of the day.

Chapter Four: Demography and Relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel and throughout Palestine

As of 2013, the Arabs of Israel (including the Arabs of Jerusalem and Bedouin, but excluding Druze) numbered about 1.523 million, forming 19% of Israel's total population. Natural increase of this population – echoing that of their Palestinian Arab brethren in Judea and Samaria – is among the highest in the world: notably around 3.1% annually in the 90% Muslim-Arab as opposed to the 10% Christian-Arab population. This is the result of not only very high childbirth rates, as in Kenya and in other African countries, but also of very low especially infant mortality by virtue of good health services. As would be expected, the majority of this population is children and youth.

However, natural increase in Bedouin living in the south of Israel is even higher, reaching 3.5-4.5% yearly (2012), and mainly on account of polygamy—most of the additional wives being imported. The forecast is that in 2024 the total Israeli Arab population will reach some 1.9 million, and by 2034 some 2.3 million (Table 2).

The effects of such high Israeli-Arab population growth can be viewed in three ways: at the family level, the municipal level, and the national level, as follows.

On the **family level**, high natural increase especially due to polygamy means a large number of children and, due to the inferior status of the woman, placing her outside the civil labor force, only a small number of solely male breadwinners. This means continuation of poverty as a feature of the Arabs of Israel (mainly Muslims), low chances of children getting proper schooling, hence none of the occupational skills required in a modern economy; working in traditional trades; and women not working outside the home. It is these inherent attributes of low income that partly explain the ubiquitous poverty among the Arabs of Israel.

Similarly, outside Israel itself in the rest of Palestine, there is also high natural increase among the (almost totally Muslim) Arabs of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. In particular, natural increase in the Gaza Strip was estimated at 3.5% in 2013; the population there is predicted to grow in the next 15 years, from 1.7 million now to 2.56 million by 2024. What this all means is perpetuation of poverty, continuation of attempts to infiltrate Israel at any price, and an atmosphere of desperation leading to illegal, antisocial, and terrorist acts in those areas – often with spinoffs affecting Israel.

Apart from what happens on the family level, on the second, **municipal level**, low formal income of residents in turn lowers income from municipal and state taxes. To complicate matters, a complex and problematic situation has arisen in Israeli Arab settlements: despite rapid population growth, a dwelling culture of detached homes, each on its own plot of land, or low-rise rather than high-rise multi-family houses, makes for extensive spreading out of Arab settlements with single up to only three storey houses. This widespread distribution of Arab population has ramifications for the whole state: diminished capacity for law enforcement, mismatch between master-plan and the situation on the ground, and extremely grave corruption in some of the municipal authorities themselves. The detached houses that multiply in Arab villages are sometimes left without appropriate infrastructure of roads and footpaths, water supply, sewage, electricity and telephone lines, as well as education and other services. A therefore not surprising by-product of this development is the ever so true picture of State neglect of the Arab sector, enormous demands for State aid, resentment towards the authorities, and a deep feeling of deprivation.

To recap: This undesirable situation at municipal level is the product of a combination of inequality in resource re-distribution, high natural increase, and widespread building of detached or only very low-rise housing, and clearly does not bode well. Developing chaos in the Arab sector may well be irreversible, and promises chronic bankruptcy of municipalities, persistence of illegal building, worsening of daily living conditions, aggravation of violence and ill-will towards the Israeli establishment. Recurrent demands

to expand boundaries of Arab settlement, which would supposedly bring relief to the Arab sector, are spurious: enlarging already settled areas under conditions of building only detached and low rise house will only lead to extension of an already grim situation.

On the third, **national level**, the existing pattern of demographic growth changes power relations between Muslims, whose growth rate is high (mainly among the Bedouin), and Christians and Druze, whose numbers and growth rates are relatively less. Certain settlements that have been mainly Christian, such as Kfar Kana and Nazareth, have become largely Muslim. In others, such as Abu Snan, the percentage of Muslims is steadily rising. Also in the mixed Jewish-Arab cities of Acco, Ramla, Lod, and even Haifa, where most of the Arabs who remain are Christians, changes are evident in power relations.

Demographic increase also gives rise to a sense of independence and power, and impedes law enforcement in places where Muslims are concentrated in large numbers (Map 1). The combination of this sense of independence with feelings of frustration, which basis is personal, religious, economic, and national, is fertile ground for the rise of extremist movements, and it stimulates and encourages processes of educational, religious, legal, social and political separatism, and also nationalist expression, some of them violent, such as the revolt or quasi-revolt of the al-Aqsa intifada (September-October 2000).

Yet another outcome of this situation is the appeal by the Arabs of Israel to external bodies for international assistance on the grounds of clearly demonstrable deprivation. Along these lines, in 2006 a document was published entitled 'The Future Vision of the Palestinians in Israel' (Rinawie-Zoabi 2006) (no longer 'the Arabs of Israel'). On 15 May 2007 a similar document appeared under the title 'The Haifa Declaration'. Such reactions are an understandable consequence of the sheer and increasing significance of the Arab presence in Israel, which is in fact an existential challenge to the Jewish state in Palestine.

Since this Jewish-Arab tension is not socio-economically-based but rather founded on a serious national conflict over a small, crowded territory of religious importance and spiritual value to both sides, one which is becoming increasingly dense day by day, no one has any practicable answers.

Some have however pointed to what they see as one mitigating factor: in the last thirty years, as a result of the penetration of modernization, birth rate among Arabs in Israel has declined. This is a development that on the face of it contradicts the generally gloomy forecasts. However, this alternative picture is not quite as rosy as it seems, because of a phenomenon called demographic momentum. The fact that more than 40% of the Arab population in Israel are children and youth means that thousands of young couples are about to enter the fertility period, so even assuming that every couple produces no more than two children, twenty years at least will have to lapse before any significant decrease in the high number of children born yearly will be seen in the Arab sector overall.

But as covered above, apart from the simple numbers involved, the matter of the Arabs of Israel must be examined from a geo-demographic angle too. Poverty on family and municipal levels is accompanied by feelings of frustration, whose foundation and outlet are also nationalist. The Arabs of Israel cannot reconcile with Israel's being a Jewish Zionist state, one which on one hand endeavors at all costs to be democratic, but in addition one whose national symbols on the other hand (flag, anthem, language, some laws) are Jewish (for more on this see Benziman 2006).

If this were not enough, the Arabs of Israel are part of a larger Palestinian nation living sometimes just a few meters away across a fence. They are also part of the Arab world, most of which does not come to terms with the very existence of Israel. Also, the vast majority of them are part of the increasingly fervently religious Muslim world, which surrounds Israel on all sides. These demographic data are not merely on the paper – they are translated into acts on the ground: illegal trade in war materiel, disregard for Israeli law over a wide range of domains, and geographic distribution

that is implicitly hazardous for an ongoing Jewish State of Israel. The rest of this chapter presents, from a detailed geo-strategic point of view, further details for the reader's consideration.

Geo-strategically, the Arabs of Israel present five different challenges based on five demographic characteristics: Jerusalem (which already as of 2013 no longer had a Zionist majority), the Triangle, the North, the mixed cities (Ramla, Lod, Haifa, Acco), and the northern Negev – the Bedouin. Each section is now discussed in detail.

The Arabs of East Jerusalem

With municipal boundaries now incorporating contiguous territory annexed post 1967, Jerusalem is the largest of Israel's cities both in municipal area and population (Jewish, Muslim and others). As of 2012, more than third of the approximately 804,400 residents of Jerusalem were Arabs who live in the east of the city. Since only about 5% have chosen to take up the offer to be Israeli citizens, some 93% of the Arab population of Jerusalem have the default status of permanent residents. Secular Jews are leaving the city for the west (Mevasseret, Modi'in, Tel Aviv), Ultra-Orthodox are moving to Beitar-Ilit, Elad, Modi'in, Bet-Shemesh and soon to Harish. National-religious Jews are moving to Judea and Samaria. This city, the capital of Israel, the 'Eternal City', remains poor, forsaken, and soon to be lost to the people of Israel –yet only 60 kilometers or one hour by road from Tel Aviv.

Coexistence of Jews and Arabs throughout Palestine cannot be described without addressing the processes which have taken place in the eastern Arab part of Jerusalem between 2000 and 2013.

Firstly, accelerated flooding of the city, by tens of thousands of Palestinians from the Palestinian Authorities, concomitant with increasing housing density in Arab neighborhoods including those in the Old City, has meant mass Arab migration into Jewish neighborhoods.

Secondly, it meant collapse of the education system in East Jerusalem under the weight of rising population.

Thirdly, it meant increasing numbers of impoverished families, and hence a widening socio-economic gap between the east and the west of the city.

In regards to demography, in the Jerusalem metropolitan area, percentage of Jews as of 2013 was about 61%, and the forecast of the Jerusalem Institute is that by 2020 it will be 59% and in 2035 only 50%. The city today is not a Zionist city: 38% are Arabs (mostly Muslims) and a further 28% of the city's population Ultra-Orthodox; that is, the percentage of non-Zionists in 2013 was 66%. Day by day the figures tend to favor Jewish non-Zionists because of higher natural increase than that of Zionists, and because of some Zionists' above mentioned abandonment of Jerusalem in favor of settlement either elsewhere in Israel proper or in Judea and Samaria.

Jerusalem is also one of the poorest cities in Israel, with or without Arab East Jerusalem. According to Jerusalem Institute data (2007), per capita income in Jerusalem was NIS 1,962, as opposed to Beersheba 3,101, Haifa 3,485 and metropolitan Tel Aviv 4,458. Jerusalem is also the most welfare-dependent city in Israel: the number of its inhabitants registered in the work force is extremely low.

The conclusions are clear: the city comprises a disputable bi-national urban complex, it has not become unified since its conquest in 1967, and it is poverty-stricken. The possibility of Israel's ceding the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem provokes much dispute among the Jewish Israeli public. Geodemographically, there is no obstacle to giving up the areas of Bet Hanina-Atarot, most of the eastern neighborhoods such as Arab-Sawachara, Ras al-Amud, and others. The argument by the political right wing is that perilous Palestinian sniping will be the lot of adjacent Jewish neighborhoods in the case of such a concession. However, in this respect such a situation in Jerusalem would not differ from that of Qalqilya and Tul-Karm-Far'un in relation to Route 6 and its nearby Jewish Israeli population, or that of the Jewish neighborhoods facing Palestinian Ramallah or Bethlehem.

The Arabs of the Triangle

There is nothing new in saying that the Arabs of the Triangle inhabit the narrow cartographic waist of Israel. The problem is that numerically, this Jewish waist is getting thinner every day, especially in the area of Taibe–Kalansuwa–Tira. If this trend continues the Jewish population will most likely reside in a remnant strip of approximately only 5-6 km ranging from Hadarim junction to the Mediterranean.

The Triangle's Wadi Ara, no longer a national transport route, is instead an internal road through the "town" of W. Ara, which in 2013 numbered some 140,000 Arab citizens; nearby are the 5,000 Jews of Katzir and Mei-Ami. Moreover, social intercourse between the Arabs of W. Ara and the Arabs of Samaria operates over a broad front of domains, some of them affecting Israel's national security. One main concern is for travelers on Route 6: notwithstanding that 99.5% of the Arab inhabitants of the area are law abiding and peaceable Israeli citizens, if the 0.5% rogue element takes the initiative, calamity will befall this highway, which is increasingly becoming a kind of inner road through the Taibe-Tira-Kalansuwa area. The same can be said about the continuum of Baqa Sharqiya–Nazlat Issa–Baqa al-Garbiya, which is tangential to Route 6, and the other comparable triangle of Kefar Kasen-Kefar Bara-JalJulia, also situated adjacent to Route 6.

The Arabs of the North

As of 2013, about 45% of all Muslims in Israel lived in the Northern district with Jews being a minority 46.8% and Arabs a majority 53.2% (CBS 2013). In the last decade and a half the Northern district has suffered negative net migration of Jews to the centre of the country, while Arabs have essentially remained. The northern periphery is accordingly becoming increasingly weak, poor and neglected.

Yet at first glance, Central Galilee and the Galilee panhandle create the illusion that everything is 'okay' and co-existence is flourishing. But while the landscape of hilly Galilee is beautiful, and tourist accommodation and

restaurants are booked solid at weekends, the tourist who stays for only two days does not notice what is happening under the surface. Yet it is, and these very unseen proceedings may erupt at any unforeseeable moment.

Reasons for such volatility exist in the north as in all other Arab areas in Israel. A sense of autonomous power, the feelings, perception and reality of a lack of Israeli governance are growing, along with continued deprivation. Radical Muslim activity in Israel might also be partially due to a flow-on from various Middle Eastern upheavals both preceding and in 2011. This is exemplified by escalating lawlessness in the north (criminal and nationalist-criminal, such as ceaseless damage caused to Jewish agriculture), and decreased cooperation with the Jewish establishment (whether at municipal, regional, national, NGO or business-partnership level).

Regarding the North in general: despite economic growth in Israel generally, and in the Arab sector particularly, there is most importantly further room for a policy of enhanced Arab development and further Jewish-Arab cooperation so as to benefit both the local economy and individual wellbeing.

Mixed Jewish-Arab settlements

Israeli efforts regarding mixed settlements, in which good neighborly relations between Jews and Arabs are supposed to prevail, seems not to have greatly succeeded. Due to nationalist, economic, territorial and cultural conflict, mixed cities exhibit constant tension between their populations (this applies to Ramla, Lod, Acco, Haifa, Yafo, upper Nazareth, Beersheba and dozens more settlements.) Naturally, all mixed settlements do not present the same picture. In Lod the picture is extreme, in Safed violence is just developing, while the situation in Acco is not as healthy as the relatively acceptable situation in Haifa.

While Arab residents of mixed towns complain of deprivation at the hands of the State and of displays of racism by their Jewish neighbors, Jewish residents maintain that Arab proximity turns mixed towns into zones

of violence, drug trafficking, a culture of poverty, disorder, and falls in property values. Due to governmental neglect, an ordinary, insignificant tale that should have ended more happily long ago, has ended badly – in the form of an essentially social problem.

The Bedouin in the Northern Negev: Geographic aspects

Since this social group differs from others in Israel in several respects the Bedouin problem appropriately occupies a disproportionately large amount of the Chair's time, and an accordingly large amount of space in this particular paper.

For a start, the proportion of children breaks world records. Among Jews, the proportion of children aged up to 18 years approaches 30%. Among the northern Arabs of Israel it is around 40%; for the Bedouin it reaches 63%. Since these children grow up uncared for, neglected, and without proper education, they end up surly, vengeful and violent, showing all the attributes of marginalized youth. Their scattered dwelling pattern bodes disaster, as the residents have at best woefully inadequate, and at worst no road network, nor any infrastructure of water, electricity, health, or education. Such dimensions of violence have no equal in any other domain in Israel, with fatal results not only for the Bedouin population itself but also for the rest of the population of the northern and central Negev and the coastal plain (Bystrov and Soffer 2008, 2010, 2012; Soffer and Bystrov 2006; Chachashvili 2003).

