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Jewish Philanthropy and the Israeli Third Sector

The Case of Israeli Think Tanks

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Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| A Note from the Head of the Hartog School | 5 |
| I. Introduction | 7 |
| II. Philanthropy..... | 10 |
| II.1. Introduction..... | 10 |
| II.2. Why Do Philanthropists Give? | 11 |
| II.3. Is There a "New Philanthropy"? | 13 |
| III. Jewish Philanthropy | 16 |
| III.1. Trends in Jewish Philanthropy | 16 |
| III.2. Jewish Values and Philanthropy | 19 |
| III.3. Jewish Philanthropy and Israel | 20 |
| III.4. Conclusion: How are these Developments Affecting the Not for Profit Sector in Israel? | 22 |
| IV. Philanthropy, the Third Sector and Social Policy | 24 |
| IV.1. Philanthropy and Think Tanks | 25 |
| V. Israeli Think Tanks: What Exists? | 30 |
| V.1. Macro: The Center for Political Economics | 31 |
| V.2. The Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership | 33 |
| V.3. The Adva Center: Information on Social Justice and Equality in Israel | 35 |
| V.4. The Van Leer Institute | 37 |
| V.5. The Reut Institute | 41 |
| V.6. Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel | 43 |
| V.7. The Israel Democracy Institute | 46 |
| V.8. The Shalem Center | 50 |
| VI. Israeli Think Tanks: A Comparative Analysis | 55 |
| VII. Conclusion: Israeli Think Tanks: What Exists, What's Missing? | 61 |
| Bibliography | 63 |
| Appendix 1: Israeli Think Tanks: A General Overview | 66 |
| Appendix 2: List of Interviews | 82 |
| Appendix 3: Questionnaires | 83 |

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A Note from the Head of the Hartog School

In the past 20 years, we have witnessed a major change in the process of policy shaping and making in Israel. The centralized pattern of policy shaping that governed during the first decades of the state, has changed into a multi-player scene. Among these new players are policy oriented research institutes and think tanks.

This research provides a first systematic glance into the Israeli scene of think tanks, and examines the changing relationship between Jewish philanthropy and Israeli society through the analysis of Jewish philanthropy's involvement in Israeli think tanks. It looks into the shift in focus of Jewish philanthropy from the donation of money to Israel via state institutions, such as the Jewish Agency, to a growing involvement in policy advocacy institutions, and specifically through the donation of money for the establishment and sustainability of Israeli think-tanks.

I believe this research would be of great interest to all of those interested in better understanding the complexity of policy shaping in Israel.

Prof. Neil Gandal

I. Introduction

This paper endeavors to explore one of the latent aspects of policy shaping and making in Israel. It seeks to shed some light on the least-researched players involved in shaping new agendas for Israeli society, namely, research institutes and think tanks. These institutes are located on the borderline between seemingly-neutral academia, on one hand, and policy shaping and advocacy, on the other. These research institutes are part of the so-called third sector, and hence operate as non-government organizations financed by private money. Very much like other third-sector organizations, they are supported by philanthropic donations. Unlike the rest of the third sector, or American think tanks, virtually none of the think tanks included in this study receive support from public money. All of these institutes see this as an emblem of their independence.

Think tanks and research institutes have existed in Israel since the 1950s (starting with the Van Leer Institute, which was established in 1959). However, a serious increase in the number of think tanks was noted during the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, with the emergence of institutes such as Adva, the Israel Democracy Institute, and the Shalem Center. As I will argue, this growth paralleled a trend of change in Jewish philanthropy, which is now targeting its donations differently than in the past.

In this paper I will argue that a new, younger and more politically-aware philanthropy, which wishes to get more involved in Israeli society, is channeling its financial contribution in a new fashion. This "new philanthropy" is not only more professional, demanding more accountability from its beneficiaries, but also wishes to be more involved in shaping Israeli society. Hence, it is focusing on social change organizations, rather than solely on the re-enforcement of service provision, or on assistance to the Israeli government in establishing social services. Moreover, a growing portion of the money coming from philanthropy outside Israel is being channeled into organizations that seek to bring about long-term change in Israeli society by advocating different allocation of resources, giving voice to minority and disadvantaged groups, and introducing new issues (such as gender and environmental issues) into the public debate.¹

¹ I would note that changes in the philanthropy world are by no means the only reason for the growth in the number of think tanks. As Ricci (1993) demonstrates, a combination of historical, cultural and political factors have encouraged the worldwide increase. The weakening of political parties, the augmentation of information and data, and the opening of "the market place of ideas" to interests groups, pressure groups and lobbyists, has created the will and the need for professional analysis and consulting. See Ricci, D. M., *The Transformation of American Politics: The New Washington and the Rise of Think Tanks*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.

Hence, there were two main focuses for this study: The first was to delineate current trends within the world of philanthropy and philanthropic giving. The second was to provide a first account of existing think tanks in Israel. At the heart of this study are institutes that deal with social policies, social justice and governance. Although many research and think tank institutes in Israel deal with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and with security issues, a growing number of institutes are engaging in social-economic issues, arguably in response to what many claim is the retreat of the State from its social responsibilities to its citizens. In this study, research institutes and think tanks working on issues pertaining to national security, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and regional issues were not included. I will argue that the changes apparent within philanthropy in general, and within Jewish philanthropy in particular, have far-reaching implications for the development of the Israeli think tank scene, which might in turn have long-term consequences for Israeli social policy.

In order to provide an account of existing institutions, preliminary mapping was conducted, which included the following information about each institution in the study: history, field of interest, model of operation, publications, target audiences, staff, and financial support. Information was gathered from various sources, including media articles and the institutes' websites, as well as from numerous formal interviews and informal conversations with past and present staff of these organizations. The mapping, in turn, was carried out in two stages.² During the first stage, we identified more than 30 research institutes and think tanks. During the second stage, we honed in on the institutions that met certain criteria, based on the definition of what constitutes a think tank, namely, an independent, policy-oriented research institute that targets policy makers as its main audience and that issues policy papers (or working papers with policy implications).³

The next stage of the study included the preparation of two prototypes of semi-structured interviews, one which was used to interview donors, and one which was used to interview the directors of selected think tanks and institutions. All of the institutes approached (with the exception of Mada el Carmel) offered their full cooperation.

In addition, several more interviews with third-sector representatives and relevant others were conducted to establish a more comprehensive picture of the think tank scene in Israel.⁴ All interviews were conducted by the principal researcher.

² I wish to thank Ms. Oriana Almasi for her great assistance in gathering the information for the mapping.

³ A full definition of the criteria is presented in section III.2.

⁴ The complete list of interviewees can be found in Appendix 2.

Academic research regarding the world of think tanks has to date been very limited, particularly in Israel. Although there is growing interest in the phenomenon of think tanks, most of the literature in the field concerns American think tanks. Research into the scene in Israel is still almost inexistent. Consequently, the present study provides necessary preliminary mapping, analysis of and insights into the issue, while leaving many questions open for further research. This study aims to provide a first, systematic glance into the world of Israeli social policy think tanks, and to the extent to which changing trends in Jewish philanthropy are influencing the nature and scope of Israeli think tanks' work. I will argue that existing trends in the philanthropic world, particularly the emphasis donors put on short-term projects with measurable and visible outcomes, reflect on the ability of think tanks to develop the "thinking" aspect of their work, as well as on their ability and will to address "the big picture" of an ideological worldview.

II. Philanthropy

II.1. Introduction

In the past few years, interest has been growing in the participation and involvement of philanthropy in Israeli society. The involvement of philanthropy, both of private donors and of foundations, in Israeli society, predates the establishment of the State of Israel. Philanthropists supported and assisted the Yeshuv (the pre-State entity) in Israel in building social infrastructure, thus enabling it to develop health and education systems for the Jewish community in Israel. This, in turn, laid the foundations for the health and education systems of Israel after its establishment.

Historically, there has been debate about the nature of the relationship between world Judaism and the local community in Israel. Ultimately, however, the notion took hold that both groups would take part in the Zionist project of establishing the Jewish State. World Judaism would give financial and moral support, while the Jews in Israel would contribute by investing their labor. It was also agreed that, although Jews around the world would donate money, it would be the Jews in Israel who would decide about the use of that money.

During that early stage, donations from world Jewry to Israel were mainly channeled through *KKL (the JNF)*, *The Jewish Agency* and *Keren Hayesod*. These organizations then allocated the money to various projects, all of which were part of the Zionist project of nation- and state-building. After the establishment of the State, decisions regarding the use of donated monies were made by the young government.

That was the nature of the relationship between the young Jewish State and world Jewish philanthropy during the three first decades following the State's establishment. At that time, another philanthropic organization joined the aforementioned organizations: *The JDC*, or as it is colloquially known in Israel, *The Joint*. When the JDC began supporting projects in Israel, it supported projects that were chosen and decided upon in agreement with the government (Gidron et al., 2005, p. 36).

Thus, in the early years of the State of Israel's existence, the dominant model of the relationship between Diaspora philanthropy and the State were such that the donations were viewed as "money from the family", and not as foreign money. Decisions regarding the appropriate use for the donations were almost exclusively the mandate of the recipient. Philanthropic monies were not targeted at social change, but rather were meant to be assistance money in the building of a country.

This relationship changed considerably in the 1980s. Growing discontent among the younger generation of philanthropists toward social policies in Israel, together with the increasing will to have a more significant say regarding the use of their donations,

resulted in the formation of independent foundations by the UJA and various Jewish Federations, such as those in Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco and New York. During the 1980s, these Federations, which had previously channeled their donation through *The Jewish Agency*, began to work independently, donating monies directly to specifically-selected projects in Israel. *The JDC* developed a new model of philanthropy, as well: It initiated and funded new welfare projects, with funding usually lasting for a limited time only, subsequent to which both the leadership of the projects and their funding were to be handed over to the State. This model allowed *The JDC* to originate many social change initiatives, which were later adopted by the government.

The establishment of *The New Israel Fund (NIF)* signified a further development in the relationship between Jewish philanthropy and the State of Israel. The innovation of the *NIF* was twofold: first, in the selection of the projects supported, and second, in the model of governance. For the first time, a foundation was selecting to support projects that were **non-consensual**, and even opposed to certain government policies. Also, the directing body of the *NIF* consisted of both funders and beneficiaries, including Israeli-Palestinian groups and NGOs. For the first time, beneficiaries were taking part in the decision making process regarding the allocation of money.

Another model of philanthropic foundations emerged in the late 20th century, namely that of *venture philanthropy*. This approach applies the principles of entrepreneurial business development and financing to charitable giving. Dozens of venture philanthropy groups have sprung up in the United States in Silicon Valley, northern Virginia, and Boston, and some have even appeared in Israel (such as *Israel Venture Network (IVN)* and *Jerusalem Venture Partners (JVP)*). The "venture" label has been used to cover a wide range of funds, including those raised from technology millionaires to those acquired through sustained, closely managed grants that help a charity generate revenue, as is the practice in venture capitalism. Many supporters of venture philanthropy see it as a new effort to support innovation among charities, to support infrastructure needs, and to demand tangible results from grantees.

II. 2. Why Do Philanthropists Give?

Scholars distinguish between three main motivations for philanthropic giving:

1. *Altruism*: It is argued that although altruism – the will to give and help without reward - cannot provide an exclusive explanation for philanthropic actions, it is by no doubt part of the explanation. The current dominant approach maintains that pure altruism cannot fully explain assistance to the other. Rather, egoistic considerations might be involved in the decision to assist and to give to the other,

as well. However, it is argued that the motivation for giving can be regarded as altruistic if a philanthropic action is being taken following a calculation that the benefits gained through giving override the consequences of refraining from giving. These calculations might include benefits such as prestige, or social considerations, such as acting in accordance with one's social class norms. Hence, a behavior is considered to be altruistic if the benefit from the action is greater for the other than for oneself.

2. *The social exchange theory*: According to this sociological theory, people benefit from reciprocal relationships. Hence, philanthropists give because they do get something in return for their giving, even if it is not directly from the people who benefit from the donation - such as, again, social recognition from their peers.
3. *Identification theory*: The third theory to explain philanthropic behavior is one that emphasizes the identification of the donor with the situation and interests of the beneficiary. In this context, it has been demonstrated that acquaintance with the situation of the other, and being involved in the community, encourages giving.⁵

Needless to say, none of the reasons cited above is exclusive or exhaustive. Motivations for philanthropic behavior include an extensive array of reasons, ranging from altruistic considerations to the need for peer recognition, and including religious motivations. To these main theories one might add the following:

4. *Sense of guilt and shame*: It is argued that sometimes people who have done well in life feel the need to "repay" those segments of society that have not done as well;
5. *Business considerations*: This explanation is dominant in the field of corporate philanthropy, where doing good for society can contribute to a positive corporate image;
6. *Providing a greater public benefit* than the one achieved when the money goes to taxes, for the government to spend.
7. *To alleviate the suffering of society's least fortunate* and to promote greater equality within society.

There are also reasons for giving money to a **specific** organization:

1. The philanthropist's identification with the organization's mission and values. A testament to this can be found in many of the interviews conducted for this study. For example, the director of a leading think tank, when discussing his first encounters with a potential main donor to the organization, specifically stated not only the good personal relationship between them, but also that the donor was very much interested in the issues presented to him by the think tank's founders.

⁵ Rudich, A., *Not Only for the Love of Humanity: Philanthropy in Theory and Research*, The Hebrew University: The Center for Philanthropy research, 2007. (Hebrew)

At this stage it is worth mentioning that both Dr. Arik Carmon (Director of the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI)), and Mr. Jay Kaiman (Director of The Marcus Foundation of Jewish Causes), attested that a good personal relationship and a high level of mutual trust were decisive factors in Bernie Marcus's decision to invest in the IDI.

2. Philanthropists tend to support an organization that can show it is making a difference in society.
3. Donors may support an organization because of respect for and belief in the organization's leadership and management. Personal relationships, personal respect and trust in the leadership of an organization are crucial to the donor's decision to support that organization. As one philanthropy adviser made clear:

"It is very important for the donor to meet the director of the organization. He or she would meet them, and they make the decision on the basis of their impression of the director. This is even truer when it comes to businessmen. They believe in their 'business instincts' and they will decide whether or not to support the organization on the basis of their impression of the director."

4. To get involved in society and the community: Studies show that people become major donors to an organization when they are involved in that organization, and are particularly interested in one or more of its projects.

II. 3. Is There a "New Philanthropy"?

Recent studies have debated whether current, emerging trends in philanthropy point to the creation of a new kind of philanthropy. The economic and demographic changes of the late 20th century have expanded the capacity for personal giving, and are bringing new ideas and strategies to the practice of philanthropy. It has been argued that the younger generation of philanthropists is bringing a more entrepreneurial spirit to philanthropy and a growing demand for hands-on involvement in the projects they are supporting as well as for accountability and quantitative measurement of the impact of their giving on the supported organizations. It has also been argued that the new philanthropists are motivated by a different set of causes, in which interest and self-identification play an important role.⁶

⁶ *What Is New about "New Philanthropy"?* A Summary of Seminars on Philanthropy, Public Policy and the Economy, published by the Center of Philanthropy and Public Policy, University of Southern California, 2001.

