

THE ISRAEL
DEMOCRACY
INSTITUTE


Research. Debate. Impact.

2015 ANNUAL REPORT



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Message from the Chairman of the Board and the President

Dear Friends,

2015 was a transformational year at IDI. Over the course of the last 18 months, we completed an internal restructuring geared to turn IDI into a more efficient and effective change agent. We cut budgets where necessary, reallocated scarce resources to area of high priority, opened new programs and shut down others.

At the heart of this process was the creation of four new research and policy centers, each managed by a full-time director charged with designing and implementing a 5-year plan for change in an area critical for Israel's future as a Jewish and democratic state. In parallel, we enhanced our support units with an emphasis on Government Relations and Communications.

The pages that follow present highlights of the activities of our four new centers. These changes have already begun to pay off. We are confident they will yield big dividends in the years ahead in the form of higher efficiency, increased visibility, and above all, greater impact.

The Center for Governance and the economy will devise and promote much-needed reforms in Israel's political system, public service, and labor market.

The Center for National Security and Democracy will develop ways to deal effectively with security threats while maintaining an open society that upholds democratic values and the rule of law. The Center for Religion, Nation and State will work to ease the tensions between religion and state in Israel, integrate ultra-Orthodox Jews into Israeli society and the economy, and develop a discourse of human rights from a Jewish perspective. And the Center for Democratic Values and Institutions will work to fortify the democratic values and institutions of the state and develop ways to integrate Israel's Arab citizens into Israeli society and the economy.

Alongside the need to rebuild the Institute for future impact, the very real challenges of Israeli democracy in the present kept us busy over the past year. As portrayed in detail in this report, IDI's leadership acted vigorously to maximize the opportunity associated with the March elections. In addition to a successful campaign to boost voter participation, we worked with the leaders of all the major parties to advance critical parts of our reform proposals in areas ranging from the fight against corruption to defense of democratic values and Arab and ultra-Orthodox employment. The results of the election gave a boost to one of IDI's oldest efforts: the quest for good government. The split vote, protracted coalition-building process, and razor-thin majority of the new government exposed the depth of the crisis of governance. Accordingly, much of the Institute's energy since the election has been devoted to building support for a series of changes to the electoral system designed to strengthen governance and enhance stability. This will continue to be an area of focus in 2016.

2015 was also a year of renewal in our leadership. We are proud to welcome Former Israeli Chief Justice Dorit Beinisch to the ranks of our International Advisory Council. And we thank our distinguished retiring Council members for their service: Senator Robert Badinter, Dr. Sidney Drell, Dominique Moisi, Professor Henry Rosovsky, and Sir James D. Wolfensohn.

The Israeli board also experienced significant turnover this year. Prof. Manuel Trajtenberg decided to run for office and is now a Member of Knesset. Erez Wigodman left to devote his time to the management of TEVA. Prof. Yaffa Zilbershatz left to take up an appointment as Head of the Budget and Planning Committee of the Council on Higher Education. And Dov Baharav stepped down at the end of his term and is devoting his time and energies to the chairmanship of Gilat Satellite Networks.

We were very fortunate to find excellent new members to replace those who left. Dr. Michal Tzur, President and CMO of Kaltura, is one of Israel's most prominent hi-tech entrepreneurs. Imad Telhami, Founder and CEO of Babcom Centers, is a successful Arab-Israeli businessman and social entrepreneur. Aviad Friedman, CEO of Most Properties and Chairman of the Israel Association of Community Centers, is a businessman and former government official. The new Israeli board is a critical component in our plan to boost IDI's capacity for impact over the coming years.

We were able to recruit a group of motivated and generous funders in 2015. As a result of these efforts, we were pleased to welcome major new partners to the ranks of our supporters, including most significantly the Lautman Family Foundation, the Skoll Foundation, the Schusterman Family Foundation, and the Russell Berrie Foundation. Significantly, more than half of our major donors now call Israel home. We are delighted that so many of our new major donors are Israelis who see in IDI an effective platform for ensuring their country's future as a vibrant Jewish democracy.

IDI—like Israel itself—is a joint venture of Israelis and Jews from all over the world. We thank our donors for their support and look forward to a year of even greater achievements.



Amir Elstein
Chairman of the Board



Yohanan Plesner
President



Investing in a Stronger Democracy

IDI is an independent, non-partisan “think-and-do tank” dedicated to strengthening the foundations of Israeli democracy. IDI acts to accomplish this objective on the basis of a non-partisan vision of the common good, using rigorous applied research and vigorous advocacy to influence policy, legislation, and public opinion in its areas of focus.

Decision-makers from across the political spectrum trust IDI because of the professionalism of its staff, the independence of its scholars, and the practical nature of its products. Leaders of the different sectors that make up Israeli society come to IDI because it provides a fair and open forum for civil debate. And donors give to IDI because they see an investment in the Institute as the most efficient way to shape the future of Israeli democracy.

RESEARCH. DEBATE. IMPACT.



IMPACT

The Center for Religion, Nation and State

Shaping the Relationship between Judaism and Democracy

Headed by Prof. Yedidia Stern and managed by Dr. Shuki Friedman, IDI's Center for Religion, Nation and State aims to construct a new framework for the relationship between Judaism and democracy in Israel.

Israel's national identity as a vibrant Jewish democracy faces an array of domestic and external challenges. The domestic challenge stems from the unprecedented, ongoing effort of the Jewish people to build a state in which identity components that are specifically Jewish (both in the national and religious sense) coexist harmoniously with the tenets of liberal-democracy. The external challenge stems from efforts by Israel's critics to undermine Israel's legitimacy as the Jewish nation-state. These two challenges are intertwined.

The Center's programs seek to attenuate the tensions between religion and state in Israel; renew the intellectual foundations of Zionism for the twenty first century; promote the compatibility of human rights and the Jewish tradition, and develop ways to integrate the ultra-Orthodox into Israeli society and the economy.

Pictured above: Chief Rabbi David Lau at an IDI conference



MK Aliza Lavie at Knesset caucus meeting on Nation, Religion and State



Left to Right: Rabbi Dr. Benny Lau, IDI President Yohanan Plesner, Mrs. Shira Ruderman, and Prof. Yedidia Stern at an IDI conference on the status of people with disabilities in Israel

Defining the Nature of the Jewish State

When the State of Israel was established, the encounter between the ancient Jewish tradition and the novel experience of state sovereignty produced a “Jewish state.” In 2015, IDI Press and Yediot Books published *When Judaism Meets the State*, a popular book on the diversity of Jewish attitudes towards the fact of Jewish statehood. But what is Jewish about the “Jewish state?”

To answer this question, IDI's Religion and State Program embarked on a pioneering effort to map out the diversity of

competing positions regarding the Jewishness of the state found in Israeli public life. The resultant book presents the diverse views of ultra-Orthodox, national religious, and secular Jews regarding the meaning and purpose of the Jewish national enterprise in an accessible manner. It highlights areas of agreement as well as disagreement within and between the camps, and does so in clear terms designed to facilitate dialogue among the various sectors of Jewish society.