Because Bedouin society until recently was nomadic, with its own justice system and unique means of sustenance, it is hard pressed to meet the challenges of modernization.

Well beyond the realm of demographic statistics, the situation in the south has to be treated as a human tragedy, and at the same time as the beginnings of a strategic challenge to Israel. The sheer dimensions of spread of the southern Bedouin has no parallel in any state, certainly not in a small and crowded state like Israel, where about half of its terrain is allocated to

security, and every square kilometer critical for its needs now and in the future.

According to CBS records, by the beginning of 2013 about 200,000 Bedouins lived in Southern Israel. This figure has to be augmented by an estimated 20,000-40,000 people who are not registered legally, owing to unreported importation of wives from Gaza, southern Mt. Hebron, Jerusalem, and southern Jordan. One estimate gives a figure of 14,000 such wives brought in since 1967. Illegally residing fellahin (peasants) from Mt. Hebron add to this figure, their precise number being hard to gauge (Table 3).

Table 3: Growth of the Bedouin population in Israel (1945-2012)

Year	Population in permanent settlements	Population in scattered settlements	Total
1945-1946		60-80,000	60-80,000
1951		13,000	13,000
1960		17,800	17,800
1969	A few dozen families only	25,320	25,320
1980	6,300	30,700	37,000
1989	40,376	46,100	86,476
2000	73,602	52,171	125,773
2006	103,491	60,839	164,330
2009	115,000	70,000	185,000
2012	120-130,000	70,000-80,000	200,000

Source: Elbaz and Hogege 2007, according to the Ministry of Interior; authors' data for 2009-2012

In 1949 the Southern Bedouin numbered only 13,000, and in the north half that at 6,500. While previously Southern Bedouin numbered 60-80,000, during Israel's 1948 War of Independence the majority moved to Sinai and southern Jordan, and a few to Mt. Hebron. This residual population, mainly in the south, is however exceptional in its natural increase being among the highest in the world, and for at least two good reasons: in the Negev, more than in the north, the custom of one man buying many wives was prevalent; and Israel's welfare policy encouraged bringing children into the world as a "profitable business". This latter feature is an offshoot of political

deals between various governments and Ultra-Orthodox parties, which demand subsidies for their children. But since Israel is by law a non-racist, democratic state, this policy has applied to Jews and Arabs alike. So while the Ultra-Orthodox male has only one wife, a Bedouin may have more. The outcome has not been slow in coming, and in matters of childbirth the Bedouin population behaves as if in a third world state, although in fact this group resides in a state with an efficient and sound health system, similar to those in the developed world. This combination of high population increase and good health care means that overall mortality among Israeli Bedouin is approximately at the same rate as among the Northern Arabs, and statistically even lower, for most Bedouin are children and youth (Ben-David 2004).

This combination of factors has caused annual natural increase in the south of Israel to reach 5.0-5.5% (a fall in the annual natural increase was observed in 2003-2013 to about 4%-3.5%). Such high natural increase means a doubling of the Southern Bedouin population every twelve to fifteen years. This is a phenomenon whose implications for Bedouin and Israeli society are immense (Elbaz and Hogege 2007).

The Israeli Bedouin population may be categorized in several ways. First via age breakdown, that exhibits a unique worldwide feature which has very important implications for what happens in this population at present and in the coming years. And second, they may be characterized in relation to their geographic spread throughout the Negev. This spread in turn can be described via tribal distribution, namely which Bedouin are pure and which are tribes of fellahs (Egyptians peasants origin); or via breakdown into residents of permanent settlements as against residents of scattered settlements (hereinafter 'the scatter') or, within the regional council jurisdictions of permanent settlements, via distinction between townspeople and rural people. Each of these distinctions raises a range of issues – including municipal, welfare, and national security.

Issues of high natural increase

This is in keeping with high fertility being a general nomadic characteristic, so as to enlarge the family or tribe and strengthen it against others. In times of emergency and drought only the strong survive the struggle for living space.

Family size also bestows prestige and status; in the present case the purchase of wives relatively cheaply in Judea and Samaria, the Gaza Strip, and Jordan facilitates their attainment. Family wealth has also been augmented by economic considerations, as allowances granted by the State of Israel for a large number of children are extremely high, and have encouraged many Bedouin quite simply to 'produce' children as a source of income.

But large numbers of Bedouin children harm the Bedouin themselves as well as society in Israel generally. At the start of the 21st century it is impossible to bring children up to meet the challenges of the future when one father has tens of offspring. A sample field survey conducted by the Ministry of the Interior in 2006 in one of the tribes in the south found 2,626 children under the age of 18 in 225 families, that is, 11.6 children on average per household. A more detailed examination discovered two families with more than 30 children to one father, and one family with 43 children; 21 families with 20-30 children to one father, and 112 families with 10-20 children to one father; these amounted to about 50% of the total population of households in that tribe. Ninety families were counted with 1-9 children to one father, some of them though being only young couples (Ministry of the Interior 2006). The proportion of southern Bedouin families consisting of one man with two wives or more is estimated at about 35%, and hundreds of men have married four wives or more in the course of their lifetime. However, this feature is slowly declining, and in 2013 most men had only two to three wives.

The offspring of these fathers grow up in a dysfunctional home, without sufficient sanitation, electricity, health and education services, nor appropriate occupational training, not to mention the simple attention that

every child needs. This is an explosive situation for Bedouin and other citizens of the State alike.

This high natural increase over so many years has created a warped age pyramid: 63.5% of the total population are children and youth (Ministry of the Interior 2006). The significance of this is that "demographic momentum" will continue to affect growth rates for at least the coming three decades, despite the fall in the Bedouin fertility which indeed is happening. In other words, the Bedouin population will continue to enlarge in the years ahead, and according to various forecasts it will amount to about a quarter of the entire population of the Arabs of Israel (currently 15%) at about 350,000 by 2024 and by 2030, 520,000.

In 1990, in the Beersheba region the Bedouin were 31% of the entire population; by 2011 this had risen to 48%, and by 2020 they will have formed a majority in the northern Negev (CBS 2010). This rapid population growth predicts little chance of the needed economic and educational breakthroughs for Southern Bedouin society, since going by competing distress in other societies in the country it is extremely doubtful that in the next decade Israel will invest the required resources in this particular area. Clearly, while remaining inadequately addressed, these processes will have geo-demographic and geo-strategic effects.

Concentration of the Bedouin population in permanent settlements

In the first years following the creation of the State, the Israeli establishment was negligently tardy in providing a settlement solution for the then only about 13,000 Bedouin. By the mid-1960s this population had grown to 33,000, and only then was it decided to entice them to gradually move into permanent settlements. Tel-Sheva, the first such settlement, was established in 1968. Three years later (1971) Rahat was established, and another group of settlements was formed 25 years later (1996): Hura, Laqiya and Segev-Shalom. Following the peace agreement with Egypt, and the need to transfer

air bases from Sinai to Israel, the government evacuated residents from the Navatim air base area and transferred them to Arara and Kuseife.

The total Negev Bedouin population grew so fast, that by 1982 it was 42,000. By 1993 the figure had reached 86,500, and by 2007 in less than 14 years it had doubled to 164,300 (Ministry of the Interior 2007, see also Table 2). The result is that despite rapid building construction and population expansion in Bedouin towns, among other things through extension of jurisdictional boundaries, the problem of scatter of unrecognized ad hoc settlement seems unlikely to be positively resolved (as it has been in the north of Israel).

Table 3 shows the growth rate in habitation of permanent settlement as against that in the scatter. The absolute numbers show that a humanitarian and educational crisis in the scatter remains: these settlements are constantly growing, and despite serious consequences, they will not be evacuated, apparently for political reasons including fear of international condemnation of what would be seen as Israeli 'ethnic cleansing'.

Instead, creeping recognition of these scattered places as permanent settlements will continue, which in the end might perpetuate their primitive conditions, dispersed as they are in a way that does not allow them spatial organization efficient for their residents themselves, and at an intolerable cost to the state for provision of essential services. So one may expect – both in the future as in the present – tension in a socio-economic and even national sense, between the Bedouin and the Israeli establishment. This morass is clearly largely a result of defects in this very same establishment – in particular hesitation of the nation's leaders to take courageous decisions regarding the fierce struggle for recognition of ownership of these 800 square-kilometers at issue, and regarding other associated problems. Planning, including for educational and other solutions for the problems of a population that increases by 3.5% or more every year, does not simply materialize out of thin air.

The Bedouin as an international bridge

Their presence in the northern Negev provides the Bedouin with a closely supported economic and security bridge between their brethren in Egypt, Gaza, Jordan, and, via Mt. Hebron, Judea and Samaria. This natural, firm connection involves family relationships that also translate into trade ties (mostly illegal).

The end result is clear: by virtue of their geographical location and their economic-social-political-religious background, the southern Bedouin are becoming a human and geographical connection between not only Egypt, Jordan, Mt. Hebron, Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, but also with the interior of Israel. Among other things, this involves smuggling of drugs, arms, and stolen goods, as well as human trafficking, in not only refugees but also especially non-refugee women. The scope of this smuggling has for long not been just a police matter but one with security and strategic dimensions.

How does the establishment try to meet the Bedouin challenge?

In the mid-1990s the establishment began to realize that it faced a challenge that demanded solutions, and quickly. But the Israeli modus operandi is inefficient because no governmental body is willing to take responsibility for taking the needed dramatic steps with however unpredictable outcomes. Usually a committee is created to deal with the matter. Several months later it submits a recommendation to government. But meanwhile the government has resigned, or the minister in charge of the matter at hand has been replaced. A new minister proposes to set up a new committee on his behalf, which has an added advantage for him: as long as the new committee is dealing with the matter, the minister has no need to implement anything, and he is free to turn to other concerns.

Over the years dozens of such committees have been formed to handle Bedouin affairs; but little has been done, and this in patches. A satisfactory solution has still to be found [This parlous condition of lack of governance

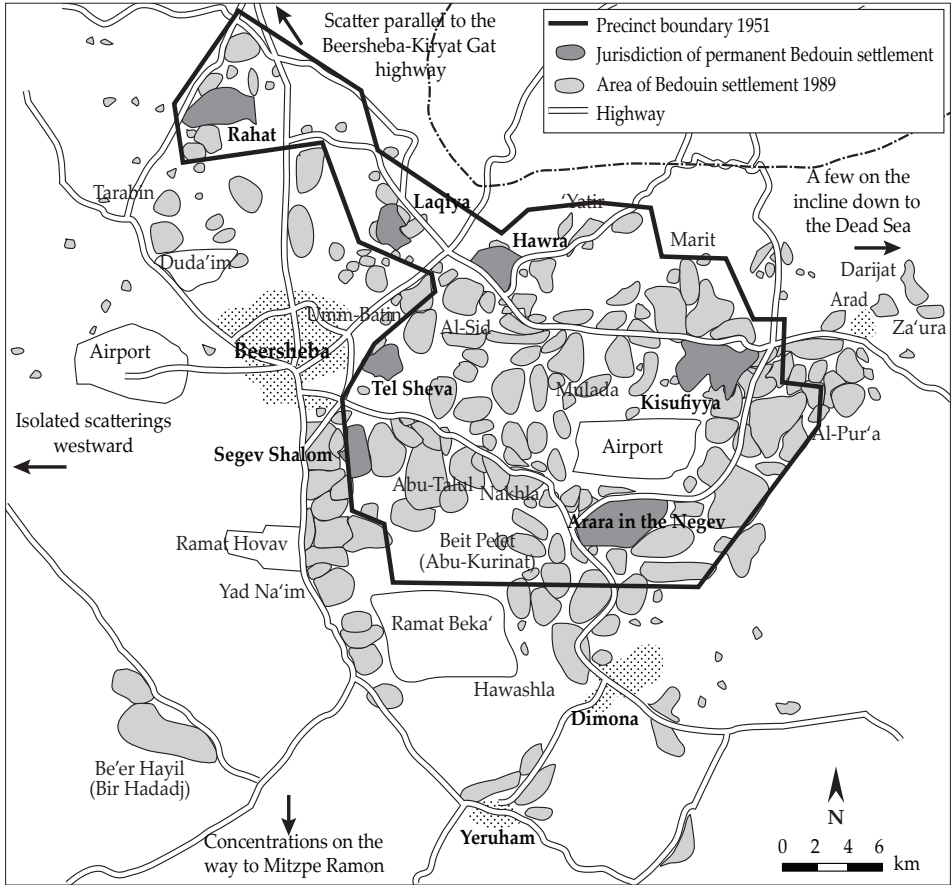
in Israel affects not only Bedouin matters but every geographical and social aspect—transport, water, electricity, education, law enforcement, the courts, population dispersal, national planning, and other areas of life].

To complicate matters, apart from albeit ineffectual government involvement, there are various NGOs interfering with what is taking place in the Negev who ostensibly seek the good of the Bedouin, but whose actual drive is sometimes the good of the organization itself. It is not credible that an organization that purports to work for the benefit of the Bedouin, knowing full well that no government will ever be able to advance the lot of the many dozens of such settlements sufficiently to usher them into the 21st century, can propose recognition of all the scattered settlements. The actions of these interest groups ultimately hamper a satisfactory resolution of this problem.

The most recent Bedouin-focussed government committee, convened on December 23, 2007, inspired much hope in all those involved who are fearful for the future of Israel. In January 2008, on behalf of the Minister of Housing, the above committee began work in earnest. It was chaired by Eliezer Goldberg, a retired Supreme Court judge and former State Controller (hence referred to as the Goldberg Committee or Goldberg Commission report). The committee had seven other members: two representing the public, two the Bedouin, and three the government (from the ministries of Housing and Finance, and the Prime Minister's Office). On 11 December 2008, after a year's deliberation, the conclusions of the Goldberg Committee were published.

To fully grasp the conclusions and implications of this latest and important committee, the pattern of development of permanent settlement in the Negev until that date must first be understood.