The economic gains realized by many individuals during the past decade have created opportunities for greater philanthropic activities. The emergence of new industries (such as hi-tech and entertainment) has created a new, younger generation of wealth. Along with its wealth, this generation of donors is bringing a new attitude to the practice of philanthropy – one that derives from their experience in business.

In an article titled "The New Face of Philanthropy" published in *Business Week*, Dec. 2, 2002, a few characteristics of this new philanthropy are explicated:

1. *It is more ambitious:* Today's philanthropists are tackling giant issues, from remaking American education to curing cancer.
2. *It is more strategic:* Donors are taking the same systematic approach they use to compete in business, including laying out detailed plans that get at the heart of systemic problems, and not just the symptoms of a problem.
3. *It is more global:* Just as business doesn't stop at national borders, neither does charitable giving. Donors from William H. Gates III to George Soros have sweeping international agendas.
4. *It demands results:* The new philanthropists attach a lot of strings. Recipients are often required to meet milestone goals, to invite foundation members onto their boards, and to produce measurable results -- or risk losing their funding.
5. All of this requires *a new level of involvement* by donors. The new philanthropists are actively engaged in projects, which become passions.

The demographics of this new generation of philanthropists are also different. They are increasingly diverse in gender, ethnicity and life experience. While showing a marked lack of enthusiasm for the work of traditional institutions, such as operas and museums, the new generation tends to give to new causes, such as the environment, women's funds, and grassroots organizations.

As noted above, the new philanthropists have little patience for many traditional philanthropic models. They are inclined to adopt a directive, hands-on approach to giving. They want to be involved. They are more likely to choose donor-advised funds,⁷ venture philanthropy funds, or even to create their own foundation. Federated giving models, such as the United Jewish Appeal, are not as attractive to these donors as they were to a previous generation of donors.

⁷ The most recent philanthropic models are independent donor-advised fund and supporting foundations associated with Jewish Federations, which are growing in number. Estimates are that they total well over \$3 billion, and are the fastest-growing philanthropic mechanism today. According to Dr. Tobin, "While billions of dollars have flowed into foundations over the past few years, it is but a trickle of what is expected to take place over the next decade." (quoted in: "The New Face of Philanthropy", *Business week*, Dec. 2, 2002)

In addition, existing philanthropic institutions are accommodating and empowering

this new generation of donors by according them a greater voice in philanthropic decision-making. The donor-advised funds exemplify this approach. This model allows philanthropists to direct their own giving, while relying on the host institution to handle administrative and financial tasks.

At the same time, it is worth noting that there has not been a sweeping transition to a new model of philanthropy. Rather, there is a continuum between old and new: Certain old models continue to exist, allowing donors to allocate money to foundations supporting "old" causes, such as museums and schools, while encouraging donations to "new" causes, such as gender-related issues. On the other hand, new models of philanthropic institution, such as donor-advised funds, might well support both "old" and "new" causes. What is clearly emerging, however, is growing diversity along with a growing number of options for donors to choose from.

III. Jewish Philanthropy

III.1. Trends in Jewish Philanthropy

Four trends in general philanthropy are paralleled within Jewish philanthropy: First, **umbrella giving is diminishing**. Just as the United Way has a decreasing presence in secular philanthropy in the US, so are Jewish Federations' annual campaigns playing a decreasing role in overall Jewish philanthropy. The annual campaigns of Federations are still a major engine in Jewish philanthropy, but they probably account for no more than 10%-15% of all funds raised by Jews for Jewish causes (including synagogue dues and contributions).

"In the past, the department-store approach was more popular, where the donor could contribute to a central address and have his money allocated to a wide array of beneficiaries," Mark Charendoff, president of the New York-based Jewish Funders Network says. "Younger donors prefer a boutique approach that allows them to select the specific cause that is addressing a more narrow need."⁸

Second, **the rapid growth of private foundations**, both in numbers and assets, continues unabated. At the same time, although more dollars are being deposited, the pace of their distribution is slow. Most Jewish foundations, like the foundation world as a whole, see the 5% distribution requirement as a ceiling not a floor. Therefore, more and more money is accumulating but is not necessarily being utilized in the present for Jewish community-building purposes.

Third, there is **an enormous accumulation of wealth within the Jewish world**, from both the healthy economy and the stock market boom of the 1990s, and despite the subsequent economic downturn. Donors and foundations have more money to give away. Like the Jewish community, other ethnic and religious groups also are suddenly seeing increased contributions to their philanthropic structures.

Fourth, Jewish philanthropy is becoming **more universalistic** in its approach.

⁸ As quoted in: Todd Cohen, "Evolving Vision: Jewish Philanthropy in Flux", 2002. [http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Evolving+vision:+Jewish+philanthropy+in+flux.+\(Asset+Allocation\).-a093608704](http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Evolving+vision:+Jewish+philanthropy+in+flux.+(Asset+Allocation).-a093608704)

"Diaspora Jewry tend more and more to donate to non-Jewish philanthropies rather than Jewish ones, and increasingly are giving directly [to causes], rather than to general funds such as the UJC [...]"there have been pressures on the UJC - which gathers and then distributes moneys raised by federations, and accounts for the majority of the Agency's budget - since the mid-1970s to decrease the amount of money [sent to Israel through the Jewish Agency] and to focus more on domestic needs, and if you look at the dollar amount that the UJC gave [to Israel through the UJA and JAFI], it's gone down consistently since around 1975. Last year was an exception, because it was a time of crisis." Prof. Chaim Waxman, senior fellow at the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute in Jerusalem.⁹

One study that examined large gifts in America from 1995 to 2000, showed that 865 gifts of over \$10 million were given to various causes. Of these gifts, 22% came from Jews, which is quite extraordinary given that Jews represent less than 2.5% of the American population. Of the 188 mega-gifts made by Jewish donors, nearly half of the money went to higher education and 21% went to the arts, while only 6% went to Jewish causes.

A more recent study, released on January 8, 2008, showed that Jews gave 12% of all gifts of \$1 million or more to nonprofit organizations between 2001 and 2003; only 9% of these Jewish donations were directed toward Jewish organizations.

Of the \$10 million-plus gifts by Jewish donors, only 5% went to Jewish groups - down from 6% between 1995 and 2000.¹⁰

This trend is likely to intensify with time, since younger Jews are less inclined than were their parents to give to Jewish causes. The National Jewish Population Survey, along with work done by the Jewish Agency for Israel, indicate that almost half of all Jews ages 55-64 give to Jewish causes, but less than one-third of those ages 18-34 do so.

Thus, a majority of American Jews support both Jewish and general causes. Even the largest and most well known "Jewish foundations" fund within the general community as well as within the Jewish community. Some older, more established foundations have focused on general community funding through their own mechanisms, while dispersing their Jewish philanthropy in a lump sum to the local Federation and/or through discretionary contributions by individual family members.

⁹ Quoted in: Haviv Rettig, "'Radical Rethink' Urged to Deal with Shift in Jewish Philanthropy to Israel", *Jerusalem Post*, July 8, 2007.

¹⁰ Tobin, G., and Weinberg, A.K. *Mega Gifts in Jewish Philanthropy: Giving Patterns 2001-2003*, San-Francisco: The Institute for Jewish and Community Research, 2008.

However, this model is changing, as a growing number of foundations are beginning to evaluate their Jewish funding in the same way they assess their general funding — that is, as a program area with focused funding priorities.

It has been argued that Jewish donors have become involved more deeply in non-Jewish philanthropy for four reasons:

1. *The removal of anti-Semitic barriers:* Jews play prominent roles in institutions from which they were once prohibited from leadership roles due to anti-Semitic restrictions.¹¹
2. Second, serving the non-Jewish community is seen by many as *a mission of their Jewishness*. The possibilities for giving as an expression of Jewish life are extended even further by broadening the definition of what is Jewish. Some individuals believe that they are performing an explicitly Jewish act by contributing to a secular shelter for the homeless, or even to an emergency food program for the hungry under Christian auspices.
3. Many donors believe that they must contribute to societal institutions outside the Jewish community because they *desire to give something back to the general community*. American Jews, in particular, feel that America generally, and their local community specifically, has been very good to them. Many feel that they have been accepted as full members in an open society. They believe that since the country has been so good to them, there is a *quid pro quo* for Jews to support general institutions as well as Jewish institutions.
4. *A desire to represent the Jewish community, to be ambassadors of the Jewish people, and to secure good will for Jewish causes:* Some Jewish donors do not want non-Jews to assume that they support only Jewish causes, or that Jews are too insulated or self-concerned. By giving to a wide variety of general causes, some donors feel that they will ensure general community support for Jewish concerns.¹²

Younger generations of Jews, especially, are in general less tied to Jewish life and are decreasingly committed to Jewish philanthropy. Giving to the Jewish community has become more discretionary, and younger Jews tend to give to the secular rather than the Jewish communal structure. This issue is of growing importance, because more money is being given by fewer Jews.

Nevertheless, Jewish philanthropy remains distinctive for two reasons. First, Jews give significant proportions of their philanthropy to support Israel. This includes societal needs such as health, education, and culture, and also support of the State in absorbing immigrants or rescuing Jewish communities and helping them to move to Israel.

¹¹ Gary A. Tobin, “Jewish Philanthropy in American Society”, http://www.learningtogive.org/religiousinstructors/phil_in_america/jewish_philanthropy.asp, last visited 2.3.2008.

¹² Gary A. Tobin, *Ibid.*

While younger Jews are less inclined to give to Israel than older Jews, the total number of dollars going to Israel continues to increase.

Second, while churches and religion comprise the single largest area of giving for all Americans, Jews give significantly less to religion than other Americans. Jews are less likely to belong to a congregation than Christians and concomitantly less likely to contribute to a congregation. National religious organizations also garner less support from Jews.¹³

III.2. Jewish Values and Philanthropy

Jewish philanthropy is anchored in three values:

1. *Tzedakah*: This word, whose literal meaning is “righteousness”, reflects the ancient religious imperative to provide for those in need. It represents a deeply-embedded set of religious obligations that Jews have to one another and to all human beings. The set of ideologies and behaviors that constitutes *tzedakah* resembles other faith traditions of charity; of sharing material goods with those who are less fortunate. What distinguishes *tzedakah* from them is the absolute sense of obligation it conveys. It is a commandment, not a consideration. *Tzedakah* is rooted in Jewish thought and culture, especially the imperative to provide for basic human needs, such as food and shelter, and for children in need.

These concerns are at the foundation of the intricate set of social and human services Jews build for their communities. *Tzedakah* is also dedicated to serving the world-at-large, non-Jews as well as Jews. The need to "repair a broken world" (*tikkun olam*) is embedded in community values and norms. A strong universalistic component thus characterizes Jewish philanthropy.

Tzedakah and the philanthropic systems that derive from the religious values of providing for basic human and social needs have been part of the construct of Jewish life for so long that the vast majority of Jews who participate in philanthropy have little knowledge or understanding of the religious origin of their actions.

Over time, these religious values have been translated into communal norms. In every community in which they have lived, and regardless of their circumstances or status, Jews have therefore constructed an elaborate human services network consisting of housing, programs for the elderly, teens, and children, counseling services, vocational services, and many others.

¹³ Gary A. Tobin, “Jewish Philanthropy in American Society”, http://www.learningtogive.org/religiousinstructors/phil_in_america/jewish_philanthropy.asp, last visited 2.3.2008

Such human service systems have grown not only from the traditional Jewish imperative to take care of the needy, but also from the separate and sometimes segregated nature of Jewish communities during the course of history.

2. *Strengthening of ethnic, cultural and religious identity*: Philanthropy expresses the desire to maintain a separate identity and community. Elaborate systems have been developed to support Jewish education and to perpetuate religious life. Not only is it a righteous act to feed a hungry person, it is also a righteous act to educate. The Jewish philanthropic system has a large component dedicated to creating successive generations who identify and act as Jews.
3. *Self-protection from external threats*: The persistence of anti-Semitism throughout Jewish history has required funds for defense systems and rescue efforts. Defense has evolved into political lobbying, legislative campaigns, and the development of political coalitions with other interest groups.

A number of organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress were created to fight anti-Semitism. Jews have also developed an elaborate system of rescue organizations, community relations organizations, lobbying organizations, and institutions to support Israel. Support for Israel is also linked to the need for self-protection. Israel is seen by world Jews as the safe haven from discrimination and violence in a hostile world.

III. 3. Jewish Philanthropy and Israel

There is extensive activity by foreign philanthropic foundations in Israel. In a recent study, Gidron et al. (2005) estimated that around US\$1,500,000,000¹⁴ enter Israel on a yearly basis. Most of this money can be attributed to donations from Jewish foundations, although recent years have witnessed a growing number of non-Jewish foundations entering the arena.¹⁵

According to a survey conducted by Gidron et al.¹⁶, 6,377 foundations are listed in Israel, 60% of which are active.

¹⁴ All amounts are in US dollars unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁵ Gidron, B. et al., "Philanthropist Foundations in Israel", Ben Gurion University, 2005. (Hebrew)

¹⁶ Gidron, B. et al., "Philanthropist Foundations in Israel", Ben Gurion University, 2005. (Hebrew)

These are divided into foundations that support individuals (3,239 foundations), foundations that support a specific organization (1,895 foundations), foundations that support more than one organization (557 foundations), and “other” (686 foundations). The group of foundations that supports more than one organization is the most interesting for our case, since these are the foundations that support the Israeli third sector and organizations for social change.

Among the 28 **active** foundations that were interviewed for Gidron's (2005) study, most of them (71% = 20) claimed to be supporting organizations for social change (Gidron et al., 2005, p.7).¹⁷ Interestingly, foreign foundations support such organizations more than do Israeli foundations. Most of those interviewed also stated that they promote social innovations. Among these foundations were The Sacta-Rashi (currently Rashi) Foundation, The Karev Foundation, The New Israel Fund (along with the Ford Israel Fund), The Mandel Foundation, The Kahanoff Foundation, The Ebert Stiftung, The Steinhardt Foundation, The ISEF Foundation, Yad Hanadiv, Matan, The Avi-Chai Foundation and Keren Le'Yedidut.

It is estimated that of the foundations active in Israel, about 1,500 are foreign. As stated above, it is estimated that these foundations bring into Israel around \$1,500,000,000 a year. However, this is only an estimation, since the exact information does not exist. An article published in the Israeli daily newspaper *Ha'aretz* in December 2003 provided information regarding some of the sums of money given by these foundations. According to their data, The Sacta-Rashi Foundation distributes more than \$20,000,000 in Israel per year, The New Israel Fund gives around the same amount of money every year to organizations for social change, The Marc Rich Foundation (which mainly donates to the arts and academia) gives around \$6,000,000 per year, The Goldman Foundation gives to social change NGOs (such as the Adva Center and environmental organizations) about US\$5,000,000 per year, the Karev Foundation gives \$4,000,000 a year, mainly to educational programs, and Yad Hanadiv, which supports the building of major establishments in Israel, such as the Supreme Court and the new campus of the Open University, as well as supporting research through scholarships and grants, distributes between \$10,000,000 and \$20,000,000 per year.¹⁷

One can argue that philanthropic foundations are capable of promoting social change in the society in which they operate. By their nature they are located within the public sphere, between the public and the government. They are independent, and yet tend to focus on public interests.