Yohanan Plesner and Dr. Yoaz Hendel speak to a leadership mission for the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs



Former MK Haim Oron at an IDI conference on the 2005 disengagement from the Gaza Strip



Yoav Sorek and Esti Rosenberg at an IDI conference on the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

Investing in Thought Leaders: Human Rights and Judaism

In September, IDI welcomed the fifth cohort of fellows to its prestigious Human Rights and Judaism Program. This program is developing a new field of intellectual inquiry and creating an elite cadre of scholars who will shape future discourse on Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Selected on the basis of a nationwide competition that drew dozens of applicants, the six new researchers will spend the next three years completing their doctoral studies while participating in a unique program exploring what Jewish tradition has to say about life in a liberal democracy.

December saw the launch of *Judaism, Sovereignty and Human Rights*, a journal designed to showcase the research of graduates of this fellowship program. Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in nature, the journal will enable promising young scholars from all of Israel's universities to share the fruits of their labors in the scholarship program at the start of their academic careers. In 2016, all three cohorts currently in the program will participate in a new course entitled "The Jewish and Democratic State: Essence and Interpretation," taught by former Israeli Chief Justice Aharon Barak.



Dr. Shuki Friedman at a Knesset caucus meeting on conversion reform



Rabbi Dr. Seth Farber and Prof. Yedidia Stern

Promoting Conversion Reform

In cooperation with ITIM, an NGO that assists people in navigating the religious bureaucracy in Israel, IDI drafted a proposal for a State Conversion Bill designed to break the Chief Rabbinate's monopoly on conversion, permit a multiplicity of halakhic voices within the current state system, and encourage a more welcoming halakhic approach to potential converts. Dialogue with the Minister of Justice and Knesset members from many parties enabled this proposal to shape a landmark government resolution reforming the system in 2014. Although the implementation of this important reform was halted following the March elections, IDI is continuing its efforts to win over politicians and key civil society leaders and encourage them to persevere.

To this end, on May 19, IDI, ITIM, and MK Aliza Lavie, head of the Knesset caucus on Nation, Religion and State, held a conference at the Knesset that brought together experts and NGOs committed to resolving the issue of conversion in Israel. As a result of this conference, a number of working groups were established. The groups will meet at IDI over the course of 2016 in order to continue the conversation and formulate concrete solutions for this issue, in the hopes that in more conducive political circumstances, it will again be possible to pass legislation that will further conversion reform.



Rabbanit Adina Bar Shalom, founder of the Haredi College in Jerusalem at an IDI conference



Prof. Yedidia Stern speaks to participants at an IDI conference on empowerment of female ultra-Orthodox

Fostering Ultra-Orthodox Participation in the Economy

In cooperation with the National Economic Council, an IDI research team developed a Master Plan to integrate Israel's ultra-Orthodox Jews into the job market. Under the leadership of Doron Cohen, former Director General of the Finance Ministry, and Prof. Eugene Kandel, Chairman of the National Economic Council in the Prime Minister's Office, the team conducted a series of roundtable meetings with representatives of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Economy, the Education Ministry, the Prime Minister's Office, the Council for Higher Education, and the Bank of Israel, to better understand the issues from a macroeconomic and social perspective.

The result of this process was a comprehensive plan with multi-year objectives and operational recommendations that will enable government ministries, the business sector, and civil society to address the issue of ultra-Orthodox employment. The Master Plan paints an overall picture of current policy and programs, presents quantitative and qualitative employment objectives for 2025, surveys barriers to success, and proposes ways to overcome these obstacles and achieve the desired outcome. In December 2015, the government formally adopted parts of the Master Plan pertaining to the Israeli civil service. In the coming months, the government will discuss the remaining recommendations.



Dr. Adar Cohen at a book launch for his civics handbook for Israeli civics teachers, *Both Jewish and Democratic*



Left to Right: Prof. Nimrod Aloni, Prof. Yaara Bar-On, Rabbi Dr. Yehuda Brandes, and Dr. Asaf Malach

Teaching Judaism and Democracy in the Classroom

Some sectors of Israeli society perceive democracy as a threat to the Jewish character of the State. Other sectors view Judaism as a danger to Israel's democratic nature. In June, IDI published a wake-up call to educators, summoning them to grapple with these sensitive issues instead of sweeping them under the rug. IDI researcher Adar Cohen, former Inspector of Civics Education for Israel's Ministry of Education, published a new handbook for Israeli civics teachers. Entitled *Both Jewish and Democratic*, the handbook offers a novel pedagogical approach accompanied by practical recommendations for teaching Judaism and democracy in Israeli schools.

The handbook includes various practical proposals that will enable teachers to promote dialogue about Israel's dual identity in the classroom. It presents a series of issues found in texts from both traditions that convey the complexity of the relationship between "Jewish" and "democratic" as a basis for study and debate in the classroom.

Developed in consultation with experts from the Ministry of Education, universities, and teacher-training institutes, the handbook will be put to immediate use in teacher colleges and professional development programs.



Ultra-Orthodox leader Racheli Ibenboim and IDI researcher Dr. Lee Cahaner discuss women's empowerment at an IDI conference



Prof. Yedidia Stern and IDF officers at a workshop on ultra-Orthodox soldiers

Empowering Ultra-Orthodox Women

In December, IDI convened a full-day conference entitled “The Haredi Woman in the 21st Century: Family, Community and Society.” This event explored the lifestyle of ultra-Orthodox women in Israel today, focusing on three areas: home and family life, the Haredi community, and the encounter with society in general. Discussion centered on the implications of involvement in the workforce for Haredi women in Israel today.

The conference was convened at the initiative of IDI's Dr. Lee Cahaner, an academic expert on ultra-Orthodox society, and Racheli Ibenboim, scion of a Hassidic dynasty and prominent Haredi social entrepreneur. The men and women who spoke at the conference included leading academicians, social activists, rabbis, sociologists, educators, and rabbinical court judges. A notable participant was Mrs. Adina Bar-Shalom, Founder and Executive Director of the Haredi College of Jerusalem and daughter of the late Rabbi Ovadia Yosef.

Integrating the Ultra-Orthodox into the Military

In the spring, IDI's Program on the Ultra-Orthodox in Israel held two events, as part of a collaborative effort with the Israel Defense Forces, designed to train those responsible for the ultra-Orthodox recruitment process and to facilitate the successful induction of Haredi draftees into the military. In May, IDI hosted 60 IDF officers responsible for the welfare and terms of service of ultra-Orthodox soldiers for a full-day seminar on integration of Haredi conscripts into the military. The seminar provided these officers with a better understanding of ultra-Orthodox conscripts and their unique needs. Participants deepened their familiarity with the Orthodox community and its unique characteristics, and received practical tools for dealing with everyday situations that arise when ultra-Orthodox men enlist in the IDF. In June, the Institute held a similar seminar for 50 officers, NCOs and military rabbis responsible for integrating ultra-Orthodox soldiers into the Air Force.