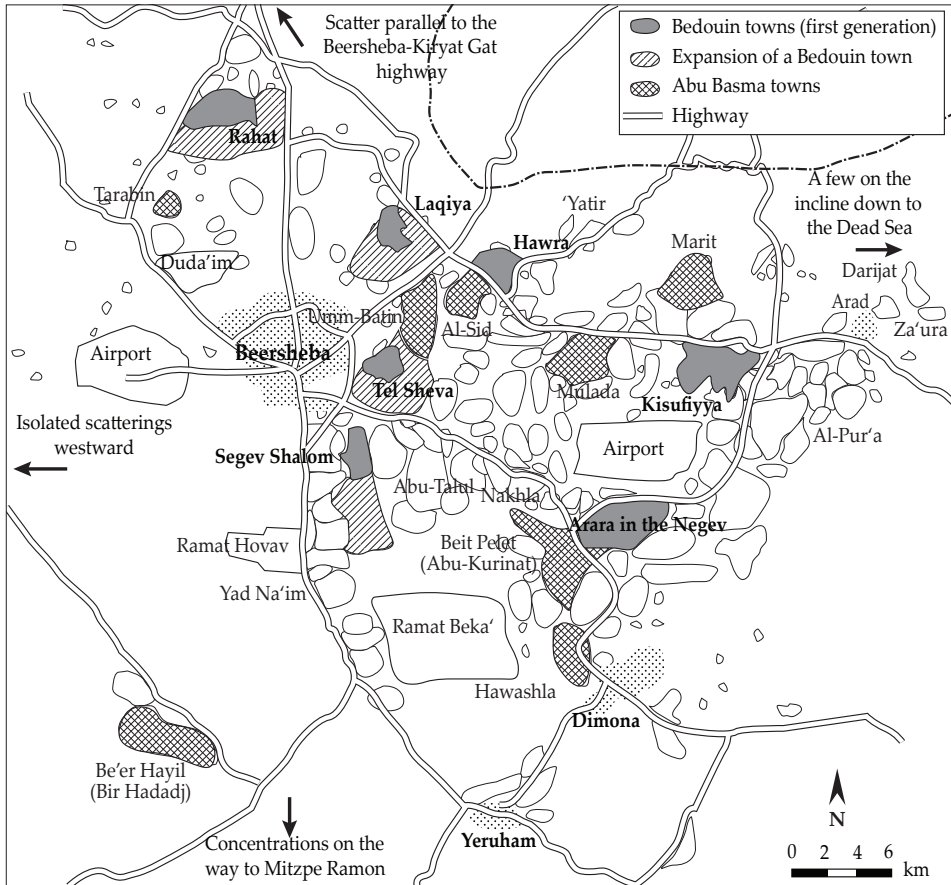
Map 3 shows the layout of Bedouin presence in the 1960s, when no permanent but only scattered settlements existed, and Map 4 shows the same layout after seven permanent settlements were established.



Map 3: Spread of Bedouins in the Negev, 1989

In 1989 the seventh and last such settlement in this series was established, namely Hura. That year permanent settlements reached a population of 40,376 persons, and scattered settlements 46,000 persons. The latter's inhabitants, despite the establishment of permanent settlements, declined evacuation, such that the scattered population continued to grow rapidly.

14 years later, on December 28, 2003, the government decided on the creation of a new regional council, Abu Basma, where five further settlements that already had local masterplans were intended to arise, with two more settlements (Umm Batin and Molada) to join this council later (Map 4). Though under the jurisdiction of this new regional council schools



Map 4: Spread of the Bedouins in the Negev, 2006

have been built and roads paved, rapid population growth in scattered settlements continues unabated, with no solution to what is happening in the south apparent.

Meanwhile, various previously mentioned NGO interest groups have created uproar through the media, demanding recognition of scattered settlements as permanent. Their proposal speaks of 46 such settlements, and if the foregoing 14 that have already been recognized are taken into account, this means 32 new settlements (Goldberg Report, appendix 5).

Faced with the above scenario, the Goldberg Committee's recommendations were as follows:

Section 108 of the report (p. 32) states: "Recognition of the unrecognized villages within limits to be detailed will prevent the endless continuation of the intolerable situation. These villages should be integrated into the existing array of settlements." From this text one learns that the committee in fact proposes recognition of many existing scattered settlements. To prevent misunderstanding of the committee's intentions, the next section of the report, section 109, states: "A new settlement demarcation has to be adopted for the unrecognized villages, which will determine that they will be recognized in the future... In that way clusters of settlements will be created... In the meantime the 'settlement in transition' will be provided with services like a recognized settlement."

Obviously, if services are supplied to unrecognized settlement, the authorities do recognize *de facto* that this is a permanent house or settlement. The use of terms borrowed from Master Plan 35 is no less disturbing: the terms "clusters," "settlements in transition," "suburban settlement," and "suburban-rural" are all so inappropriately vague.

In regards to the problematic existence of 70,000 illegal houses (as of 2013), the committee phrases its recommendation thus: "We shall define those in the area of the program 'grey'... and legalize them and permit their legal connection to infrastructures as we have noted above." In so doing, the committee clearly whitewashes wholesale lawbreaking, and perpetuates the current reality in the south. The significance of such sweeping recognition for other construction infringements throughout Israel is unprecedented. For example, Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria might also therefore have grounds for claiming rights to their hundreds of illegal outposts and holdings.

Further questions concerning these 70,000 illegal houses remain unanswered: will budgets be found to connect them to essential infrastructures of water, electricity, roads and sewage? How many years

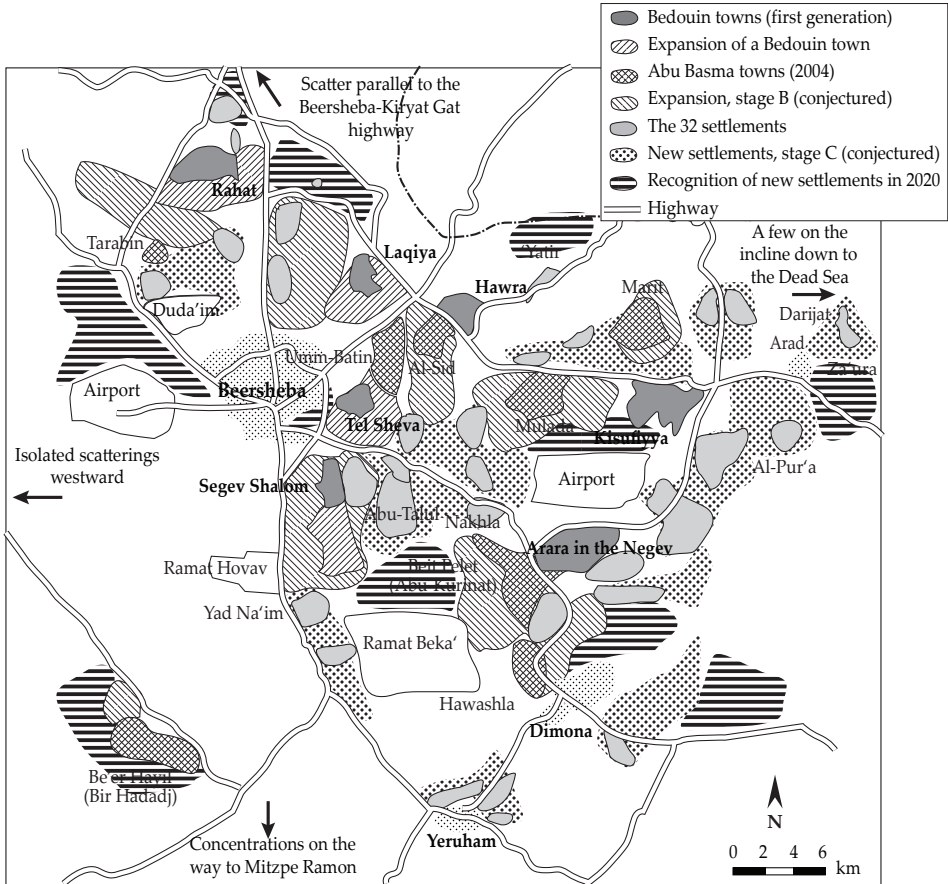
will this take over such a widespread area? Assuming that under typical Israeli conditions it will need a decade or a decade and a half, by then the Bedouin population in the south will be double, and accordingly the number of illegal houses 120,000. Will they also be approved retrospectively?

Judge Goldberg states (section 145, p. 40): "The Bedouin must take it to heart that time is pressing." This seems problematic as well. For Bedouin, time might not indeed be pressing at all—on the contrary, they have lived in these conditions since even before the establishment of Israel.

Note: in this demographically-focused document, the issue of land ownership is not discussed. However, the reader should be aware that even although the Goldberg report states that the Bedouin have no ownership of or rights to any Negev land, the report proposes nevertheless that the State gratuitously pay them compensation even if it is not their due.

To assess the significance of the recommendations of the Goldberg Committee—both direct and indirect—Map 5 is presented, on which appear all currently recognized settlements, as well as the look of the Negev a decade from now if these recommendations are adopted. It is also worth drawing the map of the south one further decade later, envisaging that after recognition of all 46 currently recommended settlements, Israel shall be obliged to recognize dozens of further new settlements.

And if we indeed are foresighted enough to look these two decades ahead, then we need to ask, who will and how to advance the lot of such a large number of new settlements with a population so disadvantaged to start with; and specifically, what will happen meanwhile with a frustrated and bitter Bedouin youth, as well as with Jewish settlements – Dimona, Yeruham, Arad, Beersheba, Metar, Lehavim, Mishmar-Hanegev, and others in similar circumstances, not even to mention magnitude of the Bedouin spread in the whole of Palestine generally quite apart from just the south which we are considering here.



Map 5: Bedouin spread in the Negev if the Goldberg Committee recommendations are accepted, 2010–2030

In the meantime (as of 2013), the IDF intends to continue with its important but complicated plan to transfer its bases to the south. One important related issue for policy makers is whether officers, noncoms and their families will agree to move to the Negev in the geographic and socio-political circumstances presented. Is it perhaps too big an ask for the high-tech population of the IDF, which mostly is stationed in the Tel Aviv area, to go south with their families? These and others are rhetorical questions.

If the Goldberg Committee recommendations are accepted and all the scattered settlements, or even most of them, are indeed recognized, Jewish

democratic Israel might lose the northern Negev due the State's failure to truly govern in that region. Jewish Israel will steadily converge on 'Tel Aviv State', and the Negev with its strategic installations might be at risk.

The Authors Proposal

Below is presented a proposal, submitted to the Goldberg Committee on January 27, 2008, by Arnon Soffer. While focusing on spatial aspects of the issue, it is self-evident that any physical solution is in no way a satisfactory resolution of the matter as a whole, and that, in order to bring appropriate well being to Bedouin settlement in the south, as befits 21st-century modern society, parallel infrastructural, educational, healthcare, and principally economic answers have to be sought and implemented.

This proposal is similar in general to that of the National Security Council (NSC), as publicized in January 2006 and as formulated by the NSC long before that.

It is similar more or less with the recent proposals by Prawer–Begin–Almog (2013). The proposal asserts that it is necessary to develop forthwith the 14 settlements already recognized, and to add to the list five or six new ones, or annexation of clusters as the case may be, so as to absorb the 80,000 inhabitants of the scattered settlements remaining as of 2013.

While implementing this proposal, recognition must be given to Bedouin traditions, tribal, clan, and family relationships, relations between pure Bedouin and fellahin, and also to Israeli society generally, including national security, the environment, and transport routes.

Every family would be generously compensated for its land demands. The government would pay the families a fairly large sum of money, and also assist in the move and associated new construction, all on condition that firm deadline be set by which date relocation of all Bedouin from all scattered settlements will be completed. On that set day the period of above mentioned relocation arrangements and benefits terminates, so

that whoever has refused to move willingly by then will firstly forgo all real-estate and economic rights, and secondly be relocated unwillingly by enforced administrative decree to an allotted place decided in advance by the authorities.

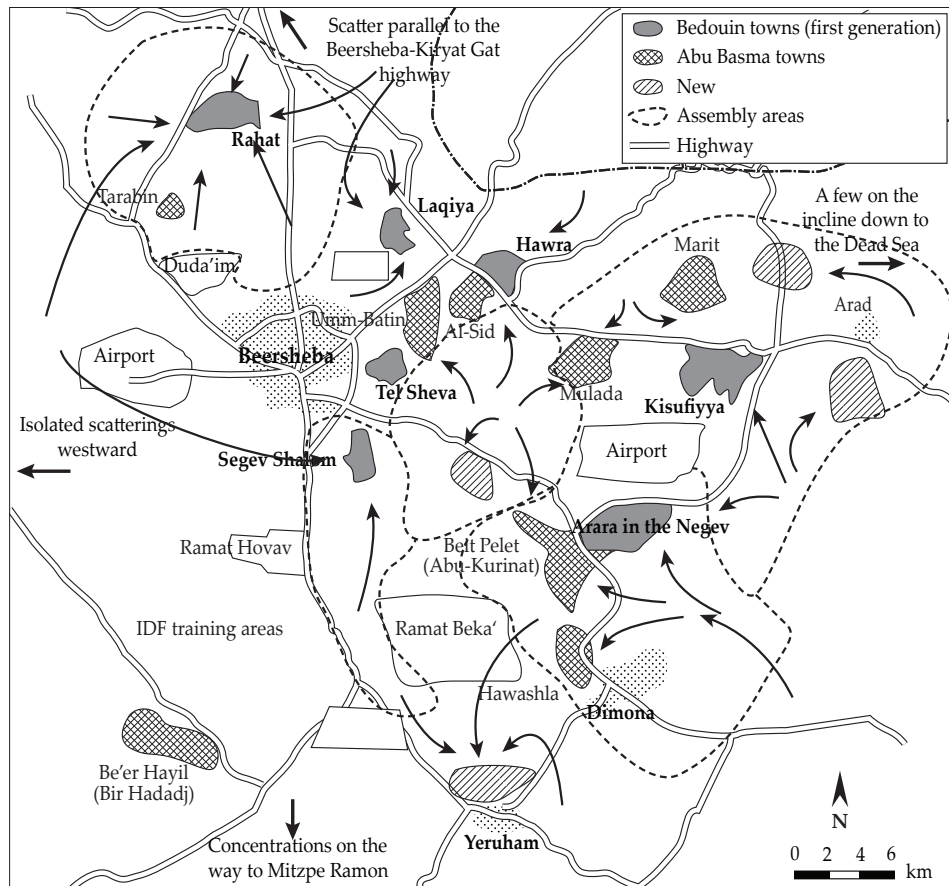
Since time is pressing urgently, so as to avoid dragging out the resettlement process for years, and allowing the winds of refusal to again waft among those who might otherwise be prepared to accept the proposal, all relevant administrative decisions would be final, with no room for legal appeal. Even a delay of three years has a meaning plain to see: increase of the Bedouin population in the south by about a quarter of what it is today.

So as to allow every family to work its household farm in the form of an olive grove, pasture or vegetable plot either alone or in partnership, there is still room to plan both expansion of veteran settlements, as well as a group of new settlements in rural style. For this sufficient water quotas must be allocated but there is indeed abundant water for this important purpose.

What are the advantages of completing this endeavor? Instead of tens, perhaps hundreds, of settlements that would be formally recognized throughout the Bedouin scatter in the Negev, but remaining neglected and godforsaken, a much smaller number – say 20 – recognized settlements would bestow on the Bedouin in the south a higher quality of life, by leaving the state better placed to fund the required infrastructure. Instead of uncontrolled haphazard spatial spread which forecloses options of development all across the south for both Bedouin and Jews alike, concentration of Bedouin in 20 settlements would advance the lot of the Bedouin, allow Jewish expansion of the existing towns of Dimona, Arad, Yeruham, and Beersheba, and also facilitate the necessary transfer of IDF facilities to the south. The growth of these Jewish settlements can only help the Bedouin in areas of employment, education and entry into a wider, modern culture, clearly a win-win situation for Jews and Bedouin alike.

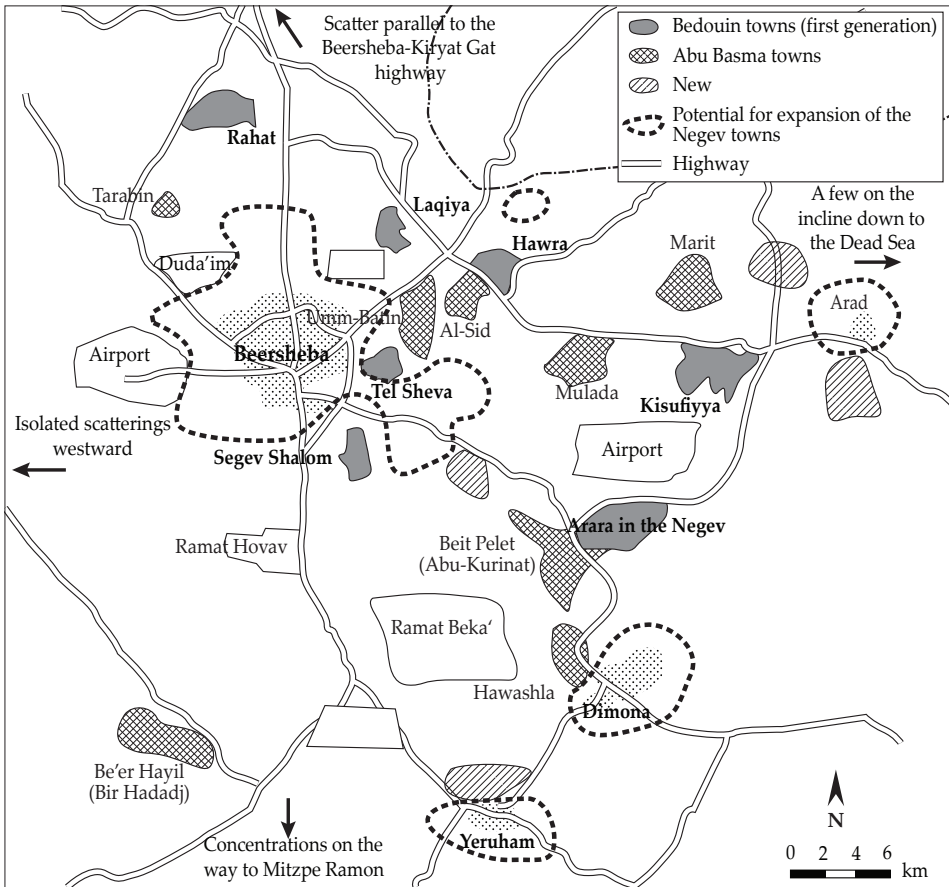
For Jewish Israel due to huge population pressures in the center of the country and the need to thin out the concentrated military presence around Tel Aviv metropolis, this is a vital national mission.

Map 6 shows the Negev on the assumption that this project will succeed. The 20 Bedouin settlements appear on it, as well as both veteran Jewish settlements in the Negev with their possibilities of expansion and development, and also planned IDF installations. If this proposed map is compared with the preceding Map 5 which shows the government succumbing to the current chaotic processes, anyone can see the obvious



Map 6: Model of processes of assembly of Bedouins from the scatter to the old and new permanent settlements by 2014

advantages in the concentration of Bedouin in permanent settlements. Moreover, such a solution also appropriately responds to a range of environmental perils that endanger them, such as excessively dangerous proximity to the Ramat-Hovav industrial zone, the airfield at Nevatim, or various IDF training areas (Map 7).



Map 7: Arnon Soffer's proposal for the spread of the Bedouin settlements in the northern Negev in 2014

Will the State of Israel – a state that for years has lacked appropriate governance – be able to adopt and implement the above proposal? As long as there is no change in the administrative structure of Israel, from a dysfunctional decision-making system to a functioning one, it seems not.

And if indeed so, then the number of scattered Bedouin settlements will only continue to grow, and with them chaos, poverty, neglect, and violence, along with, on the other and Jewish hand, the flight of a productive population from the Negev centrally, and non-realization of the IDF plan “southward”. The consequences need not be spelled out—they are quite obvious.

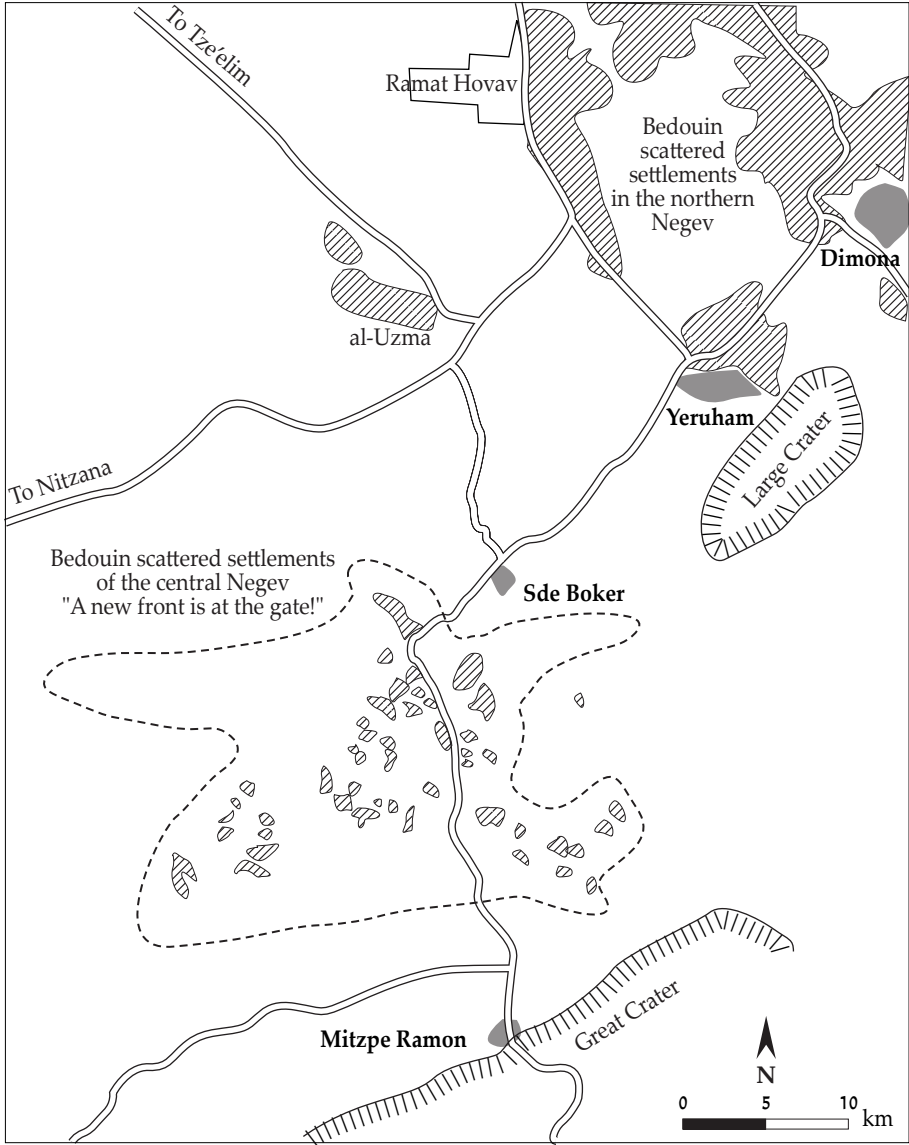
But there is still more to consider regarding the Bedouin. All Negev Bedouin are residents of South Israel, but the Negev itself can be divided into North, Central and Southern zones, and to add to our Bedouin story so far concentrated on the Northern Negev, by the beginning of 2013 a “new front” was developing further south between the Bedouin and the authorities of a state that lacks governability: only this time it was happening in the central as well as the northern Negev. Bedouin spread in the central Negev as of the beginning of 2012 is shown in Map 8.

And if the picture so far has been problematic, what is taking place further south of Tel Aviv – also does not bode well. More than 50 new Bedouin holdings have been established in the triangle of Rishon- Letzion – Ramla – Rehovot: all these established without planning, governmental approval or ministries’ supervision. The only difference in this case is that Bedouin are encroaching on Tel Aviv, and, according to NIMBY and LULU phenomena² – only when they get closer still, might the media and then the Knesset respond.

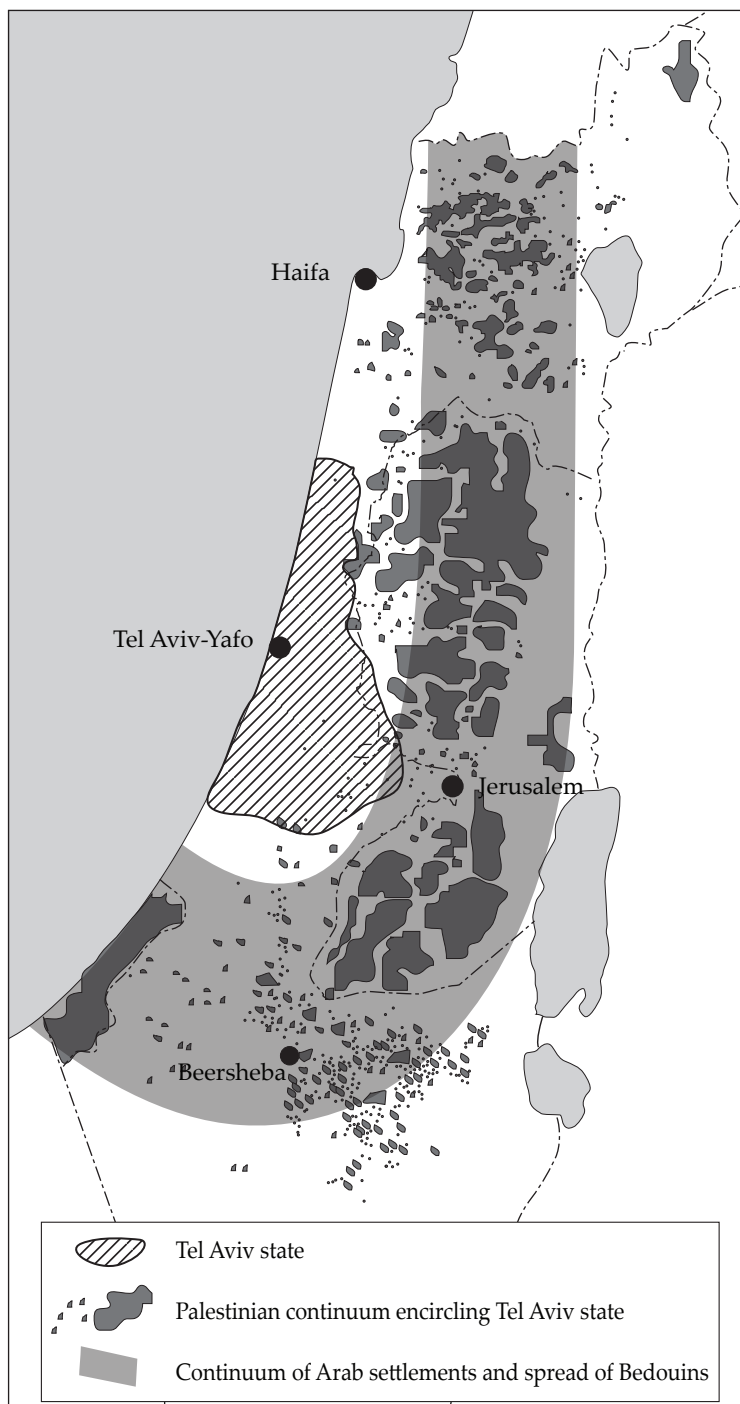
Tel Aviv might become another Masada

Currently therefore, there is sufficient reason to fear that nothing will change, and Jewish Israel will have lost firstly the northern and then central Negev. Moreover, if Bedouin continue to advance towards Tel Aviv suburbs from the south and southeast, so might their Israeli brethren – the Arabs of the Triangle – from the east, thus partly encircling “Tel Aviv state” (Map 9). Bedouin spread from the Green Line near Samu’a-Dahariya at the

2 NIMBY is an acronym of “not in my back yard” and LULU “local unwanted land use”. These phenomena relate to perceptions of environmental hazards and distributive justice



Map 8: A new front in progress: Spread of the Bedouins in the central Negev (January 2009)



Map 9: "Tel Aviv State" encircled by the Palestinian people in Palestine

approaches to Hawra-Kasifa-Beersheba, towards Revivim-Retamim and the borders of Egypt and Gaza, completes the noose formed by the Arabs of Palestine around Tel Aviv: in its broad sweep, it runs south from Fasuta in the Upper Galilee through Lower Galilee-Samaria-Jerusalem-Mt. Hebron-Bedouin territory to the Gaza Strip; if this tendency continues Tel Aviv might become another Masada.

Chapter Five: Demographic trends among the Jewish population: Jewish Israel becoming increasingly religious

The yearly growth rate of the Jewish population in Israel is 1.5%. Although a low rate – half or less – compared with the Arab Israel, it is almost double that of the developed world generally. Among the Ultra-Orthodox population in Israel, as among Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria, natural increase is even higher – among the highest in the world (Figure 2). The birth rate of other Jews in the country, most of whom are secular, is however lower. Consequently the composition of the Jewish population in Israel is being transformed over time, and in the future will be unrecognizably changed.

Already by 2010 about one third of infants in Israel were born to Ultra-Orthodox families, and about one fifth more to religious families. A little less than half of first-grade children are in various religious education frameworks, including state religious and Ultra-Orthodox schools. This proportion will only increase in the coming years (Figure 3).

Data on self-definition of religiosity or religious observance attest to the same trend. In the 20-24 age group only about 40% defined themselves as non-religious or secular (CBS 2009 Social Survey). When respondents in that same age group were asked to grade their level of religiosity on a scale of 11 categories (as part of the European Social Survey of 2008), only 15% answered that they were not religious at all.

The proportion of young Jews who define themselves as religious to some degree is higher than among their parents' and grandparents' generation. Furthermore, from data of the CBS Social Survey 2009, it transpires that of all Jews aged over 20 years, 21% reported that at the time of the survey they were more religious than they had been in the past, and only 14% reported that they were less religious than in the past. About 200,000 people aged older than 20, who account for more than 5% of the Jewish population in Israel of these ages, defined themselves as newly religious (CBS 2010c).

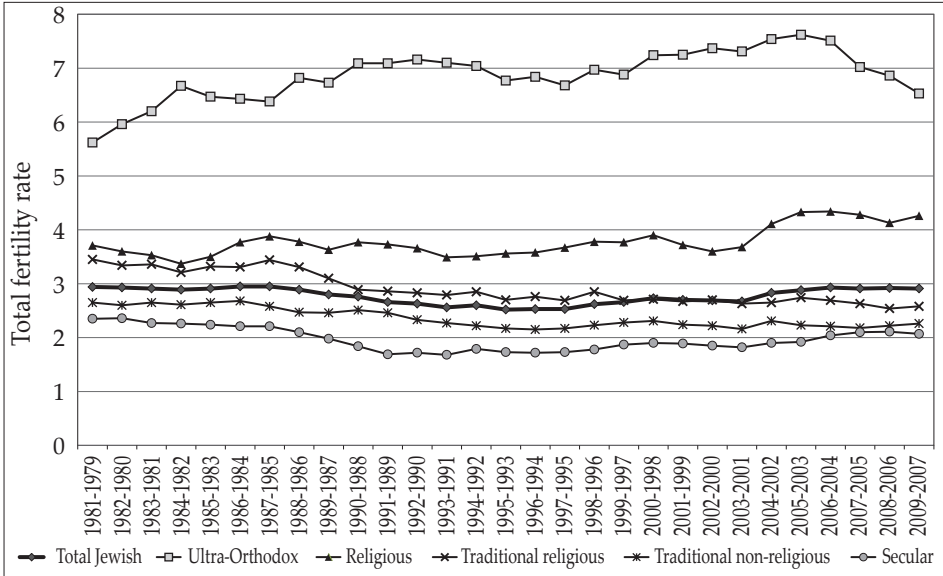


Figure 2: Total fertility rates (TFR) of Jewish women by level of religiosity, 1979-2009, Source: according to Hleihel 2011

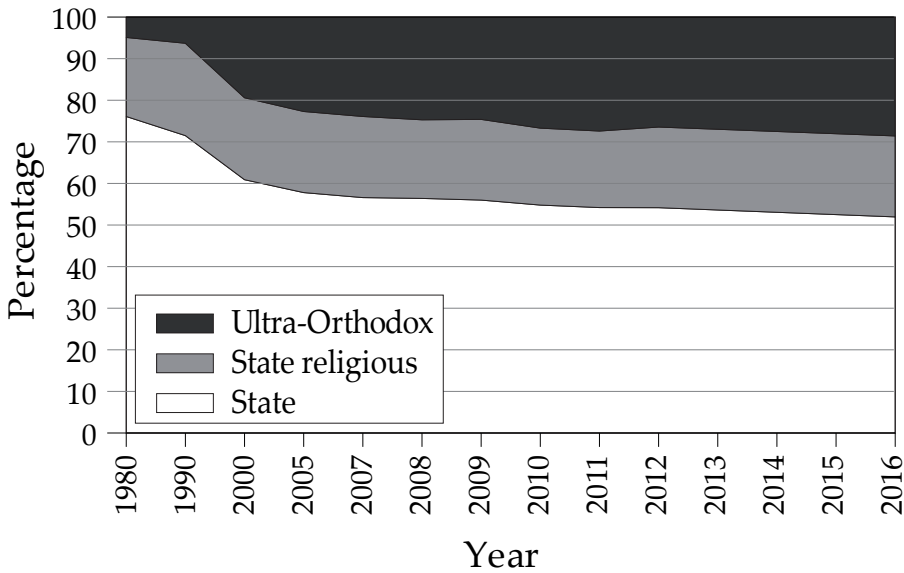


Figure 3: Composition of first-grade students in Hebrew education by supervision, 1980-2016, Source: calculated from *Statistical Abstract of Israel, various years*, Tables 8.9, 8.10 and 8.11

Overall, Israel is becoming more Ultra-Orthodox and religious, with clear long-term implications.

As of 2011, 7.8 million residents lived in Israel, including about 6.2 million Jews. In younger age groups the proportion of Ultra-Orthodox is very high because of high birth rates. For example, in the 20-24 age group the Ultra-Orthodox comprise 13%, and as we saw earlier, among infants they even reach about 30%. The annual growth rate in this population is 6-7% (Gurovich and Cohen-Kastro 2004, and authors' calculations³). Thus, in 2012 the core Ultra-Orthodox population would be expected to reach approximately 467,000 persons.⁴ According to a broader definition of Ultra-Orthodoxy, the Ultra-Orthodox population might exceed 750,000 persons (Fridman et al. 2011; Paltiel et al. 2012). The forecast is that in 2030 the number of Ultra-Orthodox will surpass one million, the majority of them children.

The inescapable conclusion is that about half of Israel's population is likely to be religious by 2030. The proportion of non-religious people will accordingly presumably fall rapidly towards that year and thereafter Israeli society will be of a more religious nature to some degree or other (Table 4).

What demography means for society, the economy, and settlement patterns in Israel

Since demography affects all branches of the economy and society, it is important to consider the dimensions of growth of the different groups that make up the Israeli population. Changes in socio-demographic balance are reflected in rise or fall of labor force, revenues from taxation, welfare

3 The formula for calculating growth rate is $r = \sqrt[t]{P_t / P_0} - 1$, where r is growth rate, P is population size, and t is number of years. For example, in 1996 the core Ultra-Orthodox population was estimated at 158,000 and in 2001 at 210,000 (Gurovich and Cohen-Kastro 2004). Hence the growth rate for that period can be calculated.

4 This estimate assumes 7% growth rate. Using assumption of 6% growth rate, the core Ultra-Orthodox population comprises 402,000 persons.

Table 4: Trends in growth of the religious population in Israel, 2010–2030 in million

Population group	Population in 2010	% of total population	% among Jews	Forecast to 2030	% of total population	% among Jews
Total population in Israel	7.5	100		10.0	100	-
Total Jews (and others)	6.0	-	100	7.6	-	100
Ultra-Orthodox	0.788	10.7	13.1	1.5	15	19.7
Religious	0.748	9.9	12.5	1.2	12	15.7
Religious – traditional	0.918	12.2	15.3	1.1	11.0	14.4
Total religious		32.8	40.9			49.8
Non-religious – traditional	1.5	19.2	24.2	1.5	15.0	19.7
Secular	2.0	27.7	34.9	2.3	23.0	30.5
Total non-religious		46.9	59.1			50
Arabs (including Druze)	1.5	20.3	-	2.4	24.0	-

Sources: according to CBS data Social Survey 2009*; Fridman et al. 2011; Paltiel et al. 2012; authors' calculations

* Data obtained from Israel Social Data Center (ISDC) at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem

payments to the needy, in economic growth itself, and in the standard of living and quality of life of society as a whole in Israel.

In particular, the high growth rate of the Ultra-Orthodox is of enormous consequence. This is a community that quickly outgrows its resources. An Ultra-Orthodox education system, which does not teach yeshiva graduates skills for a modern labor market translates into a low rate of participation in the labor force at working age and low family income, which together intensify already high poverty (about 60% of the Ultra-Orthodox in 2009 were poor according to the *Bank of Israel Report*, 2010) and thus hasten demographic disaster (Gurovich and Cohen-Kastro 2004).

Because the Ultra-Orthodox sector grows at a faster rate than the rest of the Jews, and because one considerable part of the younger age group is a dependent population while another is employed on an extremely limited scale, this sub-population becomes a burden on the shoulders of their parent Ultra -Orthodox as well as that of the Israeli population in general. Since

every year in the last decade some 8-10% of GNP has been paid in welfare to needy including these Ultra-Orthodox households (Bank of Israel 2010). Every year the absolute sum of the remittances grew, it is the state that has largely paid for this unique lifestyle of the Ultra-Orthodox population. However, especially under prevailing economic conditions Israel's ability to keep supporting such enormous welfare-dependent populations is shrinking.

Moreover, unlike other developed countries, Israel has a high level of dependent population due to the high proportion of children and young people who have not reached working age, especially in the Ultra-Orthodox and Arab sectors (mainly Muslim rather than Christian). The state supports this dependent population directly through social insurance and aid in the form of welfare payments to households through the National Insurance Institute, and indirectly through investments in education, health, housing, community services, religious services, and more.

Even currently, the employment rate in Israel is the lowest of developed countries: 59.9% participated in the civilian labor force in 2008 (census data 2008), as against an OECD average of 70.8% that same year (OECD 2010). Rather than contributing to GNP and economic growth, the unemployed are instead a huge financial burden on the wage-earning side of the economy. In this particular instance, as the Ultra-Orthodox group grows bigger, with its children not receiving suitable education and training for the challenges of a 21st century modern economy, and deprived as they are of social mobility and opportunities to integrate into the quality labor market, so do economic gaps widen between the Ultra-Orthodox and other Jews, with ever greater welfare payments needed to narrow these gaps and attain a decent standard of living (in education, health, security, and the like) for those that do not pay their own way.

Even more concerning, we have not yet witnessed the full magnitude of this Orthodox "takeover" phenomenon. Current implications will translate into more noticeable facts when the younger generation first enters military

service and then the labor force. So although the full answer to the question as to how this Orthodox renaissance will affect rates of enlistment to the IDF, employment patterns and consequently tax revenues, can only be given in a decade or two, judging from the present. Israel's transformation into a more religious state than in the past already finds expression in its education systems (Blass 2009), in the labor market (Ben-David 2009b), in some geographical aspects, namely in the expansion of the existing Ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods and the establishment of wholly new Ultra-Orthodox settlements (Cahaner 2009), as well as in the permanent presence of religious parties in the governing coalition until 2013.

The differential participation in the civilian labor force of the various groups in Israeli society creates not only a situation of absolute dependence of the poor on wage-earners, but also a situation of grave socio-economic inequity which can only worsen. In the taxpayer, it creates dissatisfaction, disaffection, and a feeling of strangulation. Furthermore, it promotes stereotyping of the dependent population. Difficult questions arise about social justice, and dilemmas related to the distribution of the budgetary pie appear – who deserves more, and for what purposes.

It is self-evident that cultural differences between population groups living in densely crowded conditions are liable to create a setting for friction, even if the people in all these different groups share some common identity – in this case, they all define themselves as Jews. So as to perceive more fully the extent of such friction, reflected in turn in individual and group agenda setting and decision making, the sentiments of the public in general need to be examined (Table 5). In setting out what people think are the main factors affecting a person's status in Israeli Jewish society, it clearly demonstrates how much the outlook of secular people can differ from those with a religious worldview, still more an Ultra-Orthodox worldview. For example, if personal and societal criteria of excellence and progress do not hold for a large part of the Israeli public, and therefore no agreement exists on the path to follow for attaining common purposes, then discourse within society will be replete with misunderstandings, to say the least.

Without ideological agreement these gaps are unbridgeable. Rather than criteria of justice or mutual tolerance determining reality, a situation may be anticipated in which power reigns supreme.

Table 5: Positions on the three main factors affecting a person's status in Israeli society (percentage)

Population group \ Main factor (%)	Economic situation	Education	Talent and ability	Divine providence	Personal connections	Nationality (Jewish/Arab)
Jews: secular, non-religious	17.5		22.0		17.8	
Traditional	14.7	15.2			15.2	
Religious	9.9		11.5	38.4		
Ultra-Orthodox	5.8			77.7	4.0	
Arabs	22.8			16.6		17.7
1990s immigrants	15.5	13.2			24.0	
Young people 20-24	15.8	15.4		15.2		
Hold academic degree	15.6		22.0		16.6	
Personal gross monthly income above NIS 7,501	15.7		23.3		16.6	

Source: calculated from CBS data, Social Survey 2008

Clearly, in a state with a proportional electoral system, and a low electoral threshold as is the case in Israel, numerical power is translated into political power. As the electoral strength of the religious and Ultra-Orthodox parties increases, so will their bargaining power. In every debate on the state budget the issue of welfare policy arises, and in most cases to date the religious parties, having been in the governing coalition, have largely succeeded in sustaining the custom of broad government support for generous child allowances, infrastructure for religious education, and financing an Ultra-Orthodox lifestyle.

Clearly in the future, decisions concerning the public agenda, public space, and the cultural and aesthetic landscape, will be subject to Ultra-Orthodox and religious viewpoints. And this is not just about licensing and prohibitions regarding keeping kosher, the Sabbath, or personal matters of marriage and divorce (Bystrov 2012a, 2012b), but also about the entirety of

public behavior in the state. Religious interests might also head the list on the national agenda – much as they already do in fundamentalist Muslim regimes. At issue are likely to be the domains of welfare; religious education framing of secular law in the spirit of halakha (Jewish religious law); changes in streetscape such as in dress code and billboards; a contempt for academe and secular law; and adulation of rabbis and their associates. The media is likely to undergo a veritable revolution. In the media, many current radio, TV and other cultural and entertainment programs might disappear. Society and economy will be affected by considerations that until now have been the domain of internal discourse within Ultra-Orthodox society alone. One only has to look at Iran to see how a similar transformation operates, and at Turkey currently to see it actually transforming.

With Israel's geo-political agenda already prone to changes imposed from without, increasing religiously inspired influence from within will continue to further complicate matters. Israel's strategic interests are already subject to never-ending considerations involving security and religious establishments, with approval and support from the latter holding as they do the power to veto geopolitical decisions, being essential. For example, the question of Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria becomes a major pitfall. Some Ultra-Orthodox and National-Religious groups – on Biblically founded religious grounds – strongly object to any proposed withdrawal from any of the settlements in those territories. In addition, from a more practical economic standpoint, migrants to Judea and Samaria have now, for over four decades, been used to taking advantage of the cheaper housing available there. As these populations rapidly expand, they frequently find accommodation solutions also outside the 1967 borders. so adding to political friction.

Any discussion of demographic changes in Israel is incomplete without consideration of Israel's educational system. Although the role of any modern education system is to instill appropriate society-wide norms, all the more so does this apply in a multicultural country like Israel where it represents the best way to provide an effective long-term solution to Israel's

social problems. But in the present decade the education system already seems ill-equipped to meet the challenge of instilling such appropriate norms: it is weak and has no clear policy on the subject. Instead of marching forward, the education system seems to be in retreat, and in 2012, one can now see the realization of the statement by educationalist Dr Zvi Tsameret as presented at the Herzliyah Conference on December 18, 2001:

Today nearly half of the first-grade children in Israel learn either in Jewish Ultra-Orthodox education or in Arab education. If the present demographic trends continue, in a fairly short time two thirds of the children in the state will be educated in non-Zionist institutions... A special problem prevails in the teachers' training colleges. The average level of the students in them, which will determine education and teaching in the next generation, is unsatisfactory... The following rifts harm our unity and are disintegrating education in Israel: rifts between rich and poor; between Jews and Arabs; between secular and religious and Ultra-Orthodox; between veterans and new immigrants; between center and periphery; between citizens of the state and foreign workers; and among the Jewish communities. All these rifts except the last have deepened very much in recent years. The policy of separation in the education system enfeebles social solidarity in Israel and threatens our "togetherness."

The Ministry of Education, unable to maintain and nurture a uniform education system on a suitable plane, instead upholds a system that repels children who have goals and the means to realize them. But this is not the only problem. The Ministry of Education, due to pressures from various groups in society and rapid functioning of decision makers, is incapable of making it compulsory for all students in the state to study a core curriculum that will teach them democratic norms. This will have immense significance for the quality of Israel in the future in all respects: economic, social, cultural, national-political and geostrategic.

Chapter six: Immigration to and emigration from Israel

Population growth rate in a country is the average annual change in population size: that is, natural increase plus migration balance (number of entrants into the country minus number of leavers). Population growth rate in turn determines most of the dimensions of demand by the population for infrastructure (e.g. schools, hospitals, highways, and sewage), resources (e.g. electricity, water, land) and jobs. In 2010 the population growth rate in Israel was about 1.9% (CBS 2011) and mainly due to natural increase, since migration balance has contributed relatively little starting even as far back as 2002 (Table 6).

Estimates vary on the number of Israelis presently living outside Israel (hereinafter emigrants). Since the rise of the State, more than three million people have immigrated to it, and about one third of this number has left. In 2011 the émigré population fluctuated between 546,000 and 578,000 people (CBS, press release, August 21, 2013). To this must be added children born to Israelis living abroad, and about 290,000 more Israelis who are defined as “non-resident.” Further, to this one must add those who are registered as residents, but reside abroad and come on visits to Israel, and therefore do not enter the statistics of Israelis staying abroad continuously for more than a year. The size of the latter cannot be estimated here; however, some research points to a significant size of this group (Arian, Philippov and Knafelman 2009). Thus, the total number of Israelis abroad is above one million.

At face value, there is no cause for concern because no waves of mass emigration ever sweep out of Israel. But close perusal of the characteristics of the leavers in respect of age, education, country of origin, and seniority in the state does not present a rosy picture. The leavers include many young, educated people, and immigrants of the 1990s from the former Soviet Union. They go mostly because of a pull toward the economic opportunities available to people abroad (Gould and Moav 2007) and a push away from the economic and security situation in Israel (Arian, Ben-Nun and Barnea 2004; Arian, Philippov and Knafelman 2009).

Table 6: Immigration and emigration to and from Israel 1990-2011

Year	Immigrants to Israel *	Emigrants from Israel **
1990	199,516	14,200
1991	176,100	11,400
1992	77,057	12,600
1993	76,805	16,400
1994	79,844	10,100
1995	76,361	16,800
1996	70,919	12,600
1997	66,221	12,800
1998	56,730	13,200
1999	76,766	13,200
2000	60,192	12,800
2001	43,580	19,600
2002	33,567	19,300
2003	23,268	16,300
2004	20,898	14,200
2005	21,180	11,000
2006	19,264	12,800
2007	18,131	11,900
2008	13,699	8,500
2009	14,567	4,900
2010	16,633	5,400
2011	16,892	6,700
2012	16,557	-
Total	1,274,747	276,700

Source: Processing, data of Statistical Abstract of Israel, various years, Table 4.9; CBS press release 27.02.2013; 21.08.2013.

* Number of new immigrants in a given year. Table 4.2 in Statistical Abstract of Israel, various years.

** Israelis who sojourn continuously abroad for a year or more. Figures for emigration from Israel are the balance of out-migration—number of Israelis leaving for abroad—minus number of Israelis returning from abroad in a given year.

The wish among the Jewish population in the country to continue living in Israel in the more distant future has also been probed in public opinion surveys since 2003. Among the veteran population aged 18-40 years the rate of those convinced they will indeed stay fluctuates at around two thirds, and peaked at 81% in 2006 (Philippov and Bystrov 2011). However,

among the FSU immigrants of the same age groups the trend fluctuates at around only half of the figure for the veterans. In 2009 only 48% of these FSU immigrants said that they were sure that they wished to live in Israel in the distant future, and when asked about their wish that their children or grandchildren would live in the country, only about a third of the immigrants aged 31-50 years were certain (Arian, Philippov and Knafelman 2009). Indeed, many immigrants do actually realize their wish and leave the country: as of 2008, 85,700 immigrants had re-migrated (Table 7), and in 2008-2009 about 31% of the Israelis who had left Israel for a period longer than a year were FSU immigrants of the 1990s (CBS 2010b, 2011).

Table 7: Number of 1990s FSU immigrants among emigrants from Israel

Year	1990s FSU immigrants who left Israel	1990s FSU immigrants who returned to Israel	1990s FSU immigrants who emigrated from Israel
1990	400	0	400
1991	3,100	0	3,100
1992	5,800	60	5,740
1993	5,300	300	5,000
1994	5,300	500	4,800
1995	6,300	600	5,700
1996	6,200	900	5,300
1997	6,000	1,300	4,700
1998	6,200	1,200	5,000
1999	5,600	1,500	4,100
2000	6,900	1,500	5,400
2001	8,000	1,200	6,800
2002	9,700	1,200	8,500
2003	9,400	1,500	7,900
2004	8,700	1,900	6,800
2005	7,500	2,100	5,400
2006	7,400	1,900	5,500
2007	6,700	2,000	4,700
2008	6,000	1,900	4,100
2009	4,600	2,100	2,500
2010	4,300	2,200	2,100
Total	129,400	25,860	103,540

Source: CBS 2013 www.cbs.gov.il/www/publications/alia/t3.pdf (accessed on 29.8.2013)

This so-called “brain drain” pattern has been recognized for decades: intellectual and skilled workers migrate to developed countries where the remuneration for a worker is higher than in the state that he or she has left. In other words, migration is to countries where people are rewarded for their education and their work more than in the countries they have come from. But for the State of Israel, this brain drain is a life-threatening peril, because especially for Israel, the country’s human capital is its principal capital. For Israel, to continue to exist as a modern state and to flourish on the level of other developed states it has to be acknowledged that there is no alternative but to hold on to the precious human capital that the country is losing so drastically. Ben-David in the title of his article “Soaring minds” [on the flight of academic brains from Israel] highlights that when a large part of the intellectual and creative elite takes flight it cannot be expected that this process will yield any positive outcomes for the state. The departing population is wage-earner and taxpayer, and an essential part of the economic future and national security of Israel (Ben-David 2009a).

To summarize the migration issue: although Jewish immigration has always been regarded as the insurance policy of the Jewish people in Israel, in reality emigration figures are not encouraging, implying that considerations of quality of life, environment, governability, law enforcement, and growth must be key elements to address in dealing with these distressing trends. As increasing crowding, unsustainable growth of the religious population, and failure to properly govern continue to characterize the society, so will emigration from Israel grow. And since the emigrants are among Israel’s Jewish finest, this becomes a Jewish national challenge of the first order.

Chapter Seven: The ingathering of the people of Israel to “Tel Aviv State”

If the chapter heading does indeed validly represent ongoing human geographic processes, then there is clearly a real and present risk of losing Jerusalem as the Jewish capital of Israel and forfeiting tracts on the periphery, including Galilee and the northern Negev (Maoz 2009). In several zones, among them east Jerusalem, central Galilee, Wadi Ara, and the northern Negev, the Arabs of Israel are already today the decisive majority. In 2013 Central Galilee was only 22% Jewish and 78% non-Jewish (CBS, *Israel Statistical Yearbook* 2012). 95% of the residents of Wadi Ara are Arab Muslims. In the Bedouin region around Beersheba the entire population is Muslim. Jews inhabit only the margins: Beersheba, Arad, Dimona and Yeruham, and even in these places the pace of Bedouin penetration does not relent. If urgent action is not taken immediately, a pretty clear map reflecting the future division of the country will materialize, a map that will greatly resemble the UN partition plan of November 29, 1947.

The history of various minorities in the world in the past (both distant and recent) and in the present, shows that a minority nationally that constitutes a majority locally, and that has national consciousness and a nationalist leadership, will do all it can to realize its nationalist yearning—through autonomy, irredentism (attachment to a state across a border), or destruction of the former state after ultimately becoming the majority.

In the first stage, which in the present case is now at its height, Jews are abandoning Jerusalem and gradually congregating in Tel Aviv state (the Dan bloc or Tel Aviv Metropolitan Area). In the last decade and a half more than 220,000 Jews have left Jerusalem (as against only 100,000 who have arrived). Those leaving were the economic pillar of the city – mostly secular and national-religious. They left behind poor, polluted Jewish habitats, with dismal services and a brooding sense of loss of control, while this same situation is many times worse in the Palestinian-Arab sector of the city.

But not only are Jews leaving, Palestinians are entering the city in alarming numbers, as well as encircling it with uncontrolled construction from the Ramallah–al-Bireh area in the north, through Mikhmarsh, Anata, Arab-Sawachra, and scattered Judean desert settlements to Bayt-Suhur, Bethlehem, Bayt-Jalah, Battir and Husayn. Simultaneously, a Jewish ingathering into Tel-Aviv state (the Dan bloc) is taking place from the far and nearer north (including Haifa), and from the settlements of the Jewish periphery in the south (Soffer and Bystrov 2006, 2008) (Tables 8-9, Figure 4).

Table 8: Population in “Tel Aviv State” and Israel, 2010 (thousands)

	Jews	Arabs	Total
Hadera Region	187.9	166.2	363.1
Central District	1,595.8	148.4	1,814.3
Tel Aviv District	1,195.9	17.1	1,275.0
Ashdod Region	188.1	0.2	206.4
Malachi Natural Region	52.5	0.2	51.4
West Samaria	100.0	–	100.0
Total Population in Tel Aviv State	3,319.1	332.1	3,813.4
Total population in Israel 2010	5,703.0	1,535.6	7,552.0
% of Tel Aviv population in Israel	58.2%	21.6%	50.3%

Source: according to CBS, *Israel Statistical Yearbook*, various years, authors’ calculations.

Table 9: Proportion of Jews in marginal districts vs. central and Tel Aviv regions

Year/Region	1990 (%)	1995 (%)	2000 (%)	2012 (%)
Safed sub-district	91.0	89.6	90.5	85.5
Kinneret sub-district	73.0	73.0	68.9	67.0
Nazareth Hills area	26.0	28.6	28.3	21.5
Haifa sub-district	90.1	88.9	90.7	81.5
Beersheba sub-district	78.0	76.0	76.7	63.0
Beersheba area	69.0	66.2	65.6	50.4
Jerusalem mountains	72.6	71.2	69.2	64.0
Central district				88.0
Tel Aviv district				93.6

Source: CBS, *Israel Statistical Yearbook*, various years. Data for 1990-2000 refer to Jews and others. Data for 2012 refer only to Jews.

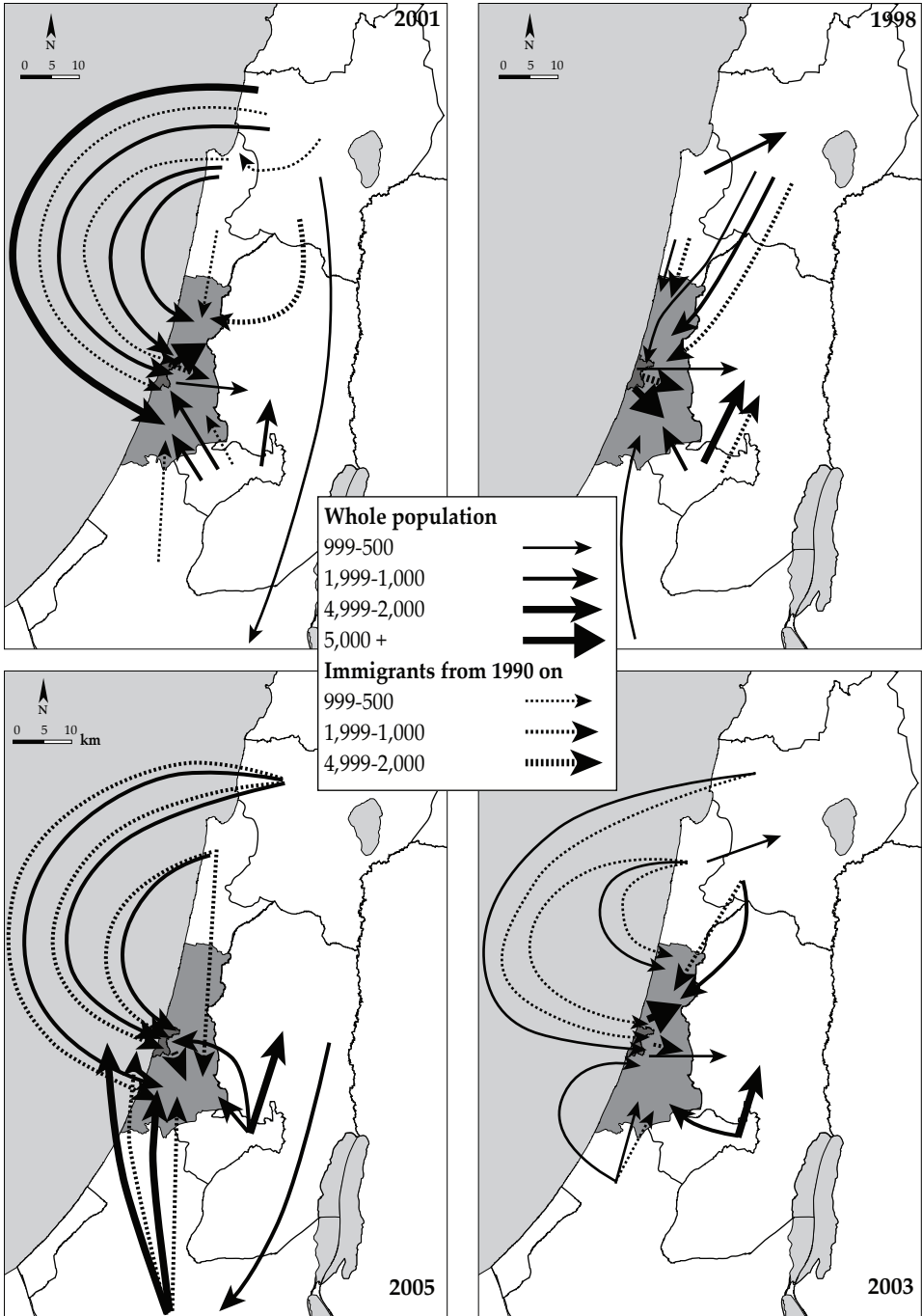


Figure 4: Migration of Jews to the center of Israel, 1998–2005, Source: CBS data, *Israel Statistical Yearbook*, various years

In the second stage to follow, Tel Aviv might become a city-state without a hinterland, harassed on all sides but the sea by infiltration and terror attacks, its 'glory' days are likely to be numbered.

As things stand currently, while agriculture, recreation services, and traditional industry are situated on the Israeli periphery, which is mostly populated by Bedouin, the Arabs of Jerusalem, the Ultra-Orthodox of Jerusalem, and the Arabs of the north, it is the center that is absorbing a young Jewish population of main working age. The resulting signs of social and economic inequality can be readily appreciated from Tables 10-11.

Table 10: Tel Aviv vs. other cities: Education, income and use of durable goods

City \ Criteria	2+ cars in household	Percentage of Internet subscription in household	Average gross monthly income per employee (NIS)	Percentage in annual civilian labor force	Personal computer in household	Holders of academic degree
Tel Aviv-Yafo	16.9	95.1	9,772	69.7	78.6	36.9
Jerusalem	11.7	78.9	7,180	50.2	62.3	21.8
Haifa	16.7	94.5	8,200	60.3	72.9	32.3
Ashdod	12.1	91.1	6,872	58.9	68.4	19.8

Source: CBS data, census 2008, Profiles; Incomes survey 2008, Table 24

To further illustrate the scope of income inequality between cities in the center and in the periphery, monthly income from work in 2006 was: in Rehovot NIS 14,262; Tel Aviv NIS 13,170; Beersheba NIS 10,249; Jerusalem NIS 9,801; Safed and the north NIS 8,521 (Kipnis 2009).

As can be seen below, these statistics are clear manifestations of a potential existential Jewish-national crisis – a crisis due to global vulnerability affecting in particular the periphery, the capital City of Jerusalem and the metropolis based on Tel Aviv.

Tables 9–11 suggest the following: the Jewish periphery is migrating to “Tel Aviv State,” leaving behind a growing Arab population. Historical

Table 11: Control by greater Tel Aviv of the Israeli economy and society

Area \ Criteria	Percentage in Greater TA	Percentage in the Rest of Israel
Parent offices of financial institutions	84	16
Lawyers	70	30
Accountants	73	27
High-tech concerns	70	30
Workplace of consultant physicians	8	20
Workplace of influential people	86	14
Influential women (place of business)	86	14
Israel's wealthiest people (above \$100 m), place of business	88	4 (8% live and work abroad)
Stage performers	89	11
Advertisers	77	23
Architects	74	26

Source: Kipnis, 2009: 250

experience on this subject does not bode well: apart from the above mentioned peripherally situated agriculture, recreation services, and some traditional industry, much economic, social, cultural, media, educational, and military strength is located in "Tel Aviv State", leaving the periphery a wasteland in those respects. But life in the Tel Aviv area creates the illusion of "Everything's okay", or "We never had it so good". And from there it is but a short step to general disintegration: personal and national hedonism, egoism, draft evasion, a disconnect from the 'other' both personally – but also especially nationally – from the periphery, and also a disconnect from the Jewish state as a whole.

This ongoing consolidation of a "Tel Aviv State" apparently existing in and of itself is rapidly turning into a strategic issue, the consequences of which jeopardize the very existence of a Jewish entity in the Middle East. The entirety of the data suggests what the leaders and citizens of Tel Aviv refuse to internalize: Israel is steadily being destroyed as a Jewish and democratic state. Within a short period only Tel Aviv and its satellites will function as a Jewish democratic entity; but only briefly, because without a hinterland it will turn into a Masada. If we cannot first recognize the facts as they are,

and then plan for practical steps to reverse this “Tel Avivisation” process, we will have no one else to blame, no pretexts to fall back on, and no getting out of the quicksand into which we are sinking.

And why is this happening? For years, politicians, academics and journalists have presented chilling situation reports and forecasts about various topics, always concluding with statements such as “If we do such-and such, we will solve the problems, wholly or in part”. And sometimes as a result of such reports and forecasts, positive responses have indeed been forthcoming. However, in Israel, when it comes to demographic issues, no such positive responses have been planned and implemented – despite critical long-term effects.

Those who lead and direct the state are the elite, who greatly influence the political leadership and whose self-serving interests are based on a neo-liberal philosophy, including, among other things, privatization, low taxation, and low income levels (except for their own of course) (Shefer 2007). With the passing years, the Israeli political establishment has developed features of an oligarchy in which ties of wealth and power are the accepted norm. The interest of the Israeli public as a whole is far from their minds – the Arab sector and what is happening there, farther still. They ignore the geo-demographic processes in the periphery, and are aided and abetted by the top bureaucracy, focused as they are on their narrow interest in economic efficacy. In avoiding the demographic reality they are bringing destruction on Israel. An extra passport, a quick financial transfer to Switzerland, Romania, Poland, or the United States, and forget any national allegiance.

This final chapter presents two alternative scenarios for Israel 2030: the first depicts a strangulating noose that tightens around Tel Aviv State until its collapse. Faced with such overwhelming non-military demographic pressure, even the fabled air force with all its immense power and as well other highly reputed units of the IDF would be irrelevant.

The other alternative is that after many territorial and demographic retreats in the Negev, Galilee, Jerusalem and the Triangle, the drive for a Jewish life will re-awaken and will lead to responses. The mighty and positive forces in the Jewish people will rise up; and what should have been done years before as an organized preemptive program will be belatedly instituted: dispersal of population away from "Tel Aviv State" and re-directing needed national resources to peripheral distressed areas. However, accomplished too late, and probably carried out hastily, replete with mistakes due to shortage of time, these delayed reactions will not contribute to any already fragile co-existence between Arabs and Jews living between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean.

Summary and Conclusions

This document has presented the reader with a long list of primarily demographic hazards relating to the viability of ongoing Jewish Statehood in Israel/Palestine, all operating over various time-frames.

All call for responses, but some demand an immediate solution. Most of them stem from Israel's geographic location in the extremist – not only Muslim, but also including a growing Jewish fundamentalist. All these hazards have a demographic link: high but variably so natural increase of the different populations. And as they grow ever more impoverished, they can be expected to grow more violent.

Among other things we have indicated that firstly, the Jewish religious population in Israel is growing rapidly; secondly, the periphery, including Jerusalem, is being abandoned by Jews; thirdly, despite some positive migration balance, there is noticeable Jewish emigration and associated brain-drain from the whole country generally. And finally, both Arab and Ultra-Orthodox populations, as they become more and more impoverished due to their increasing number of large low income families, must financially rely heavily on a steadily declining middle class, as a result of which, the infrastructures that support these populations are crumbling.

Attention was also drawn to several Third World attributes that are emerging in Israel in every aspect of social, economic and political life, including diminishing immigration; brain drain; erosion of national resilience; deterioration in Jewish-Arab relations within Israel; shocking social and cultural gaps; an intolerable chasm between rich and poor; and a lowering standard of education.

The slow yet disturbing process of Israel effectively turning into a loose economically and geographically forced federation of several different enclaves or region-states – suspicious, intolerant and alien to each other – was pointed out (Map 10).

First: In the center of the country “Tel Aviv State” is developing. This is the most dangerous tendency of all because primarily its people are not interested in what is taking place outside its boundaries, and, additionally, it attracts human capital from the periphery, leaving it impoverished.

Second: East of “Tel Aviv State” the “State of Judea” is rising, consisting of 2.5 million Arabs and about 300,000 Jewish settlers a small fraction of whom are lawbreakers. Among these Jews an alternative leadership is arising, characterized by extremism. Some of these leaders and their adherents – answerable only to God – do not even recognize Israeli sovereignty: Israel’s flag, army, courts, and laws. The “hilltop youth,” the rabbis of Yitzhar, and many young people even within the Green Line are the vanguard in the process of the creation of this “State of Judea”.

Third: South of Tel Aviv State a “Bedouin state” is coming into being, stretching over a vast area. Its pioneers inhabit the approaches to Rishon-Letzion, and the furthestmost of its settlers in the south already penetrate Mitzpe Ramon. To the east they are spreading over into the Judean desert and to the west they touch on the Gaza Strip. They number some 200,000 people, but they have their own laws, courts, and bailiffs, their own culture and their own special sources of income, at times illegal. Their major connection to the State of Israel is child allowances and other welfare benefits. From a mere annoyance for government in the 1950s in the far south, this region has now become an imminent threat, not only by virtue of Bedouin expansion per se, but due to Israeli governmental mismanagement.

Fourth: In the north, in central Galilee, slowly and tranquilly, a Palestinian “state” of 750,000 Arab (Palestinian) people is arising. This population already stresses its separateness from the state of Israel. Their leaders and the extremists among them have a vision of their own. The present-day symbols of Israel are definitely not their heritage.

Complemented by a poor and enfeebled Jewish periphery in the south and far north, and by a Jewish population-weakened Jerusalem the capital city, what one sees is effectively an economic federation of seriously conflicted enclaves, known as the State of Israel.

Yet even this is not the end of the story. The core problems identified by our demographic and spatial analysis of Israeli society's present and envisaged future – including gaps between Orthodox and secular Jews, and Jew and Arab can be augmented by yet other social gaps between different ethnic groups as yet unmentioned, among them veteran Jewish Israelis vs. both Jewish immigrants, some of them not yet integrated, and Israeli citizenry in general vs. the population of non-Jewish foreigners – whether workers or refugees, such as the recent influx of Africans including Sudanese (Soffer 2009).

But yet again this is not a final edition of an in fact quite heterogeneous list. Neglect of the north also harms the Druze, who are steadily becoming distanced from the core Israel to whom they have traditionally pledged allegiance; the Christians, who have had enough of the Middle East and Israel generally; and the Ultra-Orthodox, in their various groupings, who clash both among themselves and with everyone else outside their closed society. Nor may one forget the gaps between mutually inimical right and left, or the gap between the very rich and the very poor. These social chasms are all the more destructive in the face of a lack of normative governance in the extremely difficult Middle Eastern political and geopolitical landscape that is the State of Israel.

Due to the heterogeneous complexity of our topic, there must be overlap between the primarily ethno-demographic map of the "federation" and the broad socio-economic map showing up the various major chasms: wealthy in the Jewish center, and poor mainly in the periphery, with Arabs increasing their numbers in that erstwhile mainly Jewish periphery (Map 10).

To recap: Among the many problems that beset Israel, in this document the emphasis has been placed only on the following demographic processes:

- Pressure applied on Israel by unwelcome non-Jewish immigration from neighbors near and far.

- Tense relations between Jews and the Palestinian people throughout Palestine
- Population density, which makes central Israel the most crowded “country” in the Western world.
- Israel becoming increasingly religious
- Jewish Israel retreating into Tel Aviv and consolidating as “Tel Aviv State”

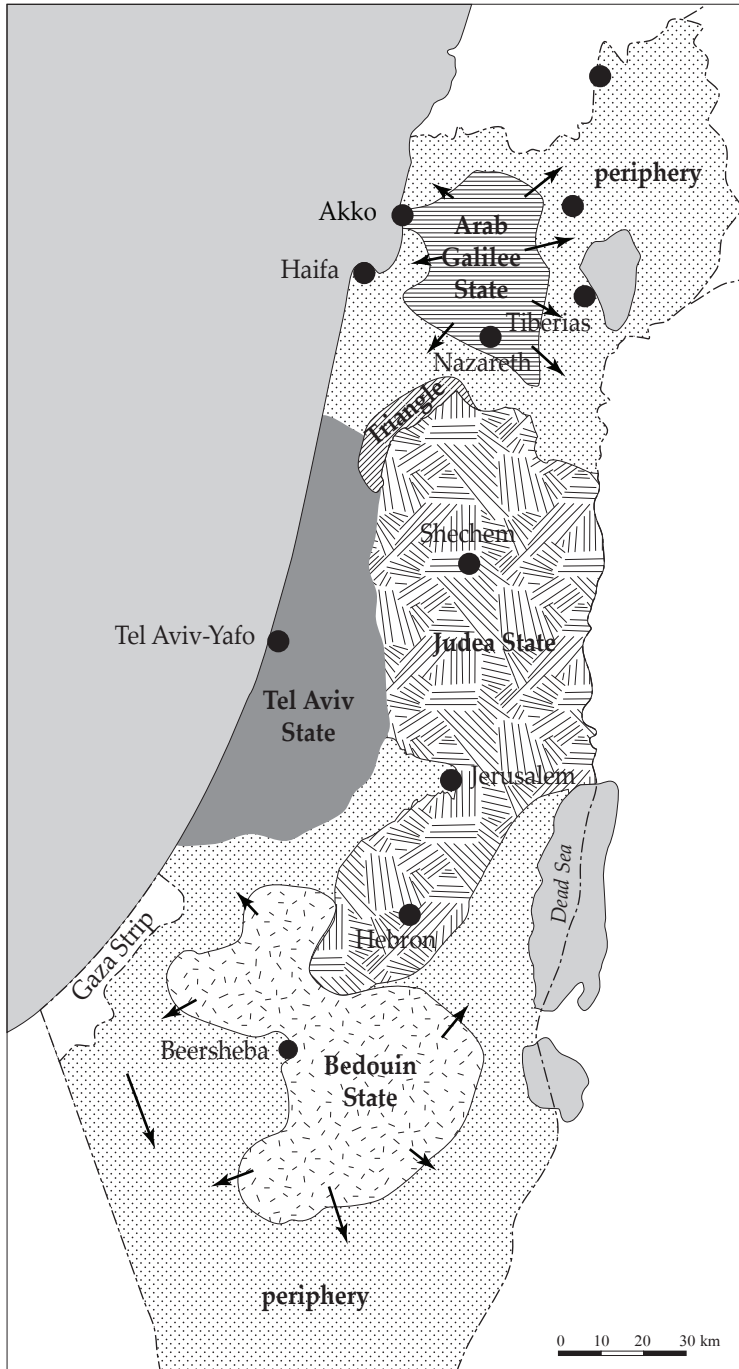
What should be done?

These subjects have been discussed before (Soffer and Bystrov 2004; Soffer and Canaan 2004; Soffer and Shalev 2004; Bystrov and Soffer 2008), and solutions suggested. For example, the issue of the Arab-African-Asian invasion of Israel was presented, and the erection of an actual fence along the Israel–Egypt border to repel the waves of incomers from Africa was completed (Soffer 2012).

Previously published documents have already identified both the dangerously high population density that threatens Israel with an economic, social and political decline to the level of a Third World state (Bystrov 2007), as well as the urgent need to first stop and then reverse the Jewish population’s contraction into “Tel Aviv State” and the concomitant desertion of the periphery (Soffer and Bystrov 2006, 2008).

The essential solutions and their order of preference are now revisited:

First and foremost Jerusalem: to remain a Jewish city and the eternal capital of Israel, she must be taken care of. This requires the immediate transfer of all government ministries to the capital. Ministries that still are in Tel Aviv, including the Ministry of Defense with the IDF general headquarters and the other military branches (IDF College Campus, Army Radio, IDF Spokesperson) – all these must be moved at once out of “Tel Aviv State”. With this short list alone, several thousand employees would be returned to



Map 10: The "Israeli Federation," 2011

Jerusalem. Some of them might move there to live, and some might prefer to pay the price of at times disagreeable commuting on Israel's roads. But following them, the Tel Aviv media too would be obliged to take a daily trip to the official capital of Israel.

Second: A wedge of Jewish settlements separating the Gaza Strip from the Bedouin living in the south is absolutely vital. The continuum of Ashkelon–Sderot–Ofakim–Beersheba should be seen as a strategic axis to be developed. At the south-eastern edge of this wedge, if Jewish Beersheba reaches half a million residents, the problem of the Bedouin in the northern Negev will be easier to solve due to a demographically-determined greater tendency to merge with Israeli society. And how are half a million Jews to be brought to Beersheba? The world's fastest express train [Very Fast Train or VFT] on the Beersheba–Kiryat Gat–Tel Aviv line, or via Ashkelon to Tel Aviv, would bring the capital of the Negev closer to Israel's economic heartland. If Japan and France have done it, these solutions can be implemented in Israel as well. All however on condition that decent housing and infrastructure will be obtainable in the south.

Third: For the benefit of Jew and Arab alike, Jewish population dispersal must also go northward. Among other ways, this could be achieved by developing the regions within the Green Line around Jenin, Wadi Ara, and the "Kokhavim" settlements on the northern and southern coastal plain. Again, a VFT service, more investment in institutions of higher education, first-class hospitals, creation of infrastructure, and building private enterprises on the periphery are keys to this solution.

With regard to action to date, the Government of Israel has yet to implement projects that have already been spoken about: a whole town to service nearby military training bases has been on the national agenda since 1957. The already occurring shift of the IDF southward and northward has to continue. However, the areas freed up in the center have to be earmarked for parks and recreation and not for huge residential precincts that will further consolidate "Tel Aviv State". Halting the current wild real estate

party would serve well the “little guy” who actually bears the economic burden of keeping the state afloat.

In short, safeguarding Israel as a first-world state is possible through high-rise and high quality construction, through enforcing the law in all its might in all domains, through infrastructure enterprises on a scale unknown to us before, and through placing education high on the agenda.

As should be the case world-wide, though regrettably not so, wage standards must be weighted to include the person’s contribution to society, the state and its future, and not just the person’s monetary market value. The teacher in particular clearly stands above every other professional and must be rewarded accordingly. A society that pays a teacher as much as a waiter (without a tip) may not be considered a proper state, one of the First World. Whoever has permitted the emergence and maintenance of this harsh reality in the field of education, can be considered a criminal.

Now while many planners equate Israel with the Netherlands, saying that “the demon is not so terrible” although the Netherlands is indeed as crowded as Israel (in 2012), its natural increase is close to zero. It is also not a desert or half-desert country, and its neighbors—Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg—are similar to it in their Western orientation, Christian religion and in per capita income. All are clustered together within a common economic union. Since World War II the Netherlands has had no reason to fear territorial ambitions of its neighbors, so it does not need to provide infrastructure for an army of the scope of the IDF.

Singapore and New York, like the Netherlands, are all examples of densely populated places wherein life can be not only possible, but reasonable, cultivated and comfortable. However, there is no way to preserve an efficient democratic regime without enforcement of law and protection of public order. Without these necessary components – as is the case in various physical and demographic areas of Israel today – Israeli democracy will continue to weaken and lose public trust en route to its absolute demise.

Given that a large part of the government's failures are linked to failures of law and law enforcement in Israel, as of now police manpower needs to be tripled. There is enough labor force in the Arab and Ultra-Orthodox sectors to serve in the police in large enough numbers as part of their national service instead of military service, and thereby benefit the public as a whole. In any event, law enforcement – especially by Arab and Jew working alongside each other – would ease some of the tensions between Jews and Arabs and would improve enormously the municipal system in the Arab sector.

Regarding Jewish immigration and reversal of the current youth and brain drain: If Israel stays a safe and prosperous and long-term Jewish land, Jews might come there despite high population density, while simultaneously the most desirable might wish to stay. This matter calls for long-term national planning including that for infrastructure solutions.

Two subjects that have been mentioned deserve more detailed attention: these are the tense relations between Israeli Jews and the Palestinian people as a whole, and, in light of the impressive growth in the Ultra-Orthodox and national religious population, increasing Jewish religiosity. Consideration of these two subjects leads us to description of two wildly differing futures.

Relations between the Jewish and the Palestinian peoples – Two states solution for two nations

Demographically, withdrawal of an Israeli presence from the Gaza Strip and from most areas of Judea and Samaria frees Israel from being responsible for 2.5 million Palestinians in Judea and Samaria and 1.7 million in the Gaza Strip (as of 2012). While total evacuation from these areas creates an array of security challenges, involving confrontations with Jewish inhabitants as well, the existence of Israel as a Jewish state is more important now than these and other fears.

It must be clear that anyone who speaks of annexing the territories of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza strip to Israel suggests making the Jews a minority,

that is, putting an end to the Jewish entity in Palestine. Anyone who tries to annex only Judea and Samaria, will find a situation not greatly different.

A two states solution is the only alternative that Israel has, if not to-day it can be tomorrow, but this option must be our target or horizon with all the tough decision that should be taken.

Jewish Israel's relations with its Arab neighbors, especially the Palestinian people both within – as Israeli citizens – and outside the Green Line, does not depend only on Israel. But, out of concern for its own future as a Jewish state within defensible boundaries, Israel nevertheless has to define its permanent borders unilaterally out of concern for its own future as a Jewish state within defensible borders. The separation fences bordering Judea and Samaria and the Gaza Strip have proven their effectiveness against the infiltration of suicide bombers and the influx of Palestinians (and others) into Israel, and have reduced some border-crossing related crime. Solutions for other armed and surveillance challenges, including curved trajectory missile attack, drones, cyber warfare, and military supply chains especially those using clandestine tunneling, still need to be sought.

The Arabs of Israel

Within Israel dwell about 1.5 million ethnic Palestinians, divided into diverse religious and ethnic groups (Christian, Muslim - most of the remainder Muslim, and geographically divided into Bedouin in the south, Bedouin in the north, Arabs of the Triangle, Arabs of the north, Arabs of the mixed towns, and Druze). Israel has the prerogative to advance the cause of these populations, and integrate them economically to the satisfaction of Jew and non-Jew alike. So as to lessen the prevailing despair and fear among them, their absorption into Israel's economy is vital. At the same time, strengthening the law against general lawbreakers as well as military and political inciters is needed.

Jewish migration to Galilee and the Negev might contribute to greater integration of Israeli Arabs in the periphery with the Jews. It is also likely

to foster economic prosperity, provide employment and higher quality of life, and as in the past so in the future, these Israeli Arabs of the periphery will be the first of their brethren across the Middle East to enjoy these Western democratic benefits. And, in view of increasing expressions of pro-Palestinian nationalism among them, such a satisfied person is also not quick to rebel against an administration that is providing such a high quality of life.

However, there is one major challenge to such integration: the extreme Muslim fringe, and strong law enforcement is needed to prevent this fringe from growing and becoming a greater threat. In this regard, it is still not too late to correct all the mistakes and their consequences that Israel has already made among the Bedouin of the south, including allowing the seepage of a more radical Islam into a population that was never fanatically religious.

Israel in the age of a religious majority

As the figures show, Israel is becoming a religious state with at least two potential outcomes evident:

First alternative: Israel a religious state in 2030

On the Israeli political front, if the past is any guide to the future, then at least some of the existing problematic processes will progress and intensify. In the face of growth in politically powerful antidemocratic religious forces, democracy will continue to weaken under a malfunctioning Knesset, and the landslide in quality of life already begun, will continue and even worsen as Israel – overloaded with relatively poor Ultra-Orthodox and Bedouin children is dragged deep down into the Third World.

In particular, pro-Ultra-Orthodox legislation in the Knesset is likely to hasten the emigration of progressively thinking achievement-oriented secular Jews from Israel. Those who stay will include those who are weaker and unable to safeguard both the security and other needs of a modern Western society. The consequences are clear – quality of life will plummet.

With a religious majority in Israel, espousing right to extreme right leanings, creeping or even radical annexation of territories in Judea and Samaria will presumably continue. With the “anarchic” democracy characteristic of Israel in recent decades approaching its end, rabbis will control the country, and elections will not be relevant. Specifically, the legitimate democratically derived Palestinian voice will neither be expressed nor heard, leaving only a radical fanatic Palestinian voice both locally and on the world stage. In other words, the end of Israeli democracy. For the first time in recent history, the only stable nation and bastion of democracy in the Middle East will be gone, and the entire region will be set aflame.

On the face of it, the grim scenario as sketched above seems terminal. The following few headlines in the daily Israeli press during the period 2009-2012 reflect views no doubt shared by many in Israel:

- Omer Moav, “The Ultra-Orthodox will bring annihilation down on themselves – and perhaps kill us on the way”, *Kalkalist*, 26 July 2009.
- Ben Dror-Yemini, “The countdown has started, look at the schools”, *Maariv*, 5 September 2009.
- Nehemia Strassler, “The End of the Third Temple”, *Haaretz*, 29 September 2009.
- Richard Laub and Olivier Boruchowitch, *Israel, Un Avenir Compromise*, a new book, 2012.

But could there not be an alternative and more positive outcome to this breakdown of democracy and installation of rabbinical rule?

First: The religious population, (Ultra-Orthodox and National-Religious) slavishly attentive to its leaders’ demands as it is, might even implement Jewish national projects that secular society in recent decades has long forgotten how to shoulder.

Second: Attracted by its holiness, many of the religious might move – make *aliyah* – to Jerusalem, which might once again become the *de facto* capital city of Israel, at the expense of Tel Aviv. In keeping with this population shift, the national institutions that still reside in Tel Aviv would move to Jerusalem. In order to free up funds for greater infrastructure in Jerusalem, there would be no economically practical alternative but to legislate against continued government funded development in “Tel Aviv State”.

Third: Regarding military service, the number of draft evaders in Tel Aviv would fall dramatically, and even Ultra-Orthodox pilots might fly alongside religious and secular flyers.

On the negative side, this will be less a liberal-democratic and more an authoritarian type of state. And no doubt, since a crowded shtetl culture typifies the Ultra-Orthodox, and issues of quality of life and the environment are not top priorities, massive overcrowding in the country far beyond its carrying capacity will occur. But Israel would survive as a Jewish State.

A second more positive alternative that would also allow for the survival of Israel as a Jewish State, more along the Authors’ preferred lines, is as follows:

Second alternative: Israel’s contemporary non-religious majority alters the course before it becomes a minority

There is no doubt that in 2030 a secular Israeli Jewish population will still exist. Unwilling to come to terms with imposed radical religious observance and control, it would have continued to struggle against religious radicalism in an attempt to change the situation. Although in light of historical and current demographic trends its task would not be simple, one way to succeed in this struggle would be to right now democratically change the electoral system so as to raise the percentage vote threshold for representation in Knesset elections. This step, under certain conditions, could increase the power of larger and perhaps more stable parties, create longer-lasting coalitions, and improve the government’s ability to effectively

rule. Presumably, the formation of coalitions without religious forces will allow the government of Israel to change the status quo and conduct a “secular revolution” including education, the labor force, military service and the transportation system. However, even in that situation, we would expect that the currently prevailing democratic regime in Israel would still operate and continue to recognize Israeli society as a greatly fragmented one, where the opinion of the majority is deliberately not imposed on the minority, so leaving room for non-fanatical religious elements to continue to function semi-autonomously as they already do but always within the law.

However, such extreme reform measures can hardly be expected to solve the problems of society without deepening current rifts and driving radical forces to even more extremist behavior. In practice, to respond proactively to such challenges, only a coalition of all secular and the more progressively thinking non-radical National-Religious parties, a coalition that operates under the rule of secular law, will facilitate the formation of a workable majority, able to make decisions along responsible policy-adhering lines. But such a coalition can only be formed when social problems are addressed as a priority ahead of security issues.

Unfortunately, it seems that Israeli democracy in its present form cannot answer the many challenges presented. Nevertheless, a best way out needs to be found — but this will require democratic principles to be upheld and barriers of bureaucratic and legal foot-dragging torn down.

Israel is the most crowded state in the Western world, and it is becoming more so. Such a state cannot tolerate a situation where paving every kilometer of highway, laying every stretch of new railroad track or water pipeline, building every desalination plant, erecting every segment of a separation fence (a lifesaving fence for Israel), grind to a halt because of mass Supreme Court injunctions or through succumbing to pressures of interest groups bent on wrecking such positive and necessary projects. Such a state cannot tolerate constantly mounted interference by the legal system in the

actions of democratically elected government, and effectively subverting government control of security, the economy, education and settlement.

Some of the injunctions and the accompanying bureaucratic foot-dragging arise from inefficiency in the public sector. It cannot be right that a clutch of unelected public servants determine the order of priorities in matters of state. They must not be given the right of veto on decisions of overarching national importance. It is necessary to restore to the dictionary of Israeli politics such expressions as "national interest" and "national priority". If this is done there will be hope for the Jewish state, albeit with many religious adherents, to be also a modern progressive one.

Budgets for culture, education and health must reach out to the periphery. To contend with the expected increase of Ultra-Orthodox and Bedouin children at elementary schools, core studies including math, English and democracy have to be an inseparable part of all curricula in Israel for both genders. Considering the demographic processes described in this document, environmental studies, as well as education about tolerance and acceptance of the other, must be compulsory from kindergarten to high school. This will provide every citizen in the state with the basic tools to meet the challenges of the future labor market in an open and competitive world. It will also provide them with tools for creating a tolerable co-existence among all Israeli social, ethnic, national and religious groups, and, in the broader context, co-existence with the neighbors, particularly the Palestinians.

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