¹⁷ Sara Leibowitz Dar, “The Donor is Unknown” , *Ha'aretz*, 10.12.2003, <http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=370132&sw=%E4%F7%F8%EF> , last visited 10.6.2007). (Hebrew)

Their financial assets allow them to experiment with new ideas and possibilities that the government would not or could not afford. Foundations can also identify new social needs, and new policies. One of the questions that will be addressed throughout this paper is the degree to which the Jewish philanthropic world does indeed encourage and support strategic thinking regarding the shaping of sustainable social policy within Israeli society. As I will argue, although Jewish philanthropy is involved in supporting organizations for social change (as demonstrated by Gidron et al. 2005), its support for the shaping of a comprehensive worldview and agenda for the advancement of social policies in Israeli society is still limited. Only in one of the cases presented below have philanthropists been allocating substantial resources to the development of a comprehensive vision for Israeli society.¹⁸

III.4. Conclusion: How are these Developments Affecting the Not for Profit Sector in Israel?

First and foremost, one can witness the growth in the amount of money coming into the Israeli third sector from outside Israel, and the growing diversity of options for philanthropic giving, which are indeed resulting in a growing not for profit sector. However, this growing diversity is causing uncertainty regarding the continuation of support for those organizations that have enjoyed the support of foundations in the past.

Second, the more active role assumed by donors, coupled with the growing emphasis that donors are putting on outcomes, are forcing nonprofit organizations to develop new programs and projects on an almost continual basis, in order to qualify for grants. As I will argue, this development is affecting the ability of think tanks to develop long-term planning, and to afford fulltime personnel.

Third, private donors and foundations are strategically located within the public sphere, with the ability and flexibility to reflect on the nature and scope of social change they promote. Although most philanthropic foundations have a clear definition of the values they seek to promote and advance within Israeli society, most of their donations are allocated to *projects*, rather than to long-term strategic support. An interesting example is the support of think tanks and research institutes. All of the directors of think tanks interviewed for this study emphasized the problematic nature of their funding.

¹⁸ It is important to note that in most cases, it is not the foundations themselves that produce social change; however, they are the ones to encourage its development.

All mentioned the problem of project-oriented fundraising, and the difficulties resulting from such a financial model: the problem of building and maintaining an infrastructure for their institute, the difficulty employing good researchers for a long time, the stress caused by uncertainty and, of course, the short-term horizon of work, with all projects limited in time, confined to deadlines, and having to show "results", "outcomes" and "products" (sometimes problematic to the nature of work carried out by think tanks)

And yet, four major institutions – not surprisingly, the largest and most visible ones – are supported by one main financial donor or group. These are The Van Leer Institute (supported by a stable endowment of the Van Leer Family Foundation); The Shalem Center (supported in the main by a limited number of very committed individuals); The Israel Democracy Institute (whose principal supporter, Mr. Bernie Marcus, has supported it from the start); and the slightly different case, The Taub Center, which is supported almost exclusively by the JDC (which is developing a specialized endowment that will support the Center in the future). The unique situation of these institutions will be taken into consideration in the analysis of the Israeli think tank scene.

To conclude: The changing character of philanthropy has the potential to dramatically affect the capacity of nonprofit organizations to deliver services, shape public policy, and build communities. The significance of current trends in philanthropy is best assessed by an assessment of their impact on nonprofit organizations and, ultimately, on society's problem-solving capacity and ability to address social challenges strategically. The growing diversity of projects from which philanthropists can choose need not necessarily result in a fragmentation of the role of philanthropy within society. However, this requires that the new generation of philanthropists be aware of their ability to contribute to society on a larger scale, rather than just to support various projects.

The next section of this paper will endeavor to delineate the relationship between philanthropy and the shaping of public policy in Israel (with particular emphasis on *social* policy). More specifically, it will explore the growing role of philanthropy in initiating and supporting Israeli think tanks.

IV. Philanthropy, the Third Sector and Social Policy

It is a well-known fact that major foundations in America, such as the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, have had an important role in the development of foreign policy through the initiation of research, scholarships, and the like.¹⁹ Historically, many of the largest think tanks and research institutes in America were established by large foundations in order to develop and articulate foreign policies.

As argued at the end of the previous section, philanthropic support has grown and is becoming increasingly diversified. A better understanding of social investment strategies, cutbacks in government services, the liberalization of political structures and policies, and the effects of globalization, have all fuelled the expansion and influence of the nonprofit sector in the field of social issues.

Nonprofit institutions and the individuals and institutions that support them are increasingly important actors in social change. Perhaps most visibly, civil society organizations are increasingly the providers of basic social services that were once viewed as the responsibility of the state. In addition, they are advocates of policy reform, catalysts for community change, and watchdogs of the government.

Accompanying the rapid rise in resources is new hope for the ability of philanthropic investment to effect change. Acting outside of the broader concerns of government or the narrower interests of business, philanthropy has a potentially pivotal role to play in addressing social challenges. Around the globe, philanthropy has recently shown a commitment to addressing global issues of poverty and inequality. In this context, foundations such as the Gates Foundation and the Soros Foundations come to mind.

This general trend is also apparent in Israel: The nonprofit sector in Israel is one of the largest in the world, relatively to the size of national economy,²⁰ and most of its economic activity centers on welfare, health and education. Although public funding comprises the essential portion of funding of these activities, with only 12% of nonprofit activities in Israel funded by donations, it is estimated that half of these donations come from outside Israel, thus rendering foreign philanthropy an important actor within the Israeli third sector.²¹

¹⁹ Berman, E. H., *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983.

²⁰ The Israeli third sector is ranked fourth in the world of 22 countries (after Germany, Ireland and Belgium). For details please see: Mor, A., "Regulation of the Philanthropic Foundations Sector in Israel", *The Israel Tax Quarterly*, Vol. 122, December 2003. (Hebrew).

²¹ Gidron et al., 2005, Ibid.

Among the group of 3,614 active foundations in Israel (see above), only a relatively small number of foundations support organizations for social change and promote new ideas and agendas in Israel.²²

Thus, half of the money that comes from donations and enters the Israeli third sector comes from outside Israel, and most of the money donated to Israel's third sector comes from a relatively small number of foundations, both Israeli and foreign. This fact is crucial not only for the formation of the third sector in Israel, but also for the shaping and articulating of social issues and agendas in Israel. The new characteristics of Jewish philanthropy – including being populated by a younger, more involved generation that is disenchanted with aspects of Israeli society – suggest that the shift from supporting social infrastructure to promoting social change will be enhanced in the years to come.

IV.1. Philanthropy and Think Tanks

Social change can be brought about in several ways: through political change; through advocacy of new policies; through NGOs, grassroots organizations and organizations for social change; through community organization and activities; and, of course, through education.

Historically, ideas and knowledge developed by scholars also provided the foundation for social change, through the development of critical theories and the study of sociology, politics, philosophy, ethics and law. Political philosophers and theorists often presented the discrepancies between the world as it is and the world as it should be.²³ Traditionally, however, academia has been the locus of research, the development of human knowledge, and education. Scholars generated knowledge and expertise in their field(s), but universities, as institutions, did not see it as their role to translate that knowledge into advocacy or activism.²⁴

And yet, governments as well as social change movements did turn to academia for reference and advice. Into this gap between scholarly knowledge and politics came new institutions: think tanks.

Essentially, think tanks seek to bridge the gap between knowledge and power. Think tanks have the time, resources and expertise to deal with issues in a way that the political system cannot afford. Think tanks link the role of policy makers with that of academics,

²² Gidron et al., 2005, p.62.

²³ Literature has also proven to be a source of social criticism, which in turn has proven to be a catalyst for social change movements of which utopian books such as More's *Utopia* and Herzl's *Altneuland* are examples.

²⁴ This is not to say that scholars, as individuals, are not involved in social activism.

by conducting in-depth analysis of certain issues and presenting this research in an accessible, condensed form for policy makers to absorb. Their hope is that this information will be then used to inform important policy decisions.

Every discussion about think tanks should first offer a definition of what think tanks actually are. However, this is also the first obstacle one encounters in writing about think tanks, as there is no agreed-upon definition of them.

In what follows, I will attempt to highlight the defining characteristics of these institutions, although I am using the term to describe a wide variety of institutions. The following definition of think tanks can serve as a starting point:

Think tanks are public policy research, analysis and engagement institutions that generate policy-oriented research, analysis and advice on domestic and international issues, which enable policy makers and the public to make informed decisions about public policy issues.²⁵

Think tanks may be *affiliated* or *independent* institutions and are structured as *permanent bodies*, not as ad-hoc commissions. These institutions often act as a bridge between academics and policy-making communities, serving in the public interest as an independent voice that translates applied and basic research into a language and form that are understandable, reliable and accessible to policy makers and the public. They might enjoy a large budget or a small one; they might have two fellows or 200. They vary in field of specialization, research output and ideological orientation. Some of them conduct the research they initiate, some of them work on commissioned projects, and some of them are affiliated with a university.

Think tanks are generally **nonprofit**, and deal with **public policy issues**; in the U.S. they are also **non-partisan** (if they want to obtain tax-exempt status). Lastly, they issue **policy papers and policy recommendations that are addressed by policy shapers and makers**.

²⁵ McGann, J. *Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the U.S: Academics, Advisors and Advocates*. Routledge, 2007.

It is beyond the scope of this study to assess whether think tanks have any impact, influence or contribution to shaping public policy, either around the world or in Israel.²⁶

However, it seems that donors do believe in the ability of these research and thinking institutions to be players in the public discourse, at the very least, if not to shape public opinion in general and the opinions of policy makers specifically. For example, a recent article in the *New York Times* claimed that the Gates Foundation, which initially financed groups that fought AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis in the countries most affected by those diseases, gradually realized it would have a larger impact if it were to influence policy from the ground, up at research institutions. The Gates Foundation has since committed more than \$2,000,000 to the Center for Strategic and International Studies to develop new ideas on how to fight these diseases.²⁷

At the same time, one should bear in mind that think tanks are only one voice in the political and public marketplace. As such, they have to compete with the media, pressure groups, lobbyists and many others that are vying for the attention of policy makers and the public at large.

According to a recent survey conducted for the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), a Tokyo-based research institute, over 3,500 think tanks exist world wide. More than half of them are located in the United States. Another recent study stated that 35 think tanks exist in Israel.²⁸

²⁶ The question of whether think tanks do have an impact on the decision making process is one of the least addressed issues in the field, for various reasons. Most scholars agree that it is virtually impossible to measure these institutes' impact on policy making. For an interesting and enriching attempt to evaluate the impact of American and Canadian think tanks, please see: Abelson, Donald E. *Do Think Tanks Matter? Assessing the Impact of Public Policy Institutes*. McGill-Queen's Press, 2002.

All directors of think tanks interviewed for this study were asked whether their institute is, or had been in the past, attempting to measure its impact on policy makers. Although none of the institutes participating in this study had ever approached this issue methodologically, they all argued that to their knowledge, decision makers did read their institute's materials. Furthermore, they believed that their work had a cumulative effect on the way policy makers think about policy issues. The question of impact will be elaborated in section VI.

²⁷ "Research Groups Boom in Washington", *The New York Times*, 30.1.2008

²⁸ McGann, J. *The Leading Public Policy Research Organizations in the World*, The Think Tank and Civil Societies Program, Philadelphia, PA USA, 2007, <http://www.fpri.org/thinktanksurvey.asp>.

For many scholars and journalists studying the field, the explosion of policy institutes in the latter part of the 20th century is indicative of their growing importance in the policy-making process. This perspective is reinforced by the way the directors of such think tanks often credit their institutions with influencing major policy debates and developments.

Nevertheless, very little research has been conducted to understand the world of Israeli think tanks and their operation, or to try to assess their real influence. In this study, I did not attempt to measure their effectiveness, but rather to investigate the development and work of think tanks in Israel. I also explored whether emerging trends in Jewish philanthropy are affecting the way in which Israeli think tanks operate.

This study comprised several stages:

1. First, a general search was conducted to identify major Israeli think tanks and research institutes. This search was based on newspaper articles, a web search, and informal conversations with leading scholars, think tank directors and staff, and people involved in Israel's third sector.
2. After forming an initial list, several institutions were selected for an in-depth interview. The criteria for selection were the size and visibility of the institute, with a focus on institutes that deal with social issues and policies.
3. A semi-structured questionnaire was written, which covered areas such as the history of the formation of the institutes, their model of operation and structure, funding, their relationship with donors and funders, their target audiences, and their self-perceived role in Israeli society.
4. Of the ten institutes approached for interview, 90% collaborated, i.e. nine out of ten directors of institutes agreed to be interviewed and have the interview recorded. These nine face-to-face interviews with the directors of the selected institutions were conducted by the principal researcher. Unfortunately, one institute that was approached for interview, Mada El-Carmel, did not explicitly refuse to participate in the study, but repeatedly postponed the interview. As a result, this institute could not be included in the study.
5. In addition, interviews were conducted with heads/directors of foundations, philanthropic advisers, and key informant such as Avrum Burg, former Speaker of the Knesset (1999-2003); Dr. Shirli Avrami, Director of the Research and Information Center of the Knesset; Rachel Liel, Director of Shatil;. Menachem Rabinovits, a former Mandel Scholar researching the global field of think tanks; and Didi Remez.

It is worth noting that very little academic research of Israeli think tanks has been conducted in Israel before, thus rendering this study one of the firsts in the field²⁹. Therefore, many questions regarding the exact nature of Israeli think tanks, their mode of operation, their role within Israeli society, and their impact are being addressed by this study, but will no doubt require further research and elaboration.

In what follows I will provide an overview of existing think tanks and research institutions in Israel. I will then present and discuss certain cross-cutting aspects and issues emerging from the overview. I conclude with a critical presentation of what is missing on the Israeli think tank scene.

²⁹ Another research regarding Israeli think tanks was published in 2004 by Perla Eizenkang-Kaneh, titled: "On the Relationship between Knowledge and Policy: The Role of Research and Think Tank Institutes in Israeli Policy Making" (Hebrew), under the auspices of The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.

V. Israeli Think Tanks: What Exists?

As noted above, a recent international survey states that there are around 35 think tanks in Israel. Some of these think tanks operate within Israeli universities (for example, certain surveys refer to the Dayan Center at Tel Aviv University as a think tank), while some of them are independent. The scope of issues of interest to Israeli think tanks varies, as well – from think tanks that deal with security issues (e.g., The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), recently departing from Tel Aviv University to become an independent think tank), to think tanks that focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, issues of governance and democracy, and other issues. In this study, the focus of attention was on think tanks and research institutes that work on social policies.

We identified 11 think tanks and research institutes that work on social policy related issues:

1. The Israel Democracy Institute
2. The Van Leer Institute
3. The Adva Center: Information on Social Justice and Equality in Israel
4. The Taub Center
5. Mada-El-Carmel
6. The Shalem Center
7. Macro: The Center for Political Economics
8. The Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership
9. Reut
10. The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies
11. The Israeli Center for Social Justice

These institutes vary in size and assets, in the scope of social issues they focus on, in ideological orientation and in mode of operation.

Most of the above-named institutions will be discussed in the following section (see also Appendix 1). As will become clear, very few of these institutions can qualify as think tanks as defined above, despite having most of the characteristics cited in the definition. The institutes that do not qualify as think tanks, such as The Van Leer Institute, The Heschel Center and The Reut Institute, are nevertheless presented because they offer an interesting model within the policy-oriented research world.

V. 1. Macro: The Center for Political Economics

General

The Macro Center was established in 1995 (under the name of The Israeli Institute for Economic and Social Research, IIESR), by Dr. Roby Nathanson, a trained economist who previously served as head of the Research Center for Socio-Economic Issues of the Histadrut (Israel's largest trade union) and an adviser to policy makers during the 1980s and 1990s. The idea to establish an independent think tank originated in Dr. Nathanson's observations of the policy making process in Israel, and was inspired by a visit to Washington, DC in 1991. In its early stages, the institute comprised Nathanson and several additional researchers from the Histadrut.

Independence was a crucial element in the decision to locate the think tank outside of academia. Nathanson believed that a think tank should be flexible and able to react quickly to challenges. He also believed it should avoid the organizational politics so common within universities. Another reason to value independence – a claim repeated in many talks with other directors – is the ability it gives the think tank to maintain its professional integrity, to conduct the research in a way that the researchers deem professional, and to publish its research findings and recommendations freely.

Model of operation

The Macro Center has two full-time researchers, a small staff of research students who carry out research (the number of students varies according to the number of projects being carried out by the Center at any given time, and ranges between five and ten), and a small administrative staff. Most of its research, which focuses on social policy and regional policy, is carried out by external researchers, who are paid by project.

No work carried by the Macro Center is done *pro bono*. The principal researcher stressed the importance of professionalism in the work the Center produces as the reason it insists on paying external researchers, rather than depending on volunteers: "I need to be able to set very high standards for every study, and I can only do that if I pay people for the work they do, and do not depend on their good will", claimed Nathanson.

Every research project has its own steering committee, which discusses and supervises the research. The steering committee discusses the main issues regarding each project, but final decisions are made by the Center's two main researchers.

The Center also has a permanent steering committee, but it rarely provides guidance on strategic issues related to future direction of the Center.

Publications, advocacy and target audiences

The Macro Center publishes working papers and booklets on the basis of the research it

conducts. It also publishes **The Occupied Territories Property Survey**, an assessment of the value of real estate assets held by Jewish settlers and Palestinian refugees; **The Macro Index**, a report on the execution of the state budget as well as government decisions; and **The Macro Economic Review**, an in-depth journal regarding current economic issues. The Center also organizes the **The Zichron Yaakov Process**, a series of conferences and working groups on socio-economic issues, which results in working papers, and **The Annual Macro Conference**. The Zichron Process is defined as a long-term process that endeavors to answer "the lack of a long-term working plan and worldview on socio-economic issues for the State of Israel".³⁰

The Senat Research Project is a unique and interesting tool the Center has developed to get through to policy makers. The Senat papers are very brief position papers (between 400 and 800 words long each), which are issued biweekly. "The idea for Senat came while I was involved with policy makers. I saw that decision makers were getting tons of printed material to read. They were getting books and books to read over the weekend, which they had to read by Sunday morning so they could vote on government decisions. We used to take all this material and summarize it. I understood that what was really needed was a very brief, concise and clear document summarizing the main information". The Senat papers are written by experts in their field, with the aim of providing information to decision makers on socio-economic issues that are on the government's agenda. The papers are sent to all Members of the Knesset (MK) and to government members, the media and other relevant people (such as the staff of NGOs). According to the Center, these papers have already created a "brand" of their own. They are familiar to MKs, and they get good publicity through the media. "We even invite MKs to make suggestions and comment on the papers", concluded Nathanson. In fact, *all* of the Center's publications are sent to Members of the Knesset, the government, the media and other research institutes and organizations for social change. The Center also works regularly with a public relation firm: "Today, you cannot actually work without a public relations company", said Nathanson.

Donors and financial support

Although specific information regarding the annual budget of the Macro Center was unavailable, it became clear that the Center does not have a permanent endowment, but rather funds itself via projects. The Director of the Macro Center fundraises on the basis of project proposals prepared by the Center.

³⁰ See the new Macro Center website, at <http://www.macro.org.il/zichron.html> (last visited on 28.3.2008)

Nathanson emphasized the changing nature of the relationships with donors and supporters. According to him, donors have become more involved and more interested in knowing exactly how the money they provide is being used by the Center; they demand transparency and accountability. He stressed that in recent years it has become more and more difficult to raise money for overhead and the maintenance of the Center. "Even though we work on projects, we still have to pay rent and municipal taxes, and raising money for these has become increasingly problematic".

V. 2. The Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership

General

The Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership was established in 1999 in Tel Aviv. The Center focuses on education; among its projects is one that trains individuals from across the spectrum of Israeli society to become the social-environmental vanguard. Although, as will become apparent, the Heschel Center does not fall neatly into the definition of "think tank", it does bear some characteristics of think tanks, which made it an interesting case for this study.

The Center was established by Dr. Eilon Schwartz and Dr. Jeremy Benstein, and defines itself as a "think and do tank" which, to date, has focused more on the "do" aspects of its mission. The leading persons at the Heschel Center are intellectuals who reflect strategically on the environmental, social and economic issues that challenge modern society at large and the State of Israel in particular. The Heschel Center does not focus on research; rather, much of its attention and resources are allocated to the educational projects it initiates and directs. As stated by Dr. Eilon Schwartz: "90% of our money and efforts are centered on education; we got carried into "doing". We do conduct strategic discussions, but we almost do not do the thinking and writing of papers, for lack of time and resources".

"The Heschel Center has the characteristics of a think tank," Schwartz continued. "We have great people here, who think about a sustainable environment and society, but we do not have the tools to develop into a proper think tank, we do not have researchers who can work here full time and concentrate on innovative research and writing".

And yet, several of the Heschel Center's projects are aimed at promoting sustainable environmental and social thinking. "First and foremost, we do not separate between environmental questions and social-economic questions", said Schwartz. "The Center's philosophy views environmental issues as part of social justice and the promotion of a sustainable environment as part of promoting a just society and a fairer distribution of resources and power".

"Educational projects are a powerful and effective tool to make our ideas heard within Israeli society. Just think: the concept of sustainability was probably introduced into Israeli public discourse by the Heschel Center", suggested Schwartz.

Model of operation

The Heschel Center consists of a staff of about 20 people, including a Chairperson and CEO (Dr. Eilon Schwartz). Although the Heschel Center has a steering committee, it functions mainly as an advisory committee, with most strategic decisions being made by the Heschel's Center's staff and leadership.

The Heschel Center's flagship program is the **Environmental Fellows Program**, established in 1999. About 16 mid-career professionals from various segments of Israeli society are selected as fellows every year. The fellows take part in special workshops once a week for 15 months. During this period, they participate in interdisciplinary learning, contemplation and discussion and are trained as activists. They emerge at the end of the program informed, committed, and dedicated to sustainability issues. They are seen as potential agents of change. Additional Heschel Center activities include **The Green Schools Network**, through which about 100 schools throughout Israel receive environmental education; **The Center for Local Sustainability**, which focuses on sustainability issues with local government; the **Media Project**, an initiative aimed at engaging the Israeli media in the sustainability agenda; and **The Jewish Global Environmental Network**, which organizes environmental leadership trips for American Jewish environmentalists, as well as an internship program in which university-age students come from abroad to work in Israeli environmental organizations.

As noted, the Heschel Center's publications are limited, and include only one policy paper on the issue of Shabbat and its social and environmental benefits to society. The Heschel Center has published a few book-length essays on the culture of consumerism, the environment and socialism.

The target audiences of the Heschel Center are the public at large, the education system, local government and, on rare occasions, the national government. One might suggest that rather than attempting to change the views of current leaders, the Heschel Center endeavors to train the opinion shapers and leaders of the future.

Another interesting aspect of the Heschel Center's work is the evolution of its thinking: from environmental questions, to social issues and their relation to the idea of sustainability, to a progressive worldview articulated and promoted through the Center's work.

Donors and financial support

Since its establishment, the Heschel Center has enjoyed the support of the Nathan

Cummings Foundation, The Rhoda and Richard Goldman Foundation, The Beracha Foundation, Keren Dorot, and the Pratt Foundation, among others.

The annual budget of The Heschel Center in 2005 was around \$700,000, most of it raised for projects.

V.3. The Adva Center: Information on Social Justice and Equality in Israel

General

The Adva Center is defined on its website as a "non-partisan, action-oriented Israeli policy analysis center". Indeed, among the surveyed think tanks and institutes, it was one of the most action-oriented and advocacy-focused. It was established in 1991 in Tel Aviv by four social activists: Barbara Swirski; Shlomo Swirski, a trained sociologist; Yossi Dahan, a political scientist; and Vicki Shiran.

"At the beginning we had a small publishing house", said Barbara Swirski. "We published ideological books. The investment in getting a book published was huge, and at the end, how many people read it? Maybe a 1,000...We started to think that if we wanted to be heard in Israeli society, we would have to produce something else. Shorter. Easier to read".

After a period of deliberation, the group established Adva and started publishing ideological policy papers. Their initial intention was to focus on two issues: social justice and equality, and the regional integration of Israel within the Middle East. Very quickly, Adva became focused on the issue of social equality. "We started to raise money. We tried everything. The first to support us were the Dutch branch of the Van Leer Foundation, another Dutch group called NOVIB, and The Ford Israel Fund.

In 1994-1995, after learning of the work conducted by the Washington-based **Center on Budget and Policy Priorities**, The Adva Center started to conduct budget analysis and to form its own database on budgetary issues. Today, the Adva Center does policy analysis, rather than research.

Swirski defined Adva as a think tank: "A think tank should be critical and innovative. It should provide an alternative to the existing agenda. It has to be forward looking, and should address all sections of society: the general public, the younger generation, the media and policy makers".

Model of operation

The Adva Center currently consists of five-six researchers who work under the leadership of Shlomo and Barbara Swirski, and one administrator. The Adva Center also works with outside researchers on an ad-hoc basis, on specific projects: "If we can bring

the expert on a certain issue to write a paper in his or her field of expertise, we prefer to do that, rather than starting to learn the topic ourselves. However, we are always the ones to initiate the project".

The Adva Center operates a "projects model" in which a research project is initiated by the principal researchers and money is raised for each project. The Adva Center sometimes runs a project in collaboration with a partnering group. Such was the case in a recent project on justice and health, which the Adva Center conducted with Physicians for Human Rights-Israel. In addition, the Adva Center produces annual reports on justice and equality in Israel (for details, please see below).

The Adva Center has a board of 12 people, with two people on its oversight committee. It also has a steering committee, which, together with the board, must approve the annual research and project program, as well as the budget.

Main activities and publications

The Adva Center publishes a few reports on an annual basis, such as *Israel: Social Reports*; *Israel: Equality Reports*; *Israel: Labor Reports*; and *Budget Reports*. All reports are sent to Members of the Knesset, government members, the media, and others. All reports enjoy good publicity and are quoted in the media.

Position papers are also published on issues of gender, employment, education, health, income, housing and development, and globalization.

The Adva Center enlists experts to appear in its seminars and lecture series for the wider public, on topics ranging from the national budget to gender issues, health, education, inequality in Israeli society, social rights and welfare.

Advocacy and target audiences

As noted, all of the Adva Center's publications are sent to policy makers and decision makers, as well as to the media and organizations for social change. The publications appear in Hebrew, Arabic, and English.

"We send our publications to all Members of the Knesset and government. We also send it to ministries. However, we do not do direct advocacy or lobbying. I do not believe in running around MKs. We send all of them our materials and I know they read them, because we get comments and responses," said Swirski. "I think our work is perceived as professional, although everybody knows what our ideological inclination is. They all know we are leftists. Let's say that we talk with everyone who is willing to listen to us. The only ones who do not like us, are those from the extreme right," she continued, "but I see our work as extremely important. We are the only ones to provide an alternative to the dominant worldview in Israel. We try to present our material "clean" of ideological language; we are very sensitive to this issue. We started by writing in a very simple way,

without demagoguery and ideological language, and we saw that it worked, so that's the way we've done it until today".

In the past, the Adva Center had an in-house spokesperson who was charged with handling public relations and relations with the media. In recent years, however, the Adva Center has not employed such a person. According to Swirski, they did not feel it was a necessity. "Adva is now a brand. We send our publications to the media, and on most occasions, we receive coverage. Nowadays, journalists come to us when they are looking for information".

In its early days, the Adva Center worked with both organizations for social change and with the Knesset. However, in the past four years, the Adva Center has focused its work on the Knesset alone. It presents its annual report to MKs, and invites all MKs to its presentations.

Donors and financial resources

The annual budget of the Adva Center varies according to projects, and ranges between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

The main supporters of the Adva Center include The Ford Israel Fund, The New Israel Fund, NOVIB, and The Jacob & Hilda Blaustein Foundation. Additional supporters include the Heinrich Boll Foundation, The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Howard Horwitz & Alisse Waterston, Levi Lassen Foundation, Moriah Fund, Tel Aviv Jaffa Fund, The Rhoda and Richard Goldman Foundation, Middle East Peace Dialogue Network/Richard Goodwin, National Council of Jewish Women, United Churches of the Netherlands, The Naomi & Nehemia Cohen Foundation, and The Rich Foundation.

"It is very difficult to work with a budget that is based on grants for projects. I can never know whether I can employ people for a long term. If I had an additional budget, I could ensure stability, and keep the good researchers. Sometimes we decide not to start a working relationship with a researcher because we know that at the end of the project we will have to part from him or her, and this is a shame. Working only on projects is not a good strategy, but that's what we can do at the moment" concluded Swirski.

V.4. The Van Leer Institute

General

The Van Leer institute is probably one of the most established and largest research institutes in Israel. Although it does not qualify as a think tank, for reasons that will become clear, it does provide a ground for the development and elaboration of new

research and ideas. The Van Leer Institute, established in 1959, is located in the heart of Jerusalem, just next to the Presidential residence, and enjoys prestige and respect. Rather than defining it as a think tank, its current director, Prof. Gabriel Motzkin, defines it as a locus of "activist academia" – to wit, an institute that conducts research on issues pertaining to Israeli society, while providing a platform for discussion with government officials, policy makers and the general public.

The Van Leer Institute was founded by the Dutch Van Leer family, for the purpose of "learning from Jewish wisdom". Its first director was Prof. Yehuda Elkana, who ran the institute for 25 years. He was succeeded by Prof. Nehamia Levtzion (who commandeered the institute for three years), Prof. Shimshon Zelniker (12 years), and, since mid-2007, by Prof. Gabriel Motzkin.

The nature and areas of interest of the Institute have undergone considerable change throughout the years, mainly in accordance with the areas of interest of the director during any given period.

The Institute does not claim to focus solely on research, yet neither does it engage in policy analysis. "We always ask what can be learnt from the field for the sake of theory, and what theory can contribute to issues arising from the field", claimed Motzkin. "We work in the field of social sciences and the humanities, and constantly seek to find the balance between theoretical and applied research".

The Van Leer Institute's research projects are grouped under four "umbrella topics", as follows:

1. **Israeli civil society**, including Arab society in Israel; education and the education system; the territorial dimension of security in Israel; and social responsibility. Each of these topics includes, in turn, specific research projects or working groups.

2. **Advanced learning**, including sociology; critical theory; culture, society and philosophy; and the history of science. In this case, again, the work is carried out by working and research groups.

3. **Jewish culture and identity**, including discussion, research and working groups in areas such as contemporary Jewish philosophy; diversity and unity in Jewish life; and Judaism as a culture.

4. **Israelis, Palestinians and cooperation**, including the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue; Mediterranean cities; Mediterranean religions; and the Mediterranean idea.

Although the Institute is non-partisan, it is ideologically oriented toward the left of the political spectrum. Some voices accuse the Institute of not being Zionist; most of these base their claims on the fact that a few of the Institute's fellows articulate what are called "post-Zionist" arguments. These claims are refuted by the current director, who asserts the Zionist spirit of the Institute.

Model of operation

The Van Leer Institute has one of the largest research staffs of the institutes surveyed: It has more than 50 scholars working under its roof, and accommodates dozens of research projects (which are conducted either by individual scholars, or by working groups), which run concurrently. In addition, it has a large managerial and administrative staff.

In general, the preferred working model of the Van Leer Institute is that of working groups that meet monthly. Each participant in a working group presents a paper, which is then discussed by the other members of the group. These deliberations often culminate in an edited monograph of the collected papers. In addition, the Institute organizes numerous public conferences, as well as book launchings. The Van Leer Institute rarely publishes policy papers, and does not do advocacy work. However, one of its programs, namely **The Economics and Society Program** (which falls under the "Israeli civil society" umbrella), headed by Prof. Arie Aron, presents an interesting model of policy-oriented research. According to this program's mission statement:

"The Economics and Society Program at the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute was established in the context of the Institute's mission to identify and design programmatic activities to deal with the emerging social gaps in Israel. *Its goal is to create tools that will make it possible to participate in and influence the socioeconomic debate and policymaking process in Israel, with a focus on the pressing questions of income distribution, the labor market, and the public sector. The Program is made up of economists and other social scientists operating as a forum for socio-economic thinking. The program presents professional alternatives to current economic policies, based on promoting sustainable economic growth in ways that will contribute to the wellbeing of all citizens while achieving greater equality within society.*

The Economics and Society Program *introduces a new voice into the Israeli discourse that will contribute towards a transformation in the prevailing understanding of social and economic issues in two central ways: firstly, by developing a critical perspective based on in-depth understanding of the economic terms and economic theories used in the public discourse on economic and social issues; secondly, by providing tools to tackle the arguments made by the proponents of conservative economic views.*³¹

³¹ This quote is taken from the Van Leer Institute's website: <http://www.vanleer.org.il/eng/content.asp?id=289>

(last visited 19.3.2008). All italics are mine, sb.

Activities in the program include policy studies; position papers; information briefs; a program on "Eleven Disputes in Economics"; an "Economics and Society E-mail Newsletter"; and an annual conference, which is well attended by policy makers and academics.

It is interesting to note that The Economics and Society Program has a different working model than does the rest of the Institute, in that it states its mission of policy research and advocacy, including an explicit declaration of its will to challenge the dominant socio-economic worldview and provide an alternative to it. The working groups within this program consist of academics, social activists and government representatives. The target audience for its working papers are policy makers, who are also invited to its conferences; academics; and NGOs. As this program is still in its early stages, it is difficult to assess its standing as a "think tank group". However, it will be interesting to follow the program's development in the coming years, as it is strategically located within one of the strongest and most prestigious independent research institutes in Israel.

Main activities and publications

As noted above, the Institute is a locus of public lectures, discussion forums and events, all of which are open to the general public.

The Institute's publications include books and monographs written by its researchers; series on educational issues; edited books of collected essays; and *Theory and Criticism* (in Hebrew), an academic journal.

Donors and financial support

The Van Leer Institute enjoys substantial financial support from The Van Leer Endowment (totaling €800,000,000). The Institute gets 15% of the annual income from this endowment, and this provides a firm financial basis for its activities. In 2005, this income constituted €3,982,000 and in 2006 this income constituted €3,516,000.

In addition, various projects are supported by private donors or foundations, such as The Ford Israel Foundation, The Canadian Embassy, The European Union, The Naomi and Nehemya Cohen Fund, the UJA Federation of NY, and The Poppers Print Foundation.

Friends of The Van Leer Institute include The Ebert Stiftung; The Irvin Harris Foundation; the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI); The Lois and Richard England Family Foundation; The MB Foundation; The New Israel Fund; The Osias and Dorothy Goren Foundation; The Rich Foundation; The Salter Family Charitable Foundation; The Sieroty Family Fund; The Stanley and Dorothy Winter Fund; The Swiss Confederation; and The Yaacov Hazan Memorial Fund.

V. 5. The Reut Institute

Reut is a non-profit, non-partisan policy group, founded in Tel Aviv in January 2004 by Gidi Grinstein, former secretary of Israel's delegation to negotiations with the PLO. Its aim is to provide real-time decision support to senior officials in the government of Israel and its agencies. Reut works solely with the government and its agencies, and does so on a pro-bono basis.

The motivation for establishing Reut was Mr. Grinstein's realization that there is an inherent flaw in the decision making process, especially decisions regarding long-term strategies. After spending a year in the US, Grinstein came back to Israel and founded the Reut Institute.

The Reut Institute is not a think tank. As Gidi Grinstein explained: "A think tank is a specific model of organization that emphasizes the development of new knowledge and ideas. It usually groups together several experts in their field, who try to tell decision makers what they could have done better.... Reut is different. We are a **policy institute**. We provide decision-support services. We help decision makers see the big picture, and change their perception and understanding of a specific situation". In sum, Reut does not produce new knowledge, but rather produces an analysis of a given situation. "We do not tell decision makers *what* to think, but *how* to think," asserted Grinstein.

Reut currently focuses its work in the following areas: the existential challenges facing the State of Israel; national security; negotiations with the Palestinians; governance; and socio-economic issues (identifying the actions required to improve Israel's quality of life, bringing it to the level of the top 15 nations in the world).

Model of operation

Reut's model is very unique among policy-oriented institutes.

First and foremost, it works solely with government officials (rather than with the Knesset or the general public). Reut works mostly with professional civil service personnel, rather than with politicians. The rationale for this is a desire to form long-term relationships, rather than being subject to constant political change. These relationships are "businesslike": Government officials are referred to as "clients", and Reut as their "service provider". Reut hardly ever works with other NGOs, research institutes, or the media.

Second, Reut works on very short-term projects, most of which last between two and four weeks. However, often these projects are also the basis for an ongoing campaign, in which Reut invests in presenting their analysis to various policy makers, organizational forums, and the like. Third, Reut consists of young staff, most of whom are in their early 30s. They are not researchers, but rather "policy analysts" who go through a specialized

training program when they join the Institute. According to Grinstein, they constitute "Israel's future policy designers". The cost of training of a single analyst is \$25,000. Reut's charter states:

Reut sees itself, among other things, as a school and training center for those able to significantly and substantially contribute...Reut will encourage its employees to join the public sphere in Israel.³²

Fourth, Reut perceives itself as having an advantage, compared to other institutes, in that it is an **expert in a methodology** based on software designed by *Praxis* for the purpose of supporting strategic thinking. This methodology enables an analyst to identify "blind spots" in strategic thinking, and bring them to the attention of decision makers.

Activities and products

Deriving from the above-mentioned model of operation, Reut's "products" are targeted at decision makers, and include the following:

1. Policy Position: Frames and analyzes options available to the government of Israel, and evaluates their relevance in light of different ideological and factual contexts.
2. Systematic View: Takes one issue and identifies all the other issues that are related to it.
3. Early Warning: Focuses on challenging a working assumption, which may have been rendered irrelevant – a central element of Reut's interaction with government agencies.
4. Point of View: Offers brief, real-time analysis of the strategic implications of ongoing developments.
5. Analysis Base: Maps the interconnectedness among actors, trends, interests and institutional constraints regarding a given policy issue.
6. ReViews: Collects events that constitute a trend, which may render an element of a government policy irrelevant.

Donors and financial support

Here again, the Reut Institute provides a unique model of fundraising. Grinstein maintains that he has made a deliberate decision not to depend on a limited number of donors, and hence has decided that the Institute will not accept any donation that accounts for more than 15% of its annual budget. In addition, Reut does not accept donations from foreign governments. "We have decided not to ask for support from foundations, but rather from individuals, Jewish communities and American Jewish Federations.

³² See: *The Reut Charter*, Nov. 2006, final draft.

When I go there [to the US], I invest in forming a relationship with the community. I meet the teachers, the writers and journalists, the rabbis and the activists. Everyone. I build a relationship between Reut and the community, not only with its money," explained Grinstein.

Reut's work is supported by more than one hundred donors, mostly through The American Friends of the Reut Institute. Fundraising is done almost exclusively by Grinstein himself, primarily in the US. Smaller donations come from Europe and Israel.

The Reut Institute's annual budget for 2007 was around \$1,500,000.

V. 6. Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

General

The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies is an independent, non-profit and non-partisan research institute, which defines its mission as assisting in the development and promotion of social policies that embody the values of social equity and justice.

The Taub Center was established in Jerusalem in 1982, when (the late) former Prime Minister Menahem Begin appointed Israel Katz to head a new working group titled, the "Prime Minister's Team for Planning Social Services". This group was to provide the government with policy options, information, and research that were previously unavailable. Within two years, the team had evolved into the independent Center for Social Policy Studies under the leadership of Israel Katz, with Prof. Yaakov Kop as director of research.

The Center's first project was budget analysis; this eventually developed into the Center's main project – that is, analysis of social expenditure from the State's budget – and is published annually. From the beginning, the Center decided to mold itself along the lines of the Brookings Institution. In those years, the Brookings Institute produced a seminal work on the "State of the Nation" (i.e., the US). The Center chose to adopt a similar model, in the form of an annual analysis of resource allocation to social services, which is published as an *Annual Analysis of Resource Allocation to the Social Services* (titled in English, *Israel's Social Services*).

The annual analysis forms the heart of the Center's activities, and consists of an in-depth analysis of government expenditures for social services, covering four areas of service: the education system; the health care system; personal social services; and the social security system.

The Center also publishes a number of special-issue reports. Its main areas of research are health; education; personal social services; and the economy. Recently, transfer payments and the labor force have been added to the Center's major areas of analysis. In 1992, Israel Katz retired from his position as director of the Center, and

Yaakov Kop became the director. From the Center's early days, funding was based on annual contributions from the JDC. The JDC also concurrently supports the Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute, which produces research on social issues, but, contrary to the Taub Center, its research is mostly commissioned by the Israeli government, and it receives matching public funding. Kop stressed the importance of independence several times in the course of the interview conducted for this study, and claimed that having stable, private financial support allows the Taub Center to conduct research on its own terms, without being subjected to political pressure.

Model of operation

The Taub Center operates according to a very structured model. As noted, the Center is headed by Prof. Yaakov Kop, who is also director of research. In Nov. 2008, Dr. Dani Ben-David, replaced Prof. Kop as the Head of the Taub Center. here is also a director of research for each of the four research fields covered by the Center, which are formed in accordance with the Center's yearly projects. All directors of research are established academics, who have been working in their respective fields for many years.

However, only ten of the Center's total staff (most of whom work in administration) are employed full time by the Center; the rest of the research staff, including the four directors of research, are only partially employed by the Center. Kop argued that this was a conscious decision: "I want my staff to continue to work and produce academic research, and I believe that in this model, when the researchers are working most of the time in academia and only on a limited scale at the Center, the Center gets the best value".

The Center presents itself as interdisciplinary. Its research teams comprise economists, sociologists, education scholars, and labor studies experts, among others, all of whom work together to produce the annual report. In addition, the Center has an interdisciplinary committee that meets from time to time to discuss the Center's projects. It should be noted, however, that this committee does not meet on a regular basis; its members are not part of the Taub Center "team", but rather are a group of loosely affiliated scholars. There is a constant interdisciplinary exchange of ideas between the four research directors and Prof. Kop, who meet on a more regular basis.

The Center's operating model is very stable, and remains almost unchanged from one year to the next. This stability is due to two factors: First, the Center enjoys substantial, reliable ongoing financial support from the JDC, and has since its inception. As a consequence, the Center can employ staff on a long-term basis. Second, the content of the activities conducted by the Center has been more or less untouched over the years. Very few changes have been made in the Center's working program over the years. This stability is rather unusual on the Israeli think tank scene, even though many directors of

other think tanks have proclaimed their desire to attain the stability in funding that would enable them to develop their thinking and new ideas, rather than working on discrete projects. Interestingly, the Taub Center, which has enjoyed financial stability since its establishment, does not seem inclined to develop new projects and new agendas.

Activities and products

As noted above, the heart of the Center's activities, and its main product, is the *Annual Analysis of Resource Allocation to the Social Services*. Toward the end of the 1990s, Center experts developed the "social indicators" that have become an integral part of the Center's annual publication. On the subjective side, the Center conducts an annual *public survey*. This reflects the public's perception of personal and national social and economic trends. The Center has also developed a weighted index of responses to a series of survey questions that probe subjective "social confidence". This index is called the *Taub Index of Social Confidence*.

The Center also organizes a few major conferences, most notably The President's Forum, at which the work of the Center is presented to policy makers, the media and academics.

The Taub Center's work enjoys a good reputation, and it is known as a professional institute among both policy makers and other research institutes. However, it is also viewed as being "of the establishment", and not as producing real criticism of Israel's government and policies.

Target audiences

The Taub Center clearly defines itself as a think tank and, as such, it targets policy makers and the media as its main audiences. It sends all of its materials to MKs, members of government, the media, and academics. Its *Annual Analysis of Resource Allocation* is distributed in about 1,000 copies, and a summary of its main findings is accessible on the Center's website.

During the 1990s, Avrum Burg, who was then Speaker of the Knesset, initiated and hosted a Forum on Socio-Economic Issues, which consisted of bi-monthly policy briefings by Center experts to a special group that included the chairs of Knesset committees.

In recent years, The Taub Center has endeavored to reach people outside of Israel, as well as the Israeli public. From the beginning, portions of the annual analysis of resource allocation were translated into English for an English-speaking audience. This English-language translation of the annual report became later a regular publication of the Center (*Israel's Social Services*). In addition, the social indicators section of that publication is also translated into English and appears as the publication, *Israel: Social Economic Review*.

Funding and financial support:

In the beginning, JDC provided half of the Center's budget, with the government expected to provide a matching amount. It was soon decided, however, that receiving government funds potentially compromised the independent status of the Center. As a substitute for a matching partner, a group of ten JDC leaders made pledges to match JDC's contribution in two three-year cycles. In 1987, it was decided that JDC would become the sole funder of the Center.

In 2003, the Center established an endowment fund, which is meant to ensure the Center's long-term future as an independent think tank. It has been agreed that until the endowment reaches fruition, the JDC will continue its annual support of the Center.

Recently, the JDC made a further contribution to the Taub Center, to enable it to purchase an important building in the heart of Jerusalem, which will become the permanent residence of the Center.

Currently, the annual budget of the Taub Center is about \$1,000,000.

V. 7. The Israel Democracy Institute

General

The Israel Democracy Institute (IDI), founded in October 1991 as an independent non-partisan think tank, is among the largest and most visible think tanks in Israel. The IDI is committed to the principle of parliamentary democracy, and to strengthening and stabilizing it. On its website, the IDI defines itself as a policy-guiding body that operates on the seam between politics and the academic world.

The IDI was initially founded as *The Israel Diaspora Institute* at Tel Aviv University. However, when Dr. Arik Carmon, a political science scholar, was approached to lead the institute, he felt it needed to focus on Israel's internal challenges. After visiting numerous think tanks in Washington, he came back to Israel with the decision to move the Institute out of Tel Aviv University- to Jerusalem - and to change its nature, to that of an independent think tank. At that time, he was joined by two other political scientists, namely Dr. Dan Avnon and Dr. David Dery. Concurrently, he met Bernie Marcus, the founder and owner of the Home Depot chain in the US, who was becoming interested in Israel's democracy. Marcus believed that the Israeli political system suffered from a very poorly informed decision making process. His view was that if Israel were to maintain its democratic stability, it had to strengthen the legislative arm of its government. He offered Dr. Carmon his financial support for the establishment of a new think tank in Israel that would provide impartial professional support to decision makers in Israel.

At that time, Israel was debating the direct election system, which Dr. Carmon thought would have disastrous implications for the Israeli political system; hence, this

issue became the first political issue the Institute researched. A later project consisted of providing MKs and Knesset committees with young interns, employed by the IDI, to provide professional research assistance for the decision making process. On one hand, this project received a lot of criticism from within and without the Knesset. It was claimed that the IDI had created a powerful tool for influencing policy makers. On the other hand, it was claimed that the work of IDI interns made the lack of professional assistance and research support to MKs apparent, thus resulting in the creation of the Research and Information Center (MMM) within the Knesset. The core of the IDI's activity is based on seven permanent long-term projects, which are managed by the Institute's senior fellows; these include centers of authority and responsibility in the public sector; the constitutional process; political reform; outlining schisms in society toward a social contract; media and democracy; religion and state; and business and democracy.

In addition to these permanent research projects, the IDI conducts additional programs and projects, such as an annual economic convention (known as "The Caesarea Convention"); the army-society forum; the "roundtable" forum; and the public council for a constitution by consensus. The IDI also produces *The Seventh Eye*, formerly a print journal that has recently been changed to an electronic journal (e-journal).

The IDI has established strong ties with government officials, ministries, and the media, to the point where it is often criticized for being "part of the establishment". It has a strong research staff comprising leading academics that are highly identified with it.

Model of operation

The IDI is one of the largest think tanks in Israel, with more than 50 people on its staff (both researchers and administrators).

The IDI is organized around more than ten areas of research, among them constitution by consensus; religion and the State; economic reforms; political reforms; business and democracy; the army and society; political education; and politics and anti-politics. Each area of research is headed by a leading scholar who is assisted by numerous research assistants and enjoys relative administrative independence. In any given area of research, the IDI produces working papers, workshop proceedings, and position papers.

The strong research staff is supported by an Information Center that collects comparative information from various democracies and research institutes around the world. The IDI has a large administrative staff, which includes event organizers, forum coordinators, secretaries, and an in-house spokesperson.

The IDI also employs an extensive team for the maintenance and constant updating of its website; this shows the great importance it attributes to the dissemination of its products through the internet. It also employs a team of people who are in charge of the IDI Press.

All IDI projects run for several years. Although each project initiates a series of studies and activities, the main areas of research enjoy stability. Contrary to the small think tanks presented in this study, the IDI does not work on a project-based budget. The funding of all projects comes from the secure and stable contribution of its main donors and supporters.

In the mid-1990s, the IDI initiated the Caesarea Convention, which soon became a central event for discussion of the national budget. The idea for the convention was based on the observation that budgetary planning in Israel was confined to a very limited and closed circle. The convention originally endeavored to challenge this situation by providing a platform where decision makers, the Ministry of Finance, the private sector and academia could reflect and deliberate on strategic issues pertaining to the shaping of the budget. To this end, the IDI formed a strategic alliance with the Ministry of Finance, for which it has been most criticized.

First, it has been argued that the convention has created a closed club of decision makers and Israel's financial elite, which allows this elite to voice its interests to decision makers and thereby influence budgetary decisions, such that they will favor those interests. Second, it has been argued that the convention has left many sections of society out of the discussion. As a reaction, in the past few years, a group of social activists has protested outside the hotel where the convention is held, to decry what they see as a "money-power club".

Strategic decisions regarding the IDI's activities are discussed by a committee composed of project directors, together with Dr. Arik Carmon. Carmon testified that he consults with Marcus on a regular basis regarding strategic decisions, but affirmed that final decisions are in the hand of those who run the IDI on a daily basis.

Target audience

The IDI's main target audiences are legislators, decision makers and civil servants. The IDI sends its publications to the above, and organizes round table discussions and forums to which these audiences are invited as participants. Generally, the IDI does not organize public conferences. Rather, it provides an environment for deliberation and an exchange of ideas among decision makers, civil servants and its own researchers.

The IDI is one of the most proactive think tanks in Israel. Its staff has established a close working relationship with what it terms "key reformers", i.e. policy makers and opinion shapers who are closely involved in the IDI's activities and are consulted on a regular basis.

At the same time, the IDI does invest in making its voice heard to the wider public. First, as noted above, it has an extensive website, which is constantly being updated. Second, all of its publications are available for purchase either directly from the IDI, or

in book stores. Third, in one specific case, the IDI stood behind a public campaign.

Specifically, during the course of 2007, the IDI initiated a public campaign to promote the idea of a constitution for Israel. The campaign itself was not presented under the name of the IDI, but rather under the name of a non-profit association known as "Constitution for Israel". Within a few weeks, the streets of Israel became filled with signs advocating the adoption of a constitution by consensus. The campaign also included numerous advertisements in national newspapers. The issue of a consensual constitution for the State has been on the IDI's agenda since its establishment. In order to advance this agenda, the IDI has been running projects on multiple levels. First, it has initiated both public and closed-circle discussions intended to promote the formulation of a comprehensive constitution, to which scholars, decision makers and the larger public have all been invited. Second, the IDI has initiated an educational project titled, "The Education System Writes a Constitution", which includes courses, lectures and programs that introduce and promote active and interactive learning within Israeli schools on issues such as constitutionalism, democracy, and tolerance. This project endeavors to reintroduce and strengthen the civic education of young Israelis.

In conclusion, the IDI's proactive nature is manifested in its strategic work with policy makers, its work with the media, its large investment in public relations (it is the only think tank to employ an in-house spokesperson), and its employment of an internet team to maintain its important website.

The IDI is currently conducting an in-depth process of deliberation aimed at forming an activity agenda for the coming years. In order to obtain a variety of ideas and opinions, the IDI has asked prominent figures in academia, politics, and applied fields to outline the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of Israeli democracy, and give their opinion regarding the composition of the Israel Democracy Institute's future agenda.

Donors and financial support

The major part of the IDI's annual budget, an estimated \$5,000,000, is from "The American Friends of IDI", which fundraises in the US for the institute in Jerusalem. Most of the money comes from one donor, Bernie Marcus, who has been supporting the IDI since its inception. A small part of the IDI's budget comes from the income generated by the sale of its publications.

The reliance on one major donor carries with it both risks and benefits. The main risks are the possibility of being highly affected by a change in the main donor's financial situation, and the possibility of fundamental disagreement regarding the IDI's activities. However, both Dr. Carmon and Jay Kaiman, Director of the Marcus Foundation for Jewish Causes (interviewed for this study) affirmed the stability of Bernie Marcus's support and commitment to the IDI, and cited the high level of mutual trust between

this donor and the IDI. Dr. Carmon also stressed ongoing efforts to locate other financial supporters in both the US and Israel.

V. 8. The Shalem Center

General

The Shalem Center was founded in 1994 in Jerusalem by Dr. Yoram Hazony and Dr. Daniel Polisar, after a period during which the founders organized a series of educational activities. The founders endeavored to foster learning and discussion of Jewish texts and writings, to bolster their claim that these sources are of relevance to Israeli and Zionist discourse, as well as to public political discourse in Israel.

The Shalem Center is unique on the Israeli think tank scene. First, it explicitly promotes a neo-conservative, right-wing worldview. Second, its declared aim is to help formulate a neo-conservative ideology, which is adapted to Israeli society and the Jewish world at large. Third, it clearly sees itself as laying the foundation of a new form of political and social thinking, which will ultimately change Israeli society.

The Shalem Center does not work strategically to change how policy makers think about political issues today; rather, it works strategically to cultivate future leadership and intelligentsia. As Dr. Yoram Hazony, one of the founders argued: "I want to provide future decision makers with the broader picture. To lay the foundation for a comprehensive new worldview.

I do not wish to influence the way a policy maker think about policy issue X, but to give him or her the tools to make the right and informed decision". Hazony claimed that the Shalem Center is not a think tank. However, although the Center does not publish position papers or see policy makers as its primary target audience, I will argue that, given its mission, it is likely to influence policy making in Israel.

The Shalem Center invests most of its budget in research and education: "The idea to establish [the] Shalem [Center] came from the observation that existing academia, both around the world and in Israel, has a very limited curriculum, in which the contribution of Jewish writing and thinking is practically non-existent, and from the belief that Jewish tradition has a lot to contribute to the discourse. Moreover, we (the founders) were troubled by the schism within the Jewish world in general, and in Israeli society in particular, between religious sectors and non-religious sectors. The religious world is centered around Yeshivas, which are becoming more and more alienated from general society, and the non-religious world, which is becoming more and more Kantian in its philosophical orientation. The Shalem Center challenges this gap and dichotomy and promotes a new curriculum for learning. In a way, we are creating here an alternative academia" asserted Hazony.

Model of operation:

The Shalem Center's activities are focused around three main axes: research, education, and publications and press.

Research: The Center has six main research areas, organized as "research institutes". According to Dr. Hazony, each institute is viewed as the basis for a future department at an envisaged alternative university. These institutes include Zionist history and ideas; philosophy, politics and religion; archeology; economic and social policy; law and constitution; and strategic studies.

Each institute has a defined research agenda. The mission of *The Institute for Zionist History and Ideas* is defined as being "to assist in strengthening the intellectual foundations of Jewish nationalism and the State of Israel by constructing a comprehensive, academically sound history of Zionism, and by exploring and contributing to the development of Zionist thought". According to Hazony, traditional Zionism has been increasingly challenged by Israeli scholars who depict the history of the Jewish State as a series of moral lapses, and its traditions as manipulative fictions. *The Institute for Philosophy, Politics and Religion*, established in 2001, seeks to develop an innovative approach to those disciplines that form the heart of the modern humanities curriculum. This institute's work is based on the premise that the Bible, Talmud, Midrash, and later rabbinic literature have to be brought into a full dialogue with the Western canon on the most significant issues in metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and political theory.

The Archeology Institute was established in order to provide historically proven foundations to the Bible. *The Institute for Economic and Social Policy*, recently established, encourages the development of a public philosophy sympathetic to free markets, and proposes reforms aimed at increasing economic liberty and promoting growth. It endeavors to make Israel's economy among the most free and competitive in the world. *The Institute for Law and Constitution* was created in order to participate in the current public debate regarding the formulation of a constitution for the State of Israel, and to ensure the constitution adopted will strengthen Israel's identity as a Jewish state. Finally, *The Institute for Strategic Studies* is dedicated to exploring the regional and global challenges facing Israel and the West.

Each of the research institutes within the Shalem Center comprises several research fellows, who conduct research and lecture in the Center's courses. All of the research fellows (the Center houses around 30 scholars) affiliate themselves publicly with the Center, which is a sign of the Center's growing prestige.

In addition, the Shalem Center awards post-graduate and post-doctoral fellowships to Israelis and visiting students, organizes international academic conferences, and publishes several academic journals. These include *Azure* (published in both Hebrew and English), which covers issues of Jewish thought, political theory and Israeli public

policy; and *Hebraic Political Studies*, a peer-reviewed quarterly journal that evaluates the role of Jewish textual tradition relative to that of the textual traditions of Greece and Rome in Western history and the history of Western political thought.

Education: As noted above, one of the Shalem Center's main aims is to position itself as a new academic and teaching center. To this end, the Shalem Center has initiated courses and is in the advanced stages of finalizing the academic status of an undergraduate college it is establishing. The founders of the Shalem Center believe that educational programs are the most effective tools for effecting fundamental change in Israeli society, and for training future academics, journalists, and decision makers. "When we started", said Hazony, "we did not realize how big the need for such an institution was. Students who come here are not looking for a degree, they are looking for answers. They want to learn and to think about the "big questions". They want a real discussion and they want a real exchange of ideas, which they do not seem to be getting at university".

The Shalem Center now has about 200 students, most of them Israelis (some 70 students are not Israelis). According to Hazony, demand is growing every year. Studies at the Shalem Center are currently free of charge, and do not lead to an academic degree.

Publications and Press: In 1997, the Center established its own publishing house. In addition to the publication of its own fellows' research, the Shalem Press publishes the Leviathan Series, a translation of major essays in political and social thought. The following are among its notable translations: *The Abolition of Man*, by C.S. Lewis; *After Virtue*, by Alasdair MacIntyre; *Capitalism and Freedom*, by Milton Friedman; *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, by Reinhold Niebuhr; *The Federalist*, by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay; *Natural Right and History*, by Leo Strauss; *On Liberty*, by John Stuart Mill; *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, by Karl Popper; *The Prince*, by Niccolo Machiavelli (co-published with Zmora-Bitan); *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, by Edmund Burke; and *The Road to Serfdom*, by F.A. Hayek. Through its Democratic Thought Series, the Shalem Press has translated into Hebrew and published major works of contemporary political thought, including *Against Deconstruction*, by John M. Ellis; *Basic Economics*, by Thomas Sowell; *The Clash of Civilizations*, by Samuel P. Huntington; and *Reflections of a Neoconservative*, by Irving Kristol.

The decision of which books and essays to publish is made according to several criteria, such as the availability of a suitable translator and the centrality of the essay to the Center's teaching curriculum. One cannot underestimate the importance of such a translation project. For Israeli students of political thought, the Shalem Press has redefined the spectrum of political essays that are easily and readily accessible. It has also introduced Israeli students to foundational essays in conservative and neo-conservative thinking.

Target audience and advocacy

Since the Shalem Center does not define itself as a think tank, it also does not target decision makers explicitly. The Center's main audiences are the general public and students. Its educational program, research, public conferences and translation project are all formulated for a "long-distance run", rather than to bring about immediate change. According to Hazony, the Center is creating new knowledge and thinking, rather than providing an analysis or synthesis of existing data. "There was a time when I was writing policy papers, but frankly, I do not believe that this is very effective. So I wrote a policy paper on referendums at the time the subject was being debated by the Israeli public. But can a position paper by Yoram Hazony really give an answer to the more existential questions of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel, and the nature of our life here? I think it is more crucial to deal with the big questions, rather than to try and influence a certain government policy", he said.

At the same time, the Center did actively advocate in the Knesset for the amendment of school textbooks. It has also advocated the inclusion of "Herzel Day" in the education system calendar. Yet, Hazony claims that these activities distract the Center from its main research and educational activities.

It is worth noting that the Center's Institute for Economic and Social Policy is more proactive than are the Center's other institutes. One of its senior fellows, Prof. Omer Moav of The Hebrew University, conducts policy-oriented research and actively advocates free market philosophy to policy makers. According to the Shalem Center's website, Moav's research played a role in the Ministry of Finance's recommendation on capital investment law. Moav initiated debate by claiming that the law – which provides grants and other assistance to factories in an attempt to stimulate employment and economic development – has spent NIS 25,000,000,000 in the past decade without achieving its goals of growth. Moav's research was presented to the Ministry of Finance and to the Knesset Economics Committee.

To conclude: Although the Shalem Center does not define itself as a think tank, it does provide an interesting case within the Israeli scene. The Shalem Center focuses on developing new knowledge and thinking, rather than providing policy analysis and recommendations. "I do not believe", said Hazony, "that a policy paper can change the future of the State of Israel – but the Shalem Center might. We will be able to judge this within 50 years. We will be able to see whether there is a new mode of thinking, a new worldview, for Israeli society...A comprehensive worldview that in turn will affect policy making. In order to provide this, we need first to address the fundamental questions of truth, human nature, the existence of a Jewish state, etc. We need a worldview that will provide the reasoning for us living in this place...If we have that, I will be able to claim that we [the Shalem Center] have succeeded".

Donors and financial support

The Shalem Center has a large budget of about \$10,000,000 per year. The first significant donation to the Shalem Center came from Ronald Lauder, the owner of a cosmetics empire, who at the time was chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Lauder is now chairman of the Shalem Center's foundation board. Lauder donates several hundred thousand dollars to the Center a year. About half of the Center's annual budget comes from the inheritance of Zalman Bernstein (through the Tikvah Fund). In 2006, Sheldon Edelson donated an annual budget of \$1,500,000 for the establishment of *The Institute for Strategic Studies* within the Shalem Center. The remaining part of the Center's budget comes from various private donors.

The Center has an international board, which does not meet on a regular basis. Not all board members financially support the Center. The following are among the board's members: Roger Hertog; Barry Klein; William Kristol (co-founder of the Project for the New American Century, a Washington based neo-conservative think tank); Ronald S. Lauder; and Yoram Hazony and Daniel Polisar, co-founders of the Shalem Center. Hazony, who does most of the fundraising for the Center, noted that he looks for donors and supporters who agree with his main agenda, and do not wish to influence the work of the Center by "commissioning" a project. According to Hazony, the Center had one experience with money donated for a specific project, and reached the conclusion that this mode of operation distracts the Center from its real mission. "I'd rather work with donors who believe in my project and trust me. For example, at the moment, our supporters trust my decision to write a seminal book on human nature, a book I've been working on for the past six years, because they understand the importance and magnitude of such a project", Hazony explained.

VI. Israeli Think Tanks: A Comparative Analysis

In the last section, I presented some of the main Israeli think tanks whose work focuses on social policy. In the following section, I will highlight several important issues, which arise from a comparison of these think tanks, and a comparative analysis of the Israeli think-tank scene.

1. *Size of the institution:* Although no Israeli institution resembles think tanks in the US and UK, where the number of people employed by an institution can reach several hundred, the size of Israeli think tanks varies considerably. At one end of the spectrum we find the IDI and the Van Leer Institute, each of which employs a few dozen researchers and administrative staff, and at the other end of the spectrum we see institutions such as Macro and Adva, which consist of a handful of researchers.

Three important issues must be stressed: First, the ability of an institute to employ researchers and staff on a full-time basis is of obvious importance to that institute's ability to develop long-term research plans and forward-looking thinking. A few of the respondents interviewed noted that this ability was crucial to the development of their model of operation. When funds are raised for specific, short-term projects, an institute tends to rely on a small number of researchers, who work on these projects. This rarely leaves them the time or energy to work on joint projects, or to develop comprehensive knowledge of a field. Second, although not covered in the interviews, I believe it is possible that research fellows' level of commitment to an institute and its mission grows in direct proportion to whether that institution is the researcher's main source of income, or a place to which he comes irregularly. (Arguably, the prestige and standing of an institute will also carry important weight in a research fellow's decision to announce his or her affiliation with the institute when making a public statement). Third, the long-term stability of an institution that cannot afford to hire full-time staff may be put into question. Under such circumstances, researchers usually join the institute for a limited period of time, and this restricts the possibility of developing the internal dialogue and exchange of ideas that help form a strong and innovative "community of researchers".

2. *Leadership of the institutions:* Leadership may be one of the most important factors affecting the nature, visibility and impact of a given think tank. The directors of most of the think tanks that participated in this study were very educated, intellectually sharp, and opinionated. All of them were driven by the will to make Israeli society better (although the definition of what this means varied considerably among them). However, the specific nature of the leadership of each think tank varied. In some, such as the IDI, the director did not act (or very rarely acted) as a researcher or a fellow, but rather acted as manager. As noted, Dr. Carmon, who heads the IDI,

decides the IDI's future projects in consultation with a committee of fellows. He is also in charge of managing the entire operation, and of setting the main strategy for the institute. On the other hand, the Adva Center is totally identified with its leading researchers, Shlomo Swirski and Barbara Swirski. They initiate new projects, fundraise, and make public statements. At the Shalem Center, the leadership of Dr. Hazony and Dr. Polisar shapes that institution's agenda and nature.

During the interviews, the question of leadership was raised in an additional manner – to wit, the importance of having a publicly-renowned academic as head of the institute. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate the importance of this factor to the success of an institute, it is worth noting that the leadership of most of the think tanks in this study was not publicly established prior to the establishment of the think tanks themselves. The IDI, the Shalem Center, the Heschel Institute and many others were founded by young intellectuals, rather than by renowned figures. The case was slightly different for Reut, as its founder, Gidi Grinstein, was well-known within the political world prior to Reut's establishment. The case was also different for the Macro Center, whose head, Dr. Nathanson, had also headed the socio-economic research unit of Israel's largest trade union; and for the Taub Center, whose head, Prof. Kop, was previously involved in other important research centers. It might be intriguing to further investigate the degree to which having a dominant, publicly-recognized leader affects an institute's ability to develop new agendas. It might also be worth investigating whether a leader who allows for real inner dialogue among an institute's fellows equally facilitates the development of ground-breaking research, thinking and agendas.

3. *Target audiences and visibility:* Most institutes see decision makers and policy shapers as their primary target audience. However, they approach these audiences in various ways. Most think tanks send out their materials to MKs and member of the government. Some of them also organize conferences (e.g., the IDI, and the Macro, Adva, and Taub Centers), present their work in the Knesset (the Adva Center), participate in Knesset committees on relevant occasions (the Macro Center), work on commissioned projects (the Van Leer Institute and Reut Center), or issue brief, ad-hoc position papers to MKs (the Macro and Adva Centers).

Conferences are also seen as a way to affect *public opinion* (the Adva, Taub, and Macro Centers). However, certain think tanks target their conferences more specifically. For example, the IDI organizes workshops and round table discussions to which they invite only policy makers, the media and opinion shapers. A case in point is the Caesarea Convention, one of the events most attended by policy makers, which is becoming increasingly closed to the general public, and increasingly the locus of discussion for decision makers and Israel's financial elite. To balance this,

perhaps, the IDI's conferences and round table discussions are usually broadcast over the internet, to allow the wider public to join in as viewers. The Taub Center submits some of its projects directly to the President of the State of Israel. The Economics and Society Program at the Van Leer Institute comprises mixed working groups of academics and policy makers, and conducts a yearly conference that is open to the public.

Although all of the institutes in this study regard the media as an important tool for airing their views and their work in the public arena, only a few allocate resources especially to media exposure. The most obvious instance of this is the IDI which, as noted, employs a full-time spokesperson. The Macro Center and the Taub Center work with a public relations company on a regular basis. The Adva Center, which employed a spokesperson in the past, came to the conclusion that it was possible to achieve a good level of visibility without allocating special resources to it.

4. *Impact*: One central issue that has to be addressed is whether these institutions actually affect public debate, or have a substantive impact and influence on political decision making. Assessing the impact of think tanks is nearly impossible, in part because it is impossible to track a causal connection between the work conducted by a think tank, and a decision reached by policy makers. However, it is possible to interview policy makers regarding the use they make of the material and information they receive from think tanks. This, I suggest, could be the focus of future research in the field. At the same time, it should be noted that both Avrum Burg, former Speaker of the Knesset, and Dr. Shirli Avrami, Director of the Knesset Research and Information Center (MMM), claimed to see a very limited impact of the work of think tanks on MKs. They insisted instead that MKs are much more influenced in their decision making process by lobbyists. These assertions should be taken with precaution, since one cannot evaluate the long-term influence on, or the infiltration of ideas and opinions into, the decision making process.

Thus, there is something to be said for the strategic choice think tanks make of short-term objectives over long-term ones (or, as one of the directors interviewed called it, "the difference between sprinting and running a marathon"). Most of the think tanks participating in this study seek a short-term impact, namely, to influence current decision makers and policy decisions. Consequently, these institutes work on projects, each of which aims to change or affect policy decision making in a specific area, such as the medications covered under the National Health Insurance Law, the government's "Welfare to Work" program, and reform of the Israeli education system.. Very few institutions invest in mid- and long-term projects. This choice is clearly related to the size of their budgets (see Figure 1). Institutes such as the Taub Center and the IDI, which have a reliable and stable source of income, can work on

annual projects such as the Taub Center's *Annual Analysis of Resource Allocation to the Social Services* and the IDI's *Constitution by Consensus and Educational Programs*. In contrast, the Heschel Center and the Shalem Center have adopted a completely different mode of operation. Both of these institutions declared that they see changing national and political leadership as their main goal, rather than changing current opinions and policy. (I will come back to this point when discussing the role of think tanks in developing a worldview.) As noted above, to this end, the Shalem Center and the Heschel Center both invest in education, specifically, in educating future leaders and decision makers. In addition, the Shalem Center not only invests in translating essays by leading thinkers (most, but not all of them foundations of the neo-conservative canon) that may have considerable influence on the literature read by students of political science, but also works to produce an intellectual infrastructure for neo-conservative thinking relevant to Israel. Furthermore, the Shalem Center is in the advanced stages of establishing an alternative research and teaching institute, which would enable it to educate a new generation of policy makers.

On the other side of the ideological spectrum, and with far fewer resources, the Heschel Center, which has a progressive worldview, aspires to affect the Israeli public arena by educating social activists in the field of environmentalism. Apart of its work in Israeli schools, the Heschel Center has have developed a fellows program, as noted, whose participants come from local government, the media and the third sector. One of the fellows of this program is currently an active MK, who uses his position to promote environmental and social justice issues.

5. *Worldviews and ideology*: All think tanks have an ideological flavor. This is not to say, of course, that they are affiliated with a political party. In fact, in order for the donations they receive to be eligible for tax exemption in the US, they must be non-partisan. As can be seen in the Figure below, most Israeli think tanks that deal with social policy are located to the left of ideological center.

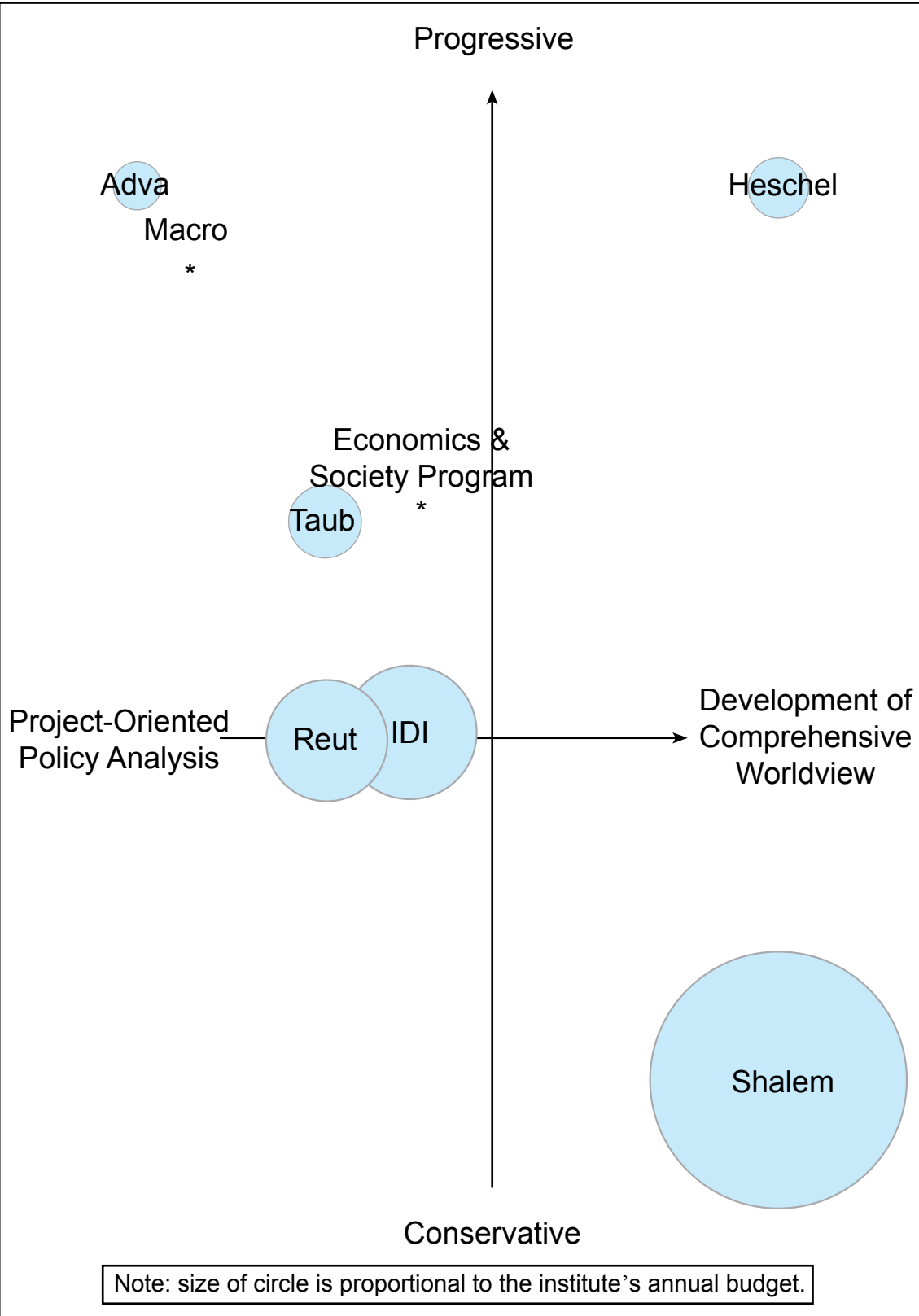
I believe the reasons for this are rather obvious: First, think tanks that focus on social and economic issues naturally come from a social-democratic background.³³ Second, most Israeli think tanks were established after the 1985 economic crisis, in response to the growing retreat of the State from social services. Most Israeli think tanks that are on the left of the political and ideological spectrum tend to work on short-term and mid-range projects.

³³ It is worth noting that the think tanks concerned with social policy issues are only a subset of all Israeli think tanks. There are quite a few think tanks in Israel that deal with security issues, such as those arising from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (e.g., the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, the Institute for National Security Studies, and the Ariel Center).

They do not attempt to develop a comprehensive worldview, but rather to conduct policy analysis and address current social issues and challenges. The Shalem Center and The Heschel Center stand apart in this respect, because, as noted, they *do* endeavor to develop a comprehensive worldview. As Yoram Hazony argued: "I do not think that if I write a policy paper, be it even the best one, it would actually affect the survival of the State of Israel. I do think, however, that if we develop a comprehensive worldview here at this Center, even if it takes us 50 years, we will make a difference. Policy makers would then be able to make decisions regarding specific policy issues on the basis of a thought-through argument. They would have the tools to make decisions."

The strategic decision made by most Israeli think tanks to focus on policy analysis and respond to contemporary policy decisions is a reflection, I submit, of the dominant trend within philanthropy to support short-term, outcome-oriented, measurable projects. The growing desire of foundations to take a more hands-on approach to the initiatives they support is driving think tanks to develop a project-based model of operation. The need to report on and account for the exact use of monies received does not allow forward-looking, long-term planning. As I have argued above, a lack of resources for scholarly infrastructure is also limiting the institutes' ability to think, form and promote a comprehensive worldview. Interestingly, it seems that the financial support of committed individual donors (rather than foundations) produces stability and a sense of financial security, that allows for forward-looking work. A case in point is the Shalem Center, which enjoys both financial security and intellectual independence and hence can provide its scholars with the time and resources to write book-length essays and to develop new ideas. The other institute that attempts to promote a comprehensive worldview and new ideas, to wit, the Heschel Center, chooses not to invest in the "thinking" aspects of a think tank, for lack of time and resources. Somewhere in between lies the Adva Center, whose progressive leadership conducts policy analysis with a strong ideological flavor, yet cannot invest in the further development and adaptation of its worldview to Israeli society.

MAP 1: ISRAELI THINK-TANKS – IDEOLOGICAL AND ANALYSIS ORIENTATION



VII. Conclusion: Israeli Think Tanks: What Exists, What's Missing?

What role do think tanks assume within society?

Think tanks are policy-oriented research institutes which, rather than producing knowledge *per se*, endeavor to make an impact on society and to influence the way in which policy makers and the public think about policy issues. They provide an environment for the elaboration and analysis of policy issues that the political arena cannot accommodate because it is constantly changing, and has to react to ever-changing challenges. Think tanks are different. They employ experts whose role is to reflect on social issues and provide not only various points of view, which will enrich public discourse, but also to develop alternative ideas and agendas.

As I have demonstrated, think tanks may also act as a “go-between” between knowledge and power, allowing for mutual learning and an exchange of ideas between scholars and policy makers.

As this study has shown, the Israeli think tank scene is divided between two trends: On one hand, there are think tanks that focus on current social issues, conducting policy analysis and issuing policy recommendations in an attempt to have a short- and mid-term impact on Israeli policy making. Most of the think tanks in this group focus on policy-oriented research. Their working papers and policy papers bring the attention of policy makers and the media to their work, in an attempt to influence the way in which those policy makers think about a given policy. They mainly respond to challenges and debates that are on the agenda, in an attempt to contribute an alternative view on the issue at stake. These think tanks tend to invest in public relations, media connections, direct relationships with politicians and policy makers, and advocacy work. On the other hand, one can distinguish think tanks that attempt to develop alternative worldviews and agendas. They tend to think in a more comprehensive way about the challenges facing Israeli society, rather than responding to specific questions. The questions that guide them are "how does Israeli society should look like? What are the challenges facing this society?" In their case, educational projects seem to be one of the preferred tools.

What might be the role of philanthropy in this scene? At present, it is evident that foundations are focusing most of their support on those think tanks that work on short- and mid-term operations and projects, rather than on the formation of a more comprehensive worldview adjusted to suit Israeli society. This general trend is driving Israeli think tanks to become issue-oriented, rather than to attempt to develop overarching agendas.

One might argue that, interestingly, this trend also reflects an ideological divide. Andrew Rich, an expert on think tanks, has argued that it is the progressive foundations, no less than the think tanks, that have become increasingly project-oriented, and that this governs their support of think tanks. According to Rich, progressive foundations tend themselves to be organized by issue. As a consequence, prospective grantees organize themselves in a similar way. Hence, think tanks on the left tend to be organized by issue – for example, around women's issues, poverty, or environmental issues – rather than to tackle a range of issues.³⁴ If we add this fact to the aforementioned difficulty think tanks have obtaining general organizational support, we begin to understand why the Israeli think tanks scene, in which a large number of think tanks have a progressive orientation, nevertheless still lacks the presence of a leading progressive think tank, which could spearhead attempts to formulate a progressive worldview for Israeli society.

It has yet to be proved that think tanks have the immediate ability to influence the way policy makers think about a given policy. However, I believe that this is not the most important role assumed by these institutes. Think tanks, differently from academia, are filled with researchers that wish to make a difference in the society in which we live. As such, they are the ideal framework for the development of comprehensive worldviews and alternative new agendas. Israel is no different, yet the Israeli think tank scene has still a long way to come in order to provide the foundation for a vibrant public discourse about the kind of society Israel is to be.

³⁴ Rich, A. "War of Ideas – Why Mainstream and Liberal Foundations and the Think Tanks They Support Are Losing in the War of Ideas in American Politics", *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Spring 2005, http://www.ssireview.org/images/articles/2005SP_feature_rich.pdf

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Appendix 1: Israeli Think Tanks - A General Overview

| Name | Year Founded & Location | Fields of Interest | Self-Definition |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| The Israel Democracy Institute | 1991 Jerusalem | Government & democracy: 1) media & democracy 2) religion & state 3) the constitutional process 4) centers of authority & responsibility in the public sector | Independent non-partisan think tank |
| Reut Institute | 2004 Tel Aviv | Present: national security & socio-economic issues Future: the Jewish world & the decision-making process | Non-partisan, not-for-profit policy team |

| Objectives | Products & Publications | Target Audience |
|---|--|---|
| <p>Committed to the principle of parliamentary democracy, its strengthening and stabilization</p> | <p><u>Publications:</u> Books, research papers, projects carried out by IDI fellows, conferences and workshops at the institute, <i>The Seventh Eye</i> journal</p> <p><u>Public Activities</u> Annual Economics convention (Caesarea Convention), Roundtable Forum, conferences</p> | <p>Legislators, decision makers, civil servants, the general public</p> |
| <p>An innovative policy group designed to provide real-time, long-term strategic decision support to the government of Israel</p> | <p><u>Publications:</u> Reut Institute does not publish papers, but does offer the following services and products:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Policy Position: Frames and analyzes options available to the GOI and evaluates their relevance in different ideological and factual contexts 2. Systematic View: Takes one issue and identifies all other issues related to it 3. Early Warning: Challenges a working assumption that may have been rendered irrelevant 4. Point of View: Offers brief, real-time analysis of strategic implications of ongoing developments 5. Analysis Base: Maps the interconnectedness among actors, trends, interests and institutional constraints regarding a given policy issue 6. ReViews: Collects events that constitute a trend, which may render an element of a policy of the government irrelevant | <p>Government of Israel</p> |

| Name | Year Founded & Location | Fields of Interest | Self-Definition |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| <p>The Shalem Center</p> | <p>1994 Jerusalem</p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Zionist history and ideas 2. Philosophy, politics and religion 3. Archaeology 4. Economic and social policy 5. Law and constitution 6. Strategic studies | <p>Research and educational institute</p> |

| Objectives | Products & Publications | Target Audience |
|--|---|--|
| <p>"Developing the ideas needed to guide and sustain the Jewish people in the decades to come"</p> | <p><u>Publications:</u> <u>Books :</u> 1. Translation into Hebrew of major works of western thought 2. Translation from Hebrew to English of both classics & original monographs that highlight the contribution of Jewish ideas to Western intellectual heritage</p> <p><u>Periodicals:</u> 1. "Tchelet" (Azure) published quarterly in Hebrew & English 2. "Hebraic Political Studies", a- A quarterly journal exploring the political theory of the Hebrew Bible & rabbinic literature & the role of the Hebraism in the evolution of Western identity 3. "Student Journal Project" Aims to generate informed & balanced discussion in Israel on issues relevant to the Jewish people (7 new journals have been founded since 2005)</p> <p><u>Academic Activities:</u> 1. International academic conferences 2. The Annual Zalman C. Bernstein Memorial lecture on Jewish political thought 3. Occasional public lectures 4. Shalem Manhattan Seminar 5. Shalem Jerusalem Seminar</p> | <p>Decision making and policy making in Israel</p> |

| Name | Year Founded & Location | Fields of Interest | Self-Definition |
|--|-------------------------|---|---|
| The Jewish People Policy Planning Institute | 2002 Jerusalem | Judaism & the Jewish people | Independent think tank incorporated in Israel as a non-profit corporation |
| The Heschel Center | 1994 Tel Aviv | Israel society: environment, society, economics | Has a think tank's characteristics without its tools and resources |

| Objectives | Products & Publications | Target Audience |
|--|--|--|
| <p>To promote the thriving of the Jewish people via professional strategic thinking and planning on issues of primary concern to world Jewry</p> <p>To provide decision & opinion makers & organizations with its unique designs & analyses, through publications, briefings, ongoing consultation</p> | <p><u>Publications:</u> Annual assessments, alert papers, position papers, strategic papers</p> <p><u>Academics Activity:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Master class, part of an effort to cultivate young Jewish leadership 2. Conference on the future of the Jewish people | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Israeli Cabinet 2. The leadership of major Jewish organizations 3. Jewish decision makers 4. Opinion leaders & the public at large |
| <p>Dedicated to building a sustainable future for Israeli society environmentally, socially and economically - through education and reflective activism</p> | <p><u>Publications</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Only one policy paper,- on Shabbat 2. Books None published, for budgetary reasons <p><u>Activities:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Green Schools Network – Fosters environmental leadership in over 100 school throughout the country 2. Environmental Fellows Program - develops a new generation of environmental leaders 3. The Center for Local Sustainability - advance s the capacity for sustainability in Israel’s local government. 4. Media Project – Engages the media in the sustainability agenda 5. The Jewish Global Environmental Network. 6. Forum for Sustainable Economics in Israel | <p>National and local government, the education system, the public</p> |

| Name | Year of Founded & Location | Fields of Interest | Self-Definition |
|---|----------------------------|--|---|
| Macro: The Center for Political Economics (Previously IIESR) | Tel Aviv, 1995 | Socio-economic & regional issues | Non-partisan institute |
| The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute | 1959 Jerusalem | Political, cultural and social issues | An intellectual center for the interdisciplinary study and discussion of issues related to philosophy, society, culture and education |
| The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel | 1982 Jerusalem | Social policy | An independent non-profit and non-partisan research institute |
| Mada Al-Carmel:- Arab Center for Applied Social Research | 2000 Haifa | The Palestinian community in Israel, national identity, democratic citizenship | Non-profit independent research institute |

| Objectives | Products & Publications | Target Audience |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Conducting research on socio-economic issues; promoting public debate; influencing macroeconomic policy making in Israel; providing decision makers with long-term strategic planning input; proposing innovative solutions</p> | <p>The Senat Research Project: Short position papers addressed to policy makers The Zikhron Yaakov Process: Conferences and working groups on socio-economic issues The Occupied Territories Property Survey: Assesses the value of real estate held by Jewish settlers and Palestinian refugees The Macro Index: Report on the execution of the state budget and of government decisions The Macro Economic Review: Discusses current economic issues The Annual Macro Conference</p> | <p>National and international decision makers</p> |
| <p>To enhance ethnic and cultural understanding, ameliorate social tensions, empower civil society & promote democratic values</p> | <p>Multiple projects promoting research & discussion, grouped under four "umbrellas":</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advanced learning • Israeli civil society • Jewish culture & identity • Israelis, Palestinians and Mediterranean neighbors <p>groups, working groups, seminars and workshops. Publications: Books, a well established periodical "Theory and Criticism", seminar papers, collections of essays and a few position papers (mainly in the field of social justice)</p> | <p>The public, academia, and, to a lesser extent, policy makers</p> |
| <p>To provide information and alternatives to decision makers as well as to enrich public debate on social issues relevant to Israeli society</p> | <p>Publications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Social Economic Update * Working papers * The Taub Center Annual Report on Resource Allocation * ISRAEL: Social Economic Review * Fast Facts for the Busy Reader <p>Books, anthologies, monographs, position papers (most published in both English & Hebrew) Plans exist to increase output of policy analysis & papers, especially those on education & social justice & responsibility</p> <p>Academic Activities: Conferences, lectures, forums, local & international workshops, seminars, discussion groups, all open to the public</p> | <p>Knesset committees, the National Security Council, the Council for Higher Education, government officials, Knesset Members, Jews in the Diaspora, the Israeli public</p> |
| <p>To promote theoretical and applied research on the Palestinian community in Israel/Arab Israelis, focusing on their social, educational, & economic needs</p> | <p>Publications:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Research papers 2. Political monitoring report 3. Information papers 4. Occasional papers 5. Public opinion survey 6. Haifa Declaration <p>Academic Activities: Seminars, conferences & workshops, as necessary, to support its research or discuss issues it wishes to place on the public agenda</p> | <p>NGOs and other community groups</p> |

| Name | Year Founded & Location | Fields of Interest | Self-Definition |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Adva Center | 1991 Tel Aviv | