

THE ISRAEL
DEMOCRACY
INSTITUTE

Annual Report 2019





Content: Shimon Arbel, Gila Noam

Editor: Gila Noam

Design: Jacques Levy, Jerusalem

Photography: Oded Antman, Daniel Chanoch, HAC,
Noam Moskovitz, Michal Patel, Yotam Ronen

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Message from the President and the Chairman of the Board

We are proud to share with you the Israel Democracy Institute's Annual Report for 2019. The report provides a glimpse of our activities and achievements in an extraordinary year. The "Year of Three Elections" underscored the urgency of our mission and the need to redouble our efforts to fortify the normative and structural foundations of Israel's democracy; improve the functioning of its governing institutions; and ensure the integration of its growing Arab and ultra-Orthodox populations into our economy and society.

Our work throughout this prolonged election cycle proceeded along five tracks.

First, we worked to inject substance into shallow campaigns, advising the candidates about the policy challenges they will face in office, and offering professional, research-based solutions to those challenges. We engaged closely with parties across the political spectrum, and were encouraged by the receptiveness to our ideas and the willingness to advance them once a stable government is formed.

Second, we worked to inform and educate the Israeli public on the issues at stake in the elections. Our scholars were ever present on TV, radio, in print and on social media, providing objective insight, non-partisan perspective, facts and hard data in an environment flooded with propaganda and fake news. On subjects ranging from the reforms necessary to avoid a repetition of the past year's political stalemate to creative solutions for the ultra-Orthodox recruitment crisis, IDI has become the go-to address for politicians, civil servants, the media and the public at large.

Third, we led the crucial struggle to uphold the rule of law and an independent judiciary at a time when both came under fierce attack. At the core of this struggle was a \$1 million non-partisan campaign, combining educational content, bold messaging, and resolute advocacy, to preserve and strengthen the separation of powers that forms the institutional bedrock of democracy.

Fourth, we worked closely with the Central Elections Committee and other government agencies to ensure free and fair elections, by shaping a series of critical measures to combat foreign hacking, prevent partisan surveillance at voting stations, and ban anonymous digital propaganda.

Fifth, we pursued a number of initiatives, in partnership with key partners in the civil service, to tackle long-term challenges that cannot wait for the political fog to clear. One of our biggest achievements came out of IDI's initiative on deregulation, which helped produce a dramatic leap in Israel's ranking on the World Bank's "Ease of Doing Business" index, from 54th place in 2018 to 35th in 2019. IDI was also called upon to spearhead a historic interagency process, in cooperation with four government ministries, the OECD, and civil society, to develop a comprehensive government plan for "A Thriving Economy in a Sustainable Environment—Israel 2050."

In 2019, our professional capacity was significantly enriched by the addition to our management team of Prof. Karnit Flug, former Governor of the Bank of Israel, as IDI's Vice President for Research. Thanks to the generosity and strong partnership of the Davidson Foundation of Detroit, Prof. Flug will serve as our first William Davidson Senior Fellow for Economic Policy. Other IDI fellows who achieved special recognition over the past year include Senior Fellow Prof. Eytan Sheshinski, who was cited in Nobel Prize winner Robert Solow's book as one of the world's 90 leading economists; Senior Fellow Professor Yuval Feldman, who was awarded the prestigious Michael Bruno prize; and Dr. Nasreen Hadad Haj-yahya, director of IDI's Jewish-Arab Relations program, who was chosen by Globes—Israel Business News—as one of Israel's 40 most promising young leaders.

Our achievements over the past year would not have been possible without the steadfast support of a growing circle of thoughtful philanthropic partners in Israel and overseas. Your dedication to Israel's future through IDI is a powerful expression of our shared commitment to Jewish peoplehood and to the bond between Israel and Jewish communities around the world.



Amir Elstein

Chairman of the Board



Yohanan Plesner

President



OUR MISSION

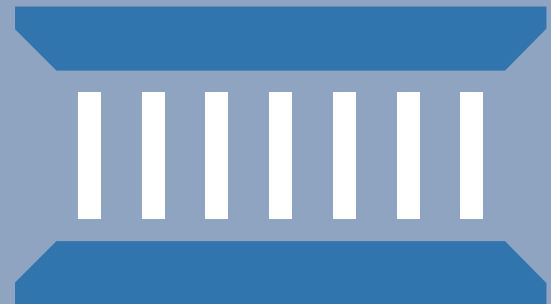
The Israel Democracy Institute is an independent, non-partisan think-and-do tank, dedicated to strengthening the foundations of Israeli democracy. The Institute harnesses rigorous applied research to educate decision makers and help shape policy, legislation and public opinion.

OUR GOALS

- **Values:** Fortify the institutional and normative foundations of Israel as a Jewish and democratic nation - state in the spirit of Israel's Declaration of Independence
- **Governance and the Economy:** Improve government performance so as to strengthen public trust in the democratic system and contribute to sustainable economic growth, for the collective and individual benefit of the Israeli people.
- **Society:** Cultivate social cohesion and solidarity, political participation, shared values, and a common civic denominator among the constituents of a multi-faceted society.

OUR MODEL OF IMPACT

- **Research:** Conduct high-quality, applied research, to generate actionable proposals for reform.
- **Debate:** Convene all relevant stakeholders—decision makers, academic experts, leaders from the business community and civil society—for a rigorous, practical debate on these proposals.
- **Impact:** Work with partners in government, civil society, and the media to advance our policy recommendations and implement them in the field.



THE ISRAEL
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THE EIGHTH MEETING OF IDI'S INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

IDI's International Advisory Council convened in New York City on April 12-14, 2019. This distinguished group of scholars, jurists, and statesmen meets annually to discuss and debate the critical challenges facing Israel, IDI's role in addressing them, and to help shape the Institute's strategy and programmatic agenda.

Council members, along with a number of distinguished guests, met for three days of seminars and deliberations on the state of democracy around the world and the particular challenges facing Israel after the April election. Topics discussed included the political deadlock in Israel, strategies for confronting populism, the challenge of integrating Israel's Arab and ultra-Orthodox communities into Israeli society and its economy, and the dilemmas facing the IDF as it grapples with changes in Israel's security environment and challenges to its traditional role as the 'people's army.'

1. Yohanan Plesner and Prof. Irwin Cotler

2. (l-r) Dr. Martin Indyk; MK Maj. Gen. Yair Golan;
Yohanan Plesner

3. (l-r) Justice Rosalie Silberman Abella; Bret Stephens;
Justice Salim Joubran

4. Prof. Gerhard Casper & Amir Elstein

5. Stacy Schusterman

6. Dr. Leonard Shustek & Dr. Andrew Viterbi

7. Felix Friedman and Irina Knaster



2019 BY THE NUMBERS

Research

- 72 Publications:
- 46 Policy Studies, Research Reports, Policy Recommendations, Surveys

International Media

- 11,200 Mentions
- \$12.5 million Coverage Value
- 101 Op Eds
- 42 Television & Radio Interviews

IMPACT

Government Relations

- 177 meetings with Members of Knesset & Senior Officials
- 65 Conferences & Workshops
- 15 Policy Blueprints

Local Media

- 1,373 Mentions
- \$ 8.6 million Coverage Value
- 14 Pre-Election Surveys
- 71 Video Clips with 13 million Views
- 150 Op Eds

Prof. Amichai Cohen, Director of the Center for Security and Democracy, with students of Pre-Army Preparatory Program.

2019: Activities and Achievements

DEFENDING DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS

Strengthening the Rule of Law

Over the summer, IDI led a high profile non-partisan campaign to protect the rule of law, the separation of powers, and an independent judiciary, in the face of a looming threat to these core democratic values. Through compelling content, effective messaging, and vigorous advocacy, the Institute made an important contribution to preserving Israel's constitutional foundations at a delicate moment in our nation's history. Among other effects, the campaign helped prevent passage of an "override clause" that would have weakened the only effective guarantor of civil rights in Israel, the Supreme Court.

Shaping the Public Debate

In three rounds of elections and in a challenging political climate, IDI took the lead in injecting substance into a shallow campaign. Among other achievements, the Institute held a number of mega-conferences with the candidates and with thousands of first-time voters, and convinced many of the parties to incorporate key recommendations into their platforms on issues such as deregulation, constitutional arrangements, electoral reform, combatting corruption, civil service reform, and religion and state.

Combatting Government and Public Corruption

From the submarine scandal to the first-ever indictment of a sitting Prime Minister, the events of 2019 fed growing concern over the abuse of political power, government corruption, and the erosion of ethics and accountability in Israel's political system. This troubling situation has far-reaching implications for public trust in government institutions, for Israel's economic security, and for the efficient and equitable distribution of public resources.



1



2

1. Chili Tropper, Minister of Culture and Sports
2. Eliot Engel, U.S. Congressman, at conference on "Democracy under Stress," in cooperation with The Brookings Institution
3. Jordana Cutler, Head of Policy, Facebook Israel; Dana Weiss, TV Channel 12 journalist, at conference on "Democracy under Stress"
4. Judge Hanan Melcer, Deputy Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler, IDI Senior Fellow and Head of the Democracy in the Information Age Project



3



4



1. Brookings-IDI Conference on Democracy under Stress; Edna Harel-Fisher, Director of IDI program on Combatting Public Corruption and Tamara Cofman Wittes, Brookings, and Rebecca Brocato, National Security Action
2. Prof. Yuval Shany, IDI Vice President, Research
3. Prof. Mordechai (Mota) Kremnitzer, IDI Senior Fellow
4. MK Amir Peretz, Labor Party Chair
5. President of the Supreme Court (Ret.) Aharon Barak
6. Dr. Amir Fuchs, IDI Researcher
7. President of the Supreme Court (Ret.) Dorit Beinisch

In response, IDI redoubled its efforts to counter government corruption. Under the guidance of a prestigious steering committee chaired by former Chief Justice Dorit Beinisch, the Institute produced a comprehensive blueprint for reforms in this area. Among other actions, the team recommended establishment of a new Anti-Corruption Authority; and creation of a high-profile Annual Corruption Index. Discussions continue with professionals in the Attorney General and State Prosecutor's offices on ways to move forward towards implementing these recommendations.

Preserving Civil Liberties and a Free Press

Guided by the belief that an independent press and an informed citizenry are essential to a vibrant democracy in the information age, the program works to preserve the freedom of journalism in the face of mounting pressures on its independence, and to help the Israeli government harness the power of technology to provide better service to its citizens without encroaching on their privacy. In 2019, IDI experts invested significant efforts in advising policymakers and opinion shapers on these issues, in shaping new media regulations, and promoting a journalistic code of ethics. Our achievements in 2019 include: Drafting a new ethical code for the National Press Council, and a new privacy protection bill; developing and disseminating recommendations to encourage competition in the newspaper content market, and on how to cope with fake news; and completing a 100 day plan for the new Communications Minister on the television market.

FOSTERING AN INCLUSIVE ISRAELI SOCIETY

A Multi-Track Strategy for the Integration of Arab Citizens

IDI's program on Arab Society has emerged as a powerhouse of policy ideas to further the integration of Israel's Arab minority into the economy, society, and government. Among the Program's notable achievements in 2019:

Promoting Women's Employment: Working in partnership with a number of government agencies, IDI completed a comprehensive Master Plan to increase the rates of Arab women's participation in the labor force. The plan identifies obstacles and opportunities, and recommends concrete steps towards achieving this goal. The plan has received backing from the Ministries of Finance; Education; Labor and Social Affairs, the Council for Higher Education, and prominent Arab-Israeli leaders. The partners are now working towards a government decision to invest massive sums in this critical area.

Boosting Arab Representation in the Civil Service: Arabs hold only 3% of senior positions in the Israeli civil service, and make up only 12% of all positions. Working with the ministries of Health, Justice and Finance, and with the Prime Minister's Office, and the Civil Service Commission IDI experts developed a series of recommendations for change. In 2019, the Civil Service Commissioner adopted these recommendations, issuing a new directive to ensure adequate representation of the diverse groups in Israeli society in senior decision-making positions, along with a commitment to promote a government decision on this matter, as soon as a new government is formed.



1. Dr. Nasreen Hadad Haj-Yahya, Director of the IDI Program on Arab Society in Israel and Amnon Beeri-Sulitzeanu, Co-Executive Director of the Abraham Fund Initiatives, at IDI's conference on Arab Society and the National Elections
2. MK Karin Elharar and Prof. Yedidia Stern, IDI Senior Fellow
3. Hanoch Rodzinsky, director of Shachar (for integration of Haredim in the IDF) at conference on the Enlistment Law and Haredi Service in the IDF.
4. Yohanan Plesner, Dr. Gilad Malach, Director of the IDI program on the ultra-Orthodox, and MK Naftali Bennett
5. Salach Huri, Greek Orthodox clergyman





1. Rabbi Bezalel Cohen, MK Oded Forer, Yohanan Plesner
2. Mohammad Darawshe, Director, Center for Equality and Shared Society, Givat Haviva
3. MK Dr. Yousef Jabareen, Joint List; Roundtable on the Arab Sector and National Elections



From Insularity to Integration: The Ultra-Orthodox Community at a Crossroads

The rapid growth of the ultra-Orthodox community poses major challenges to Israel's economy, democracy, and social cohesion. Over the last several years, the experts of IDI's Ultra-Orthodox in Israel Program have been working with the government on a series of policies designed to achieve the successful integration of the ultra-Orthodox into Israeli society and its economy.

Informing Public Policy: Policymakers turn to IDI as their go-to source for evidence-based policy recommendations on the ultra-Orthodox community. The Program's Annual Statistical Report provides them with comprehensive data and in-depth analyses of current trends in the community, in areas such as education, military service, economic situation, and lifestyle "modernization." In 2019, the report highlighted a disappointing drop in the numbers of Haredim attending colleges and universities and a halt to the rise of Haredi male participation in the workforce and the IDF. At the same time, the report identified a decline in the poverty rate and a trend towards greater "modernization" including a rise in internet usage, and number of driving license holders.

Reforming Education: The current curriculum in ultra-Orthodox schools does not include fundamental life-skill subjects such as math, science, civics and English. As a result, graduates lack the essential tools to successfully enter into the workforce and emerge from poverty. In 2019, IDI concluded a groundbreaking survey of the Haredi school system and formulated recommendations for sweeping reform. Working hand in hand with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education, and with ultra-Orthodox leadership, we are now developing a multi-year, long-term approach to executing this plan and fostering the emergence of a new generation of Haredi men and women prepared for participation in the knowledge economy and citizenship in a liberal democracy.

Instilling Democratic Values: In 2019, IDI began to tackle the monumental challenge of cultivating a common civic denominator between the ultra-Orthodox and the general Israeli public. As part of this process, IDI supported the production and publication of a new civics textbook for Haredi high school students, which for the first time explains basic democratic principles. In addition, the program is conducting an in-depth survey of Haredi attitudes towards basic democratic principles as the basis for developing a conceptual framework for moving forward in this area.

“The State of Israel will prove itself not by material wealth, not by military might or technical achievement, but by its moral character and human values.”

David Ben Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel

“The burden is on the Jewish majority in Israel to prove that the definition of their country as Jewish and democratic is not a contradiction.”

President Reuven (Ruvi) Rivlin



FORTIFYING ISRAEL'S ECONOMY

Israel 2050: Ensuring a Thriving Economy in a Sustainable Environment

In late 2018, IDI was approached by the ministries of Environmental Protection, Energy, Transportation, and Economy, along with the OECD, and asked to coordinate an ambitious and unprecedented inter-agency initiative to develop a comprehensive national plan for “A Thriving Economy in a Sustainable Environment – Israel 2050.” The Institute accepted this challenge, and over the course of 2019 successfully assembled an inter-disciplinary, inter-agency task force comprised of four government ministries, leading NGOs, and key economic experts, headed by economics Professor Nathan Sussman of the Bank of Israel. The Institute secured major funding from Israeli sources for this initiative; and presented an initial draft of the plan at the Institute’s annual Eli Hurvitz Conference in December 2019. The project promises to make a significant impact and contribution both to the strength of the Israeli economy and to the quality of life of Israel’s citizens.

Improving the Ease of Doing Business: Limiting Regulation and Streamlining Bureaucracy

A continuous drop in Israel’s ranking on the World Bank’s “Ease of Doing Business” index brought to light the frustrations of investors and entrepreneurs in trying to navigate a complex regulatory environment and overcome the many bureaucratic hurdles they encounter when attempting to do business in Israel. For example, the process of establishing a factory in Israel takes between 4–5 years on account of onerous registration and verification procedures with multiple agencies.

To address this issue, IDI developed a cluster of programs designed to create a more friendly business climate in Israel; improve the ease of doing business, and facilitate and cultivate the entry of new investors into the Israeli market. Programs were developed in partnership with the Ministry of the Economy and other relevant stakeholders, with a major focus being to design a regulatory roadmap for investors, and simplify the process of establishing business in Israel, in part by creating a regulatory “one-stop-shop” digital portal for investors.

In 2019, IDI’s persistence in this area paid off, as Israel moved up for the second year in a row on the World Bank’s annual Ease of Doing Business, shooting up 14 slots to the 35th place, following a five point improvement in the previous year.



1. Yohanan Plesner, Daphna Aviram-Nitzan, Prof. Eugene Kandel
2. Prof. Karnit Flug, IDI Vice-President, Research
3. Adv. Meir Levine, Deputy Attorney General (Economy)
4. Prof. Eytan Sheshinski, IDI Senior Fellow



1. Chaim Hurvitz and Dr. Vered Shalev-Hurvitz
2. Prof. Amir Yaron, Governor of the Bank of Israel
3. Prof. Avi Simhon, Chairman of the National Economic Council and Rony Hizkiyahu, Accountant-General, Ministry of Finance
4. Shaul Meridor, Director of the Budgets Division, Ministry of Finance; Prof. Karnit Flug



The 2019 Eli Hurvitz Conference on Economy and Society

The Eli Hurvitz Conference is widely recognized as Israel's most influential economic forum. The conference is the culmination of a year of intensive work by teams made up of Israel's top economists and government professionals, each of which focuses on a pressing issue and challenge facing the Israeli economy. It serves as a unique platform for the presentation and discussion of the teams' practical proposals on the steps that must be taken to improve government decision-making processes and social and economic policy, in each of these areas.

This year's conference took place against the backdrop of an unprecedented political crisis, and focused on ways to overcome the many economic challenges facing Israel in the absence of a stable government or approved budget. Discussions focused on increasing productivity as a key to narrowing

income gaps; strategic planning towards a sustainable environment and thriving economy in 2050; reducing the regulatory burden; and addressing the challenge of an aging population and mounting pension obligations.

The conference was chaired by Prof. Eugene Kandel, CEO of Start-Up Nation Central and faculty members at Hebrew University. Participants included Governor of the Bank of Israel Prof. Amir Yaron; Chair of the Blue and White party and former Chief of Staff MK Benny Gantz, Chairman of the National Economic Council Prof. Avi Simhon; President of the Israel Manufacturers Association Shraga Brosh; Director of the Budgets Division of the Ministry of Finance Shaul Meridor; Minister of Social Equality Gila Gamliel, prominent business leaders; union executives, notable economists, and civil society leaders.

PROTECTING NATIONAL SECURITY WHILE SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRACY

One of the greatest national security challenges facing Israel has been how to compensate for numerical inferiority. A key response to this challenge has been the adoption of a model of service in which—at least in theory—all citizens share the burden. Yet in recent years, profound changes in Israeli society, coupled with the transformation of the modern battlefield, have called into question the viability of Israel's "people's army," with pressures from some population sectors, to opt for a professional army and devise a new social contract between the IDF and Israeli society.

To deal with these challenges, the Program on the Military and Society is developing a comprehensive plan for a new model of recruitment and service in the IDF. Work in 2019 focused on the following initiatives:

Ultra-Orthodox Service in the IDF: IDI completed a new proposal on the thorny issue of ultra-Orthodox military service. The new proposal was endorsed by the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Defense.

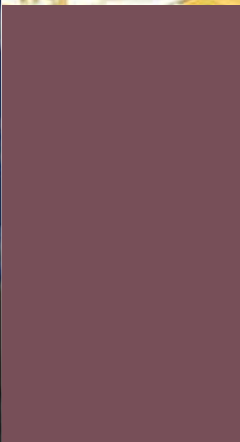
National Security Decision-Making: IDI research played a meaningful role in affecting the revision of the "War Powers" provisions of Israel's Basic Law: The Government, ensuring that the Prime Minister must convene the cabinet before authorizing a major military operation that could lead to war.

Women in the Military: The Military and Society program formulated a series of recommendations for the top brass of the IDF on the controversial issue of women's roles in military service.

Military Ethics and the IDF: In the wake of the Hebron shooting controversy, IDI completed a first-of-its-kind study on public attitudes towards the IDF code of ethics, exposing a widening gap between the IDF code of ethics and the views of the Israeli public. Following a conference presenting these findings, IDF leadership initiated the formation of a joint working group to pursue these issues in 2020.



Minister of Defense and Alternate Prime Minister, MK Benny Gantz



RELIGION, STATE, AND JEWISH PEOPLEHOOD



1. Rabbi Yuval Cherlow, Founder of Tzohar
2. Yitzhak (Buji) Herzog, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency
3. Akiva Tor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dr. Yizhar Hess, Executive Director and CEO of the Conservative movement in Israel; Adv. Orit Lahav
4. Dr. Shuki Friedman, Director IDI Center on Religion, Nation, and State, and Rachel Azaria, former MK and former Jerusalem Deputy Mayor
5. Anat Hoffman, Executive Director of Israel Religious Action Center
6. Dr. Jesse Ferris, IDI Vice President, Strategy
7. Yohanan Plesner, MK Oded Forer; Rabbi Bezalel Cohen

Attenuating the Tensions between Religion and State

Since its inception, Israel has grappled with the challenge of balancing the two components of its dual identity, as a Jewish nation-state and a liberal democracy.

The implications of decisions made on this issue extend far beyond Israel's borders, and significantly impact the relationship between world Jewish community and Israel.

In 2019, IDI's Religion, Nation, and State team promoted a covenant containing proposed new arrangements for the "status quo" in core areas such as: public transportation on Shabbat, civil marriage, egalitarian prayer at the Western Wall, reform of religious services, and equal funding for the different streams of Judaism.

The proposed covenant includes a commitment to ensuring the representation of the entire Jewish people—including all its diverse groups and communities—when setting government policies that affect their lives. Crucial elements of these proposals made it into the platforms of the major parties in 2019, and we will continue to work toward their adoption in 2020 and beyond.

Combatting Online Hate Speech and Antisemitism

While hate speech is not a new phenomenon, today, digital platforms facilitate its promulgation and dissemination at unprecedented speed and scale, necessitating a more proactive approach to blocking its spread. At the same time, it is important to ensure that efforts to curb hate speech do not end up curtailing free speech.

In 2019, IDI and Yad Vashem joined forces with international partners to carry out a joint research project, designed to help governments and social media companies grapple with this problem responsibly.

IDI experts worked with international counterparts, policymakers, and representatives of the hi-tech industry to formulate policy guidelines aimed at reducing online hate speech, including content regulation and institutional oversight.

At a series of workshops held in Israel, Geneva, and California, the team generated a set of innovative policy recommendations for implementation in the struggle against hate speech: First, by social media companies and other internet intermediaries, and eventually, by governments, as the basis for legislation on this issue. These included guidelines for differentiating between protected free speech and dangerous hate speech, recommendations for pro-active policies to prevent the dissemination of antisemitism, and suggested sanctions for their violation.

TAKING THE NATIONAL PULSE: THE GUTTMAN CENTER FOR PUBLIC OPINION AND POLICY RESEARCH



Informing the public debate and government decision-making is a core component of IDI's mission. The Guttman Center surveys public attitudes and measures social indicators, helping policymakers understand trends in Israeli society and craft sound policies grounded in data.

The Center holds the largest, most comprehensive database on public opinion surveys in Israel, documenting the attitudes and viewpoints of the Israeli public on a broad range of issues: politics, culture, ideology, religion, education, and national security.

Among the Center's most prominent projects are the Annual Israel Democracy Index and the monthly Israeli Voice Index. IDI leadership presented the 2019 Democracy Index to Israeli President Reuven Rivlin at a ceremony at his official residence on January 7, 2020. The President congratulated IDI for its contributions to strengthening Israel's democratic foundations.

1. Presentation of the 2019 Israel Democracy Index to the President of Israel, Reuven (Ruvy) Rivlin

2. Prof. Tamar Hermann, Director, Guttman Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research



Prof. Karnit Flug. *Prof. Flug completed her five-year term as Governor of the Bank of Israel in November 2018 and joined IDI in June 2019 as Vice President of Research and the William Davidson Senior Fellow for Economic Policy.*

SENIOR MANAGEMENT

Yohanan Plesner

President

Dr. Jesse Ferris

Vice-President, Strategy

Prof. Karnit Flug

Vice-President, Research

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Ms. Daphna Aviram-Nitzan

Center for Governance and the Economy

Adv. Alona Vinograd *(until November 2019)*

Center for Democratic Values and Institutions

SENIOR FELLOWS

Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler

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Prof. Eytan Sheshinski

Center for Governance and the Economy

Prof. Yedidia Z. Stern

Center for Religion, Nation, and State

PROGRAM DIRECTORS

Dr. Tehilla Shwartz Altshuler

Democracy in the Information Age and Media Reform

Prof. Amichai Cohen

National Security and Democracy

Adv. Edna Harel-Fisher

Combatting Government Corruption

Prof. Talia Fisher

Co-Director, Human Rights and Judaism

Dr. Amir Fuchs

Defense of Democratic Values

Dr. Shuki Friedman

Religion and State

Dr. Nasreen Hadad Haj-Yahya

Arab Israeli Society

Dr. Guy Lurie

Defense of Democratic Institutions

Dr. Gilad Malach

Ultra-Orthodox in Israel

Dafna Aviram-Nitzan

Labor Market Reform

Dr. Assaf Shapira

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Proportionality in Decision Making

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S. Daniel Abraham (USA)

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FINANCIALS*

EXPENSES	\$	%
POLICY CENTERS		
Democratic Values & Institutions	1,770,397	17%
Governance & the Economy	1,637,830	16%
Religion, Nation, and State	1,473,234	14%
Guttman Center for Public Opinion and Policy Research	397,649	4%
National Security & Democracy	355,253	3%
IMPACT & SUPPORT UNITS		
Government relations, marketing, communications	2,277,504	22%
Publications	276,844	2%
Development	356,211	4%
IT & research support	324,525	3%
Administration	1,559,439	15%
Total expenses	10,428,886	
INCOME		
U.S. foundations & donors	9,990,608	80%
Israeli foundations & donors	1,660,846	13%
European Research Council	424,697	3.4%
Royalties & misc.	387,505	3.6%
Total income	12,463,656	

THE YEAR OF THREE ELECTIONS





THE ISRAEL
DEMOCRACY
INSTITUTE

THE ISRAEL DEMOCRACY INSTITUTE

4 Pinsker Street, POB 4702

Jerusalem 9104602 Israel

info@idi.org.il

en.idi.org.il