Education Minister Naftali Bennett at a conference on the Gaza Strip disengagement



Left to Right: Former Yesha Council Chairman Pinchas Wallerstein, Journalist Mazal Mualem, and journalist Yaron London

Learning the Lessons of the Disengagement

IDI and the *Makor Rishon* newspaper marked the 10th anniversary of Israel's unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip at a joint conference in July. Entitled "The Disengagement Revisited," the conference explored the functioning of government institutions, civil society, the religious community, and the media during the disengagement itself, as well as the impact of this experience on Israeli society until this very day. Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon, Education Minister Naftali Bennett, and MK Isaac Herzog, Chairman of the Opposition, spoke forcefully about the lessons learned for Israeli democracy.

A highlight of the conference was a panel on the crisis of religious Zionism following the disengagement, which brought together Rabbi Dr. Donniel Hartman, Prof. Fania Oz-Salzberger, Rabbi Ya'acov Medan, Dr. Anat Roth, and IDI's Yair Sheleg. The discussion was informed by a comprehensive survey of the national religious community in Israel released by IDI's Guttman Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research.

Driving a Paradigm Shift in the Treatment of People with Disabilities

In March, IDI's Human Rights and Judaism program and the Ruderman Family Foundation convened a conference on the status of the 800,000 people with disabilities who live in Israel. At this event, rabbis, legal experts, and civil society activists called upon Israeli decision makers to transition from an approach that sees people with disabilities through a prism of charity to one that guarantees their rights as a moral and legal obligation.

This event was part of IDI's efforts to promote human rights in Israel on the basis of Jewish values. Participants included Israel's Chief Rabbi David Lau; Mr. Ahiya Kamara, the Ministry of Justice's Commissioner for Equal Rights of Persons with Disabilities; MK Karin Elharrar; IDI Vice President Prof. Yedidia Stern; Rabbi Dr. Benjamin (Benny) Lau; Former Supreme Court Justice Dalia Dorner; Rabbi Ehud Bandel of the Masorti Movement in Israel, and Rabbi Rafi Feuerstein, Co-Founder of the Tzohar Rabbinical Organization.



IMPACT

The Center for Governance and the Economy

Promoting Good Government

IDI's Center for Governance and Economics aims to promote reforms in Israel's political system, public service, and labor market, in order to improve the functioning of these systems and increase public confidence in them.

Teams under the leadership of IDI Senior Fellows Prof. Yotam Margalit, a political economist from Tel Aviv University, Prof. Yuval Feldman, an expert on labor law from Bar-Ilan University, and Prof. Gideon Rahat, an expert on political reform from Hebrew University, will lead the efforts to implement the Institute's proposals for reform.

Pictured above: Governor of the Bank of Israel Karnit Flug and IDI Board Chair Amir Elstein



Chaim Hurvitz and Dr. Vered Shalev-Hurvitz at IDI's Eli Hurvitz Conference on Economy and Society



Chairman of Israel's National Economic Council Prof. Eugene Kandel



Histadrut Labor Union Chairman Avi Nissenkorn

Bolstering Israel's Socio-Economic Vitality

IDI's third Eli Hurvitz Conference on Economy and Society took place in Haifa. Formerly known as the Caesarea Economic Policy Planning Forum, and now in its 22nd year, the conference brings together senior government decision-makers and leading figures in academia, the non-profit sector, and the business world to discuss the critical policy choices Israel faces in the socio-economic realm.

The conference focused on the executive branch's ability to get things done, starting from the assumption that the government's inability to implement policy is currently the greatest barrier to increasing economic growth, reducing social gaps, and dealing with the root problems of Israeli society.

Participants included the Governor of the Bank of Israel, the Ministers of Justice, Health, and Education, the head of Israel's civil service, the Chief of Police, and the Chairman of the Histadrut Labor Union, as well as senior government officials and business leaders.

During the conference, which combined plenary sessions with breakout working groups, participants worked on policy recommendations designed to enhance the socio-economic resilience of the State of Israel. At the conclusion of the two-day conference, working groups in the areas of deregulation, legal corruption, innovation, education, civil service personnel, and productivity presented their recommendations to the Honorable Reuven (Ruvi) Rivlin, President of the State of Israel.



Former Cabinet Secretary Zvi Hauser, CECI Director Tomer Lotan, and former PMO bureau chief Eyal Haimovsky



Leader of the Opposition Isaac Herzog and Yohanan Plesner



IDI Senior Fellow Prof. Gideon Rahat

Advancing the Cause of Political Reform

In March, Israelis went to the polls for the second time in two years. The elections and their aftermath exposed the deep dysfunction of our political system. The ruling party, Likud, won a mere quarter of the seats in the Knesset and took seven weeks to form a narrow government. The obvious crisis of governance opened up a historic opportunity for political reform.

In response, IDI's political reform team updated its recommendations for political reform and embarked on a campaign to convince Israel's leadership to seize the opportunity for change. Within weeks, IDI submitted a blueprint for reform to the leaders of all the parties.

Prime Minister Netanyahu adopted the main principles of IDI's plan. Soon after, both the Prime Minister and Knesset Speaker Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein devoted the majority of their inaugural speeches in the Knesset following the election to the need for electoral reform.

In July, IDI convened representatives of civil society, political leaders and academic experts around the George Shultz Roundtable to discuss the potential for political reform in the aftermath of the elections. Participants from across the political spectrum agreed that reform is both necessary and feasible under the right political circumstances and committed to pursuing a joint plan of action in 2016 based on IDI's proposal.



MK Yair Lapid at IDI conference on political corruption during the 2015 elections



Yesh Atid Faction Members meet with IDI scholars to discuss Political Reform

PUBLIC OPINION ON POLITICAL DYSFUNCTION

As part of the preparatory work for its campaign to reform Israel's political system, IDI conducted a survey of Israeli public opinion on the subject in July 2015.

63.9%

of Israelis surveyed by IDI's Guttman Center agreed that the current political system is the main cause of the difficulties faced by the country's leadership, specifically when it comes to making strategic decisions and carrying them out. The same respondents agreed that there is a need to enact deep structural reforms.

65.2%

supported a change to the political system designed to recreate a small number of large anchor parties.



Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Yoav Segalovich and Police Commissioner Yohanan Danino



Orit Farkash-Hacohen, former chairman of Israel's Electricity Authority



Entrepreneur Joel Hyatt and WAZE CEO Noam Bardin at IDI's fifth International Advisory Council Meeting

Combating Political Corruption

Political corruption is one of the biggest contributing factors to declining public trust in government. In the wake of a series of high-profile cases, IDI assembled an inter-disciplinary team of experts and devised a practical plan for eliminating the scourge of corruption in Israel.

At a public meeting attended by MK Yair Lapid of Yesh Atid and MK Tzipi Livni of the Zionist Union Party, IDI's leadership presented the plan to the heads of all the major parties in Israel as a platform for action in the aftermath of the elections. Yesh Atid based its nine-point plan for combating political corruption, presented at a press conference in February, on IDI's recommendations.

Encouraging Parliamentary Transparency

In July, IDI's efforts to promote transparency in government bore fruit with the establishment of a parliamentary committee dedicated to this issue. Director of IDI's Program on Democracy in the Information Age, Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler, worked closely with the new Chairperson of the Committee, MK Stav Shafir, to develop its charter and work plan.



Outstanding Parliamentarians Aliza Lavie and Eitan Cabel with Yohanán Plesner



MK Eitan Cabel, Yohanán Plesner, and Knesset Speaker Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein

Recognizing Outstanding Parliamentarians

In July, IDI conferred its annual Outstanding Parliamentarian Award on MK Eitan Cabel of the Zionist Union and MK Aliza Lavie of Yesh Atid for their exemplary parliamentary activity in 2014. Since 2010, IDI has given this award to select members of Knesset who have amassed exceptional parliamentary records and shown themselves to be exemplary public representatives. Attending the ceremony, which was hosted by Knesset Speaker MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein, were IDI President Yohanán Plesner, Opposition Leader MK Isaac Herzog, and MK Yair Lapid, as well as members of the selection committee headed by Justice Theodor Or, former Deputy President of the Israeli Supreme Court.



IMPACT

The Center for Security and Democracy

Balancing National Security and Civil Liberties in the Struggle against Terrorism

Headed by Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer and Admiral Ami Ayalon, former Director of the Israel Security Agency (Shin Bet), and managed by Attorney Eli Bahar, former legal advisor to the Shin Bet, the Center will bring Israel's most prominent thinkers from a variety of disciplines together with leading practitioners from the military and government to generate new ideas for preserving Israel's national security while safeguarding the values of a free society. The Center will offer Israel's decision makers practical recommendations for policy innovation, seek to influence public opinion and legal norms, advise relevant government agencies, and advocate for reform of Israel's national security structures.

Pictured above: Minister of Defense Moshe Ya'alon



Former Head of the Shin Bet and MK Yaakov Peri at the launch ceremony for the Amnon Lipkin-Shahak Program on National Security and Democracy



Businessmen Doron Livnat and Michael Federmann



Journalist Tali Lipkin-Shahak

Celebrating Amnon Lipkin-Shahak's Commitment to Israel's Security

In 2015, IDI inaugurated a new Program on National Security and Democracy, named after former Chief of Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak. The Program, founded with the help of the close friends and family of Israel's 15th Chief of Staff, is dedicated to helping Israel deal effectively with security threats while preserving the values of a free society. Building on the experience and expertise of IDI's renowned Terrorism and Democracy Project, which devoted 12 years to legal aspects of Israeli counter-terrorism, the program focuses on developing national defense policies that guarantee Israel's national security without impairing its democratic vitality.

The focus of the program in 2016 will be development of a new doctrine for liberal democracies waging asymmetric conflicts.

At the official launch ceremony for the Program in November, Minister of Defense Moshe (Bogi) Ya'alon, a close friend of Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, spoke about the dilemmas Israel faces on the modern battlefield.

The event, which was attended by over 200 people, celebrated the commitment of Amnon Lipkin-Shahak to Israel's security and democratic values. It served as an opportunity to discuss the current round of terror and the challenges inherent in maintaining democratic values in times of war, with insights from journalist Tali Lipkin-Shahak, IDI President Yohanan Plesner, Admiral Ami Ayalon, and author David Grossman. Israel's President, Reuven Rivlin, delivered a stirring address by video.



IDI Senior Fellow Admiral Ami Ayalon and senior adviser to the president of the RAND Corporation Brian Michael Jenkins



IDI international Chairman Bernie Marcus and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

Promoting US-Israel Dialogue on Common National Security Challenges

Israel, unfortunately, has vast experience with asymmetric conflicts involving non-state entities. Asymmetric foes present unique and novel challenges to liberal democracies all over the world, including Israel's closest ally, the United States. At a joint workshop in Washington, DC, in December, researchers from IDI and RAND Corporation surveyed the challenges of asymmetric warfare, as part of a collaborative effort to develop new strategies for counter-terrorism. The workshop brought together experts and policy makers from the US and Israel to discuss lessons learned from recent conflicts, as well as mechanisms that will enable democracies to defend themselves effectively against asymmetric threats while maintaining their commitment to democratic principles.

The workshop culminated in a public event featuring Brian Michael Jenkins, renowned counterterrorism expert and senior adviser to the president of RAND Corporation, in conversation with IDI Senior Fellow Admiral Ami Ayalon, former director of Israel's Shin Bet security agency. They explored the changing global security environment, the use of military force in response to terrorism, and the legal, ethical, and moral implications of counterterrorism in the age of Al-Qaeda and ISIS. RAND published the proceedings of the two-day workshop in a book entitled *War by What Means, According to Whose Rules?*



Author David Grossman and journalist Oshrat Kotler



Cabinet Secretary Avichai Mandelblit and Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer at an IDI roundtable on Lawfare

Strengthening Israel's International Legitimacy

In February, IDI scholar Prof. Amichai Cohen submitted a legal brief to the UN International Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict. Cohen detailed the role of the IDF Military Advocate General Corps in implementing and enforcing International Humanitarian Law in the Israeli army before and during Operation Protective Edge, as well as in investigating alleged violations of the laws of war after the operation. He warned that international intervention in Israel's legal proceedings ignores Israel's autonomous capacity for legal oversight of military operations and undermines demands to adopt international law in the Israeli legal system. Cohen's timely brief helped mitigate the UN Council's findings regarding IDF operations in Gaza and contributed to Israel's legitimacy in the struggle against terrorism.

Investigating the Turkish Flotilla

When the judges of the International Criminal Court in The Hague decided to reopen the investigation into the 2010 events of the Mavi Marmara, IDI Research Fellow Prof. Amichai Cohen issued a legal opinion that questioned the rationale of the decision. The brief argued that the incident was not broad enough to meet the criteria of a "war crime" and warned that as a consequence of the decision, Israeli soldiers, military officials, and politicians traveling to member countries of the Court could face arrest. Cohen also called on the State of Israel to strengthen its internal mechanisms for investigating alleged violations of international humanitarian law, arguing that effective internal investigations are the best defense against legal interventions by international bodies.



IMPACT

The Center for Democratic Values and Institutions

Preserving Israel's Democratic Vitality

Led by IDI Vice President Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer and managed by Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler, the Center for Democratic Values and Institutions has two primary goals: to fortify the democratic values and institutions of the State of Israel, with an emphasis on the humanistic foundations of Judaism and the liberal foundations of Zionism; and to develop ways to integrate Israel's Arab citizens into Israeli society and the economy, while recognizing the unique nature of this community. The Center for Democratic Values and Institutions was established to deal with challenges to substantive democracy in Israel today. First the Center assesses institutional commitment to the tenets of liberal democracy—including freedom, equality, minority rights, and the rule of law—and proposes solutions to address shortcomings. Efforts in this realm include promoting the adoption of a constitution, combatting illiberal legislation, inculcating a commitment to human rights in government decision-making, and working to integrate Israel's Arab citizens into society and the economy.

Second the Center conducts applied research on challenges to the separation of powers and the independence of key institutions such as the courts, the Knesset, the executive branch, the State Prosecutor and Attorney General, regulatory agencies, local government, and the media. The Center's efforts aim to ensure that these institutions remain independent and take into account individual rights and the fundamental values of democracy in their work.

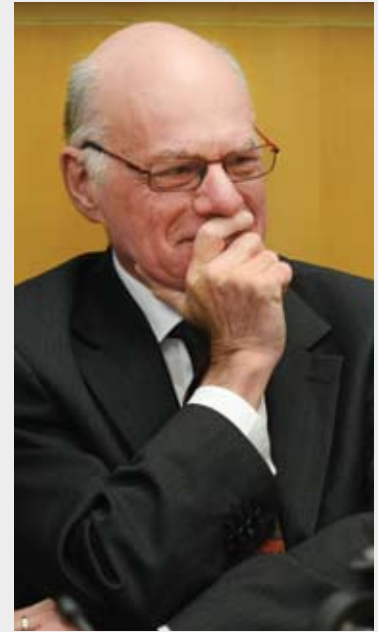
Pictured above: MK Aliza Lavie, Yohanan Plesner, and Knesset Speaker Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein



MK Ayman Odeh at an IDI conference on democratic principles during the 2015 Elections



Yohanan Plesner with visiting members of Germany's Bundestag



Norbert Lammert, President of the Bundestag, visits IDI

Standing Up for Democratic Principles

IDI's Defending Democratic Values program is at the vanguard of efforts to counter populist reform initiatives that would violate basic principles of Israeli democracy, such as freedom of speech, equal opportunity, and judicial independence, and infringe on civil liberties and minority rights. Over the course of the year, program staff submitted legal opinions to ministerial committees, testified before Knesset Committees, published op-eds, and raised public awareness of the need to safeguard Israel's democratic values and institutions through numerous TV and radio appearances.

In parallel, the program took several steps to improve the quality of Knesset legislation. With the help of a blue-ribbon committee headed by former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Meir

Shamgar, IDI produced an innovative manual for legislators. The handbook, which was based on international models, contains practical guidelines and evaluation criteria for Members of Knesset designed to enable them to pass legislation that meets the highest professional and constitutional standards. On the eve of the Knesset election, IDI researchers also published a book analyzing illiberal legislative initiatives promoted during the previous Knesset, including concrete recommendations for improving the standard of legislation.



President Reuven Rivlin



Businessmen and philanthropists Avi Naor and Noam Lautman at the Dov Lautman Conference on Education



Former Member of Knesset Limor Livnat

Enhancing Education for Democracy

In June, IDI partnered with the Dov Lautman Foundation and the Open University to hold the first annual Dov Lautman Conference on Education Policy, named for one of Israel's most prominent industrialists and philanthropic leaders. Dedicated to education for democracy in the Israeli school system, the conference explored whether Israel is doing enough in order to educate its youth for citizenship in a democratic society and focused specifically on the need to root out racism. The conference ended with an impassioned speech by Israeli President Reuven Rivlin about the importance of education for building a shared society in Israel. At the closing ceremony, President Rivlin presented citations to schools that have shown exemplary commitment to dialogue and cooperation between different segments of Israeli society.

Promoting Equal Opportunity in the Work Place

IDI researcher Talya Steiner continued the implementation of her policy recommendations to strengthen Israel's Equal Employment Opportunity Commissioner. She served on an advisory forum established by the EEOC and published a widely cited op-ed in *The Marker* arguing that the next Commissioner should be an Arab woman. Steiner argued that the appointment of an Arab woman would demonstrate that the Israeli government considers full integration of Arab citizens into the workplace a top national priority. Steiner's appeal sparked a broad public debate and led a number of Arab women to submit their candidacy for the position. In December, the search committee unanimously approved Maryam Kabaha, an Arab attorney from Haifa, as the next Equal Opportunity Commissioner. She will be the highest ranking Arab woman in the Israeli civil service.



Former Minister of Education Gideon Saar



Journalist Attila Somfalvi and Rabbi Dr. Shlomo Riskin at an IDI conference marking the 20th anniversary of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination

Learning the Lessons of the Rabin Assassination

As Israel commemorated the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, IDI and Ynet, Israel's largest news portal, convened a symposium on the impact of this tragic event on Israeli democracy.

Over 200 people assembled at the Yitzhak Rabin Center in Tel Aviv to hear from MK Isaac Herzog, former Minister of Education Gideon Saar, Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, IDI President Yohanan Plesner, IDI Vice Presidents Profs. Yedidia Stern and Mordechai Kremnitzer, and others.

The event drew on findings of the 2015 Israeli Democracy Index, which evaluated Israeli public opinion about the Rabin assassination two decades after this event. These findings were published in a special booklet to mark the occasion. Among other findings, the survey found that only 3.6% of Israelis cited the assassination as one of the main events in the history of Israeli democracy while 86.4% opposed the use of weapons to thwart implementation of government policy. The public was divided on whether or not another political assassination was likely.



Yohanan Plesner, Police Commissioner Yohanan Danino, and Bernie Marcus



Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer and Police Commissioner Yohanan Danino at IDI's Police and Society Forum

Advising Israel's Police Force

IDI continues to advise Israel's National Police Force, within the framework of the Police and Society Forum established by the two institutions in order to discuss critical issues in relations between the police and civil society. In February 2015, the senior command of the police, led by Commissioner Yohanan Danino, met with IDI's leadership for consultations on how to ensure clean elections. IDI Senior Fellows Professors Tamar Hermann and Gideon Rahat provided perspective on the nature of the Israeli voter and the critical role of the police in safeguarding the integrity of the elections.

In June 2015, the top brass of the Police joined IDI experts for a full day of closed-door discussions on ways to combat political corruption. The officers heard from IDI Senior Fellow Prof. Yuval Feldman, a veteran of Harvard University's corruption lab, on the latest developments in the field of behavioral science. They discussed practical measures to increase transparency, provide behavioral incentives for public officials, and promote the necessary legal and institutional reforms.



Political strategist Boaz Raday and IDI Center Director Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler



MK Tzipi Livni at an IDI conference on political corruption during the 2015 elections



MK Karin Elharrar at an IDI conference on people with disabilities in Israel

Increasing Government Transparency

In collaboration with the Public Knowledge Workshop and Google Israel, IDI's program on Democracy in the Information Age, directed by Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler, placed the budgets of five Israeli municipalities online as a first step towards addressing the lack of transparency in Israel's local authorities. This project made it possible, for the first time, for citizens to view detailed accounting of public spending online, analyze budgetary line items, contrast approved budgets with actual spending, and compare budgets of different municipalities in Israel.

Rebuilding Public Broadcasting

IDI's media reform experts are at the forefront of efforts to shape the future of television broadcasting in Israel in the digital age. In response to a government initiative to shut down Israel's national broadcasting authority and establish a new one, IDI's Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler submitted to the Minister of Communications and relevant Knesset members a legal opinion critiquing key provisions of the reform bill and offering alternatives. In particular, she sought to preserve the independence of the new authority from political interference. The revised bill adopted many of IDI's recommendations. Dr. Altshuler will continue to accompany the process of establishing the new Israel Public Broadcasting Corporation.



Officers of Israel's Prison Service visit IDI



IDI Vice President Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer and Israel Prison Service Chief Commissioner Ofra Kinger at IDI's joint symposium with the ISP

Defending the Dignity of Prisoners

In January, IDI hosted the first of a series of joint events with the Israel Prison Service (IPS), which bears statutory responsibility for convicts, detainees, and illegal aliens. This forum allows IDI to contribute to the debate on the responsibilities of the IPS and its treatment of inmates.

The first event was a multidisciplinary symposium focusing on treating prisoners with medical conditions, and explored medical, ethical, and legal dilemmas related to care for prisoners who are HIV-positive and prisoners who refuse to accept medical treatment.

Balancing Rights and Interests in the Policy Making Process

In June, IDI held a two-day international workshop on “Rights Considerations in the Policy Process” in Madrid, under the auspices of its Proportionality in Public Policy program, which is funded by a five-year, \$3 million research grant from the European Research Council (ERC). The workshop brought together experts from Israel, Canada, Australia, Germany, Scotland, and the UK to examine ways to incorporate considerations of human rights in the policy making process. The workshop addressed barriers to the development of a rich rights discourse in the policy process and evaluated the effectiveness of various decision-making mechanisms. The participants, who included international experts in law, political science, public policy, and philosophy, addressed a broad array of policy contexts, including security, budget cuts, immigration, and penal policy.



Journalist Mickey Haimovitch and Israeli Arab educators at the Dov Lautman Conference on Education



MK Abdullah Abu Maaruf

Creating a Shared Society

IDI's Arab-Jewish Relations Program aims to help integrate Arab citizens of Israel into society, government, and the economy, and to lay the groundwork for better relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. The program leverages the Institute's unique abilities in applied research, its capacity to bring people together for dialogue, its connections with government agencies, and its ability to partner with state institutions and relevant bodies in Israel's civil society. The program is currently focusing on the following areas of activity: fighting inequality, changing the perception of Arab citizens of Israel among Jewish Israelis, and increasing the representation of Arab citizens in the decision-making processes of Israel's governmental systems.

Combatting Racism and Incitement

Following the explosion of tensions between Jews and Arabs after Operation Protective Edge, IDI convened an emergency meeting of over 50 Jewish and Arab leaders to address the escalation of tension between Jews and Arabs in Israel and draft a declaration that would lay the foundation for coexistence and mutual understanding between the two communities.

IDI's efforts to combat incitement to violence continued as the country again exploded in violence during the wave of knife terror at the end of 2015. The Institute launched a public campaign that called for moderation and restraint, emphasizing the importance of the rule of law especially at a time of heightened fear, suspicion, and insecurity. In response to increasing use of the internet and social media to incite violence, and the inability of the authorities to respond, IDI assembled a task force to reexamine Israel's legislation regarding racism and incitement, propose necessary changes, and advocate for their implementation.

IMPACT

Elections 2015



72.3%
VOTER PARTICIPATION

Get Out The Vote Campaign

For the three months leading up to the Knesset elections in March, IDI led a national, non-partisan media campaign to get out the vote and facilitate informed voting. This campaign, which delegitimized non-voting and encouraged citizens to take part in a national effort to break the 70% mark, reached millions of voters and contributed to a historic rise in electoral participation. The elections for the 20th Knesset had the highest turnout in Israel since the 1999 elections—72.3%—significantly higher than most Western democracies, including the United States. This broke a 15-year record and reversed the decline in voter participation since the new millennium.

Introducing Pre-Election Policy Plans

IDI seized the opportunity afforded by early elections to launch a series of initiatives designed to strengthen Israeli democracy by affecting the platforms of the various parties. IDI issued four policy papers with recommendations for reforms, which were accompanied by five conferences and numerous meetings with elected officials. These initiatives led to the Prime Minister's endorsement of IDI's plan for electoral reform, Yesh Atid's adoption of IDI's plan to combat political corruption, and Jewish Home's endorsement of IDI recommendations on integrating ultra-Orthodox and Arab citizens into the workforce.



Shaping the Reform Agenda of Israel's New Ministers

Upon the formation of the new government, IDI experts presented the Prime Minister, Justice Minister, Education Minister, Minister of the Economy, and acting Minister of Communications with proposals for major domestic reforms for their term in office. IDI called on the Prime Minister to enact electoral reform, urged the Minister of the Economy to reform the labor market and formulate a new national energy policy, recommended that the Minister of Religious Services democratize the Chief Rabbinate, proposed that the Minister of Education introduce a standard curriculum for all Israelis and reform higher education, encouraged the acting Minister of Communications to complete the reform of Israel's public broadcast authority and introduce reforms to commercial television regulation, and called on the Justice Minister to protect the Supreme Court, curb populist legislation, and take steps to combat racism. IDI created a dedicated mini-site housing these recommendations and disseminated them via traditional and social media.

Creating a Party Platform on Democratic Principles

As the parties hit the campaign trail, IDI scholars formulated a draft chapter on democratic principles that could be inserted into any political platform. The proposed insert equipped parties with a conceptual framework and concrete suggestions to help ensure that Israel remains Jewish and democratic, guarantee human and civil rights, safeguard the rule of law, protect the status of the judicial system, build a shared society, and combat racism and discrimination. Distributed to all parties running for Knesset, the platform was adopted by the Kulanu party. Based on this text, Kulanu wields veto power in the new government over legislation of a constitutional nature.



IMPACT

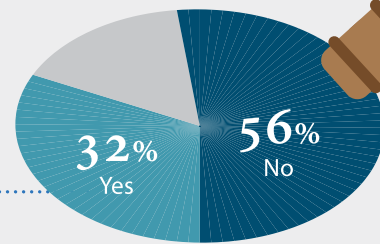
The Guttman Center for Surveys and Public Policy Research

Measuring the Pulse of Israeli Society

The Guttman Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research at IDI holds the most comprehensive database of public opinion surveys in Israel. Under the leadership of IDI Senior Fellow Prof. Tamar Hermann, the Center has become the go-to place for sophisticated polling and analysis of attitudes toward everything from public trust in government institutions to Arab and ultra-Orthodox public opinion.

Left to Right: Prof. Yedidia Stern, Prof. Tamar Hermann, Yohanan Plesner, President Reuven Rivlin, Amir Elstein, Dr. Jesse Ferris, Prof. Mordechai Kremnitzer, Sallai Meridor

SHOULD THE SUPREME COURT BE STRIPPED OF ITS AUTHORITY TO OVERTURN KNESSET LEGISLATION?



THERE'S NO PLACE LIKE HOME

84%

of Israelis would prefer to live in Israel even if they had the possibility of living elsewhere

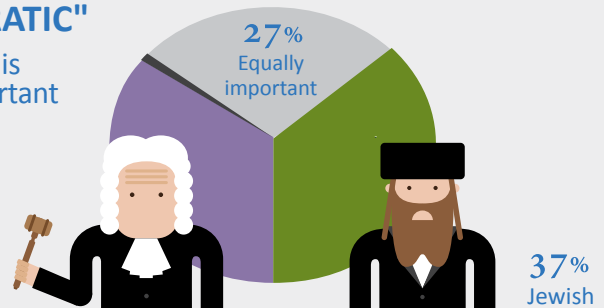


"JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC"

Which Part is More Important to You?

*Jewish sample only

35%
Democratic



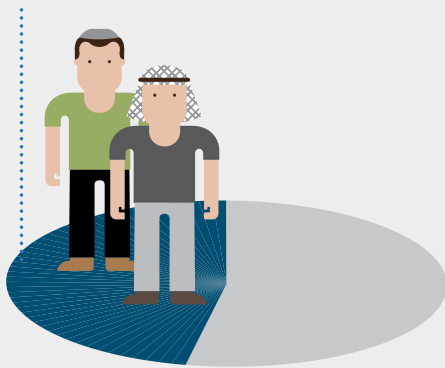
The 2015 Israeli Democracy Index

The Israeli Democracy Index is an annual survey of public opinion on the state of Israeli democracy, including trust in government institutions and social and political trends. It also includes an evaluation of Israel's standing in the democratic world as measured by a number of international indices. The 2015 survey focused on how Israelis perceive their personal and national situation, government performance, the character of the state, the relationship between government and citizens, democratic rights and freedoms, and Jewish-Arab relations.

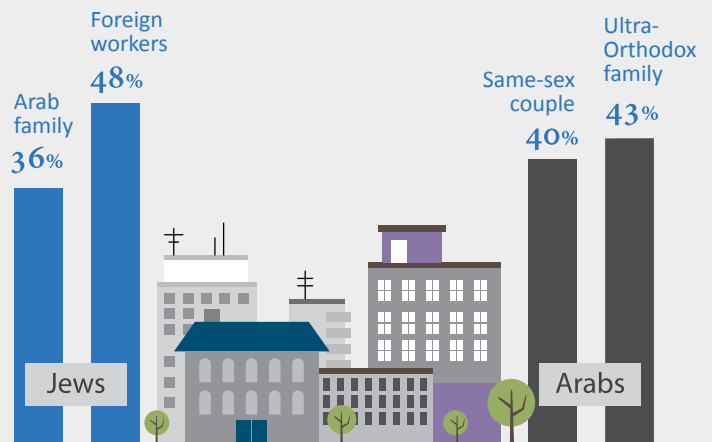
On November 10, IDI President Yohanan Plesner and Prof. Tamar Hermann, Director of IDI's Guttman Center, presented the 2015 Index to President Reuven Rivlin in a ceremony at his official residence. After being presented with the findings, President Rivlin said: "The strength of the people of Israel, the existence of Israeli democracy, should not be taken for granted. It is incumbent upon us to forever strengthen it, to continue to strive for true democracy in Israel." Several weeks later, IDI presented the findings of the Index to 25 ambassadors and diplomats at a special briefing.

47%

of all Israelis think the greatest tension in Israeli society is the tension between Jews and Arabs



WHICH NEIGHBORS ARE LEAST DESIRABLE?

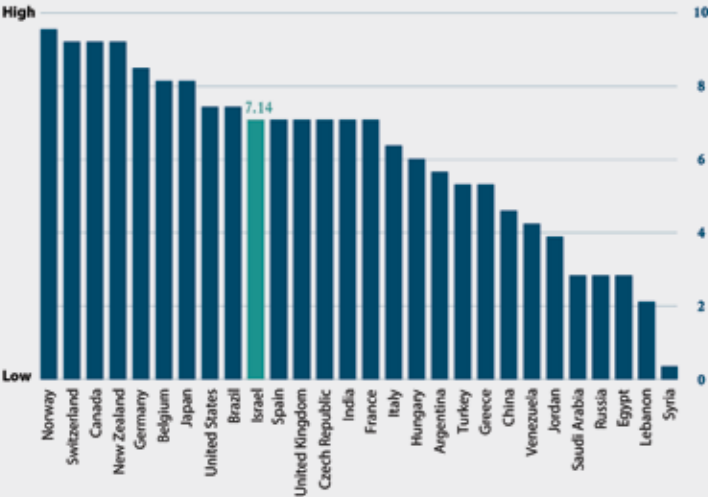


The Peace Index

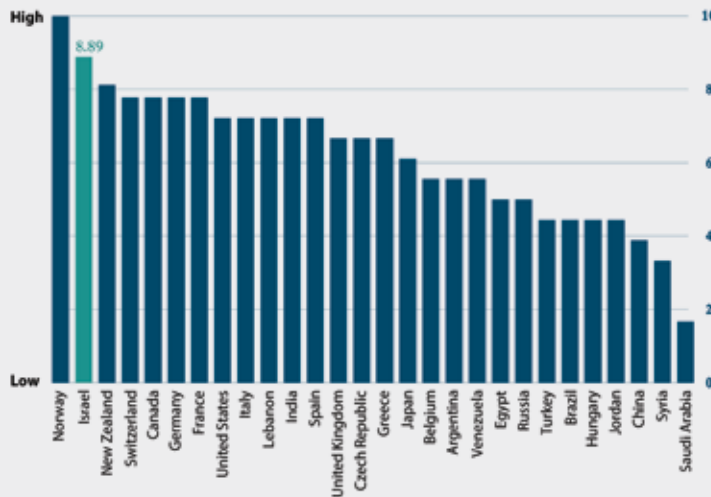
A joint project of IDI and Tel Aviv University, the monthly Peace Index monitors trends in Israeli public opinion on critical issues surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel, and matters of peace and national security. During the period before the elections of 2015, the survey explored the public's intention to vote and the issues that were important to them when voting; during the period after the elections, the Index monitored the public's satisfaction with the election results, the government, the opposition, and Israel's Knesset members.

Additional topics covered by the Peace Index in 2015 included views of the future of the peace process, attitudes toward Jewish settlements in the territories, US-Israel relations, President Obama's commitment to Israel's security, and Prime Minister Netanyahu's attempt to thwart the nuclear deal with Iran. The Index also explored perceptions of the international status of the Islamic State, Israel-Hamas relations in Gaza, and Russia's growing involvement in Syria. Toward the end of the year, the Peace Index gauged public sentiment on the wave of violence that swept Israel, the type of punishment that should be meted out to perpetrators of attacks, and the handling of the security situation by state institutions.

ISRAEL'S INTERNATIONAL RANKING: FUNCTIONING OF GOVERNMENT



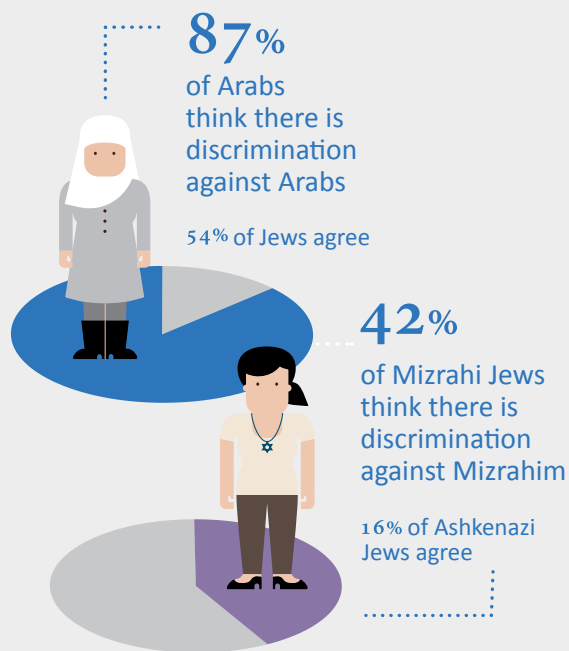
ISRAEL'S INTERNATIONAL RANKING: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION



The National Religious Sector Survey

At the start of 2015, IDI released the first comprehensive survey of Israel's national-religious community. Previously, this community was thought to be no more than 10% of the Israeli population. The survey, however, revealed that over one-fifth of Israeli Jews (21%) self-identify with the national-religious sector in terms of their lifestyle and outlook.

The study explored attitudes within this community toward civic values and religion. It also surveyed attitudes towards territorial compromise, conscientious objection, and the competition between state and rabbinic authority. In addition, the survey assessed national religious sentiment on amending the Law of Return, the institution of civil marriages, and public transportation on Shabbat.



* Mizrahi(m)=Jews of Asian/African origin. Ashkenazi(m)=Jews of European/American origin.

ATTITUDES OF ISRAELI JEWS TOWARD ARAB CITIZENS



57% are opposed to including Arab parties and ministers in the government



78% do not care whether the doctor who treats them is Jewish or Arab

The Arab-Jewish Index

2015 also saw the publication of the 2014 Index of Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel. Based on public opinion surveys, this Index measures attitudes of Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel toward the state and toward each other and monitors change in these attitudes over time. Written by Prof. Sammy Smooha, Professor Emeritus of Sociology at the University of Haifa and the Israel Prize laureate for Sociology in 2008, the Index has been published annually since 2003.

The latest Index, based on surveys conducted before the 2014 Gaza war, suggests that contrary to alarmist interpretations of a deterioration in the relationship between Jews and Arabs in Israel, attitudes in the Arab sector have not hardened significantly, while Jewish attitudes toward the Arab minority continue to be stable.

IN THE MEDIA



1,847

Press Mentions

852

Web mentions



311

TV Appearances



195

Radio Interviews



163

Op-eds

IN THE KNESSET



13

Testimonies before the Constitution. Law and Justice Committee



28

Submissions of Legal Opinions



10

Appearances before various Knesset Committees



4

Testimonies before the Economic Affairs Committee

4

Appearances before Knesset Caucuses

2015 BY THE NUMBERS



The fifth meeting of IDI's International Advisory Council took place at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. This meeting was dedicated to a discussion of the critical challenges presently facing Israeli democracy with an emphasis on national security issues and the crisis of governance. Conference participants and invited guests attended a special dinner discussion with Admiral Ami Ayalon, IDI Senior Fellow and former Director of the Israel Security Agency (Shin Bet), and Justice Dorit Beinisch, former Chief Justice of the Israeli Supreme Court. The speakers surveyed the implications of the conflict in Gaza for Israel's security and international legitimacy and discussed the tension between military necessity and legal constraints in the conduct of asymmetric warfare.

Participants at the conference included Secretary George Shultz, Bernie Marcus, Justice Rosalie Silberman Abella, Prof. Gerhard Casper, Justice Dalia Dorner, Dr. Sidney Drell, Amir Elstein, Avi Fischer, Ambassador Martin Indyk, Dr. Josef Joffe, Prof. Christoph Marksches, Prof. Robert Mnookin, Prof. Gabriela Shalev, Justice Meir Shamgar, Judge Abraham Sofaer, Prof. Manuel Trajtenberg, and Prof. Yaffa Zilbershats.

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IDI's Leadership

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Former U.S. Secretary of State

Prof. Gerhard Casper, Chairman
President (Emeritus),
Stanford University

Justice Rosalie Silberman Abella
Canadian Supreme Court

Justice Dorit Beinisch
President (Emeritus),
Israeli Supreme Court

Prof. Vernon Bogdanor
Kings College, London

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United States Supreme Court

Prof. Ronald J. Daniels
President,
Johns Hopkins University

Justice (Emerita) Dalia Dorner
Israeli Supreme Court

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Pennsylvania

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Shalom Hartman Institute;
Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Ambassador Charles Hill
Distinguished Fellow and
Senior Lecturer, Yale University

Dr. Martin Indyk
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Harvard University Law
School

Dr. Jehuda Reinharz
President (Emeritus),
Brandeis University

Prof. Gabriela Shalev
President, Higher
Academic Council, Ono
Academic College
Former Israeli
Ambassador to the UN



Left: Stacy Schusterman and Prof. Yedidia Stern; Top: Prof. Gerhard Casper and Justice Rosalie Abella; Right: Secretary George Shultz, Mr. Bernie Marcus and Dr. Martin Indyk at IDI's International Advisory Council meeting

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Democratic Principles

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The Ultra-Orthodox in Israel

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Religion and State

Adv. Talya Steiner

Proportionality in Public Policy

Dr. Raanan

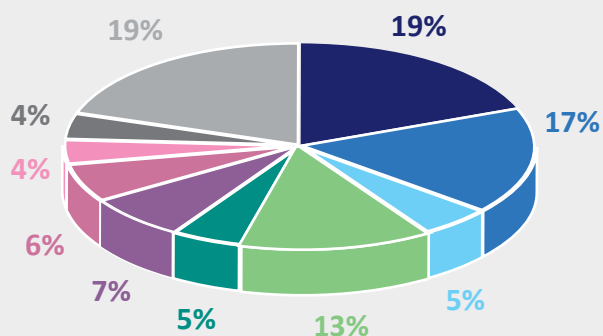
Sulitzeanu-Kenan

Proportionality in Public Policy



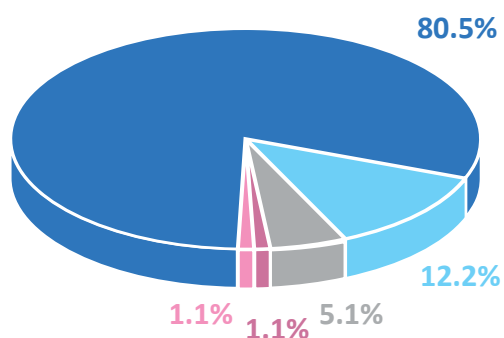
LEADERSHIP

2015 Financials (in Dollars)



FINANCIALS

Programs	Estimated Performance	Percent of Total Expenses
A. Policy Centers		
Democratic Values and Institutions	1,630,645	19%
Nation, Religion and State	1,520,871	17%
National Security and Democracy	472,454	5%
Governance and the Economy	1,152,479	13%
The Guttman Center for Surveys	428,440	5%
B. Impact and Support Units		
Government Relations and Conferences	614,509	7%
Marketing and Communications	544,823	6%
IDI Press	326,475	4%
Development	307,629	4%
Administration, Technology and Research Support	1,736,616	20%
Total Expenses	\$8,734,942	



2015 Income (in Dollars)

US Foundations and Private Donors	7,646,371	80.5%
Israeli Foundations and Private Donors	1,161,062	12.2%
European Research Council (ERC)	483,460	5.1%
Joint Ventures with Israeli Institutions	101,286	1.1%
Royalties, Honoraria, Investments	107,853	1.1%
Total Income	\$9,500,032	

Concept and Copy: Shira Pasternak Be'eri and Deena Pulitzer

Design: Shifra Sacks, Lotte Design

Photography by: Noam Moskovich, Yossi Zamir, Oded Antman, Yossi Zelig

Infographics: Roni Levit

© Israel Democracy Institute 2015

Printed in Israel, January 2016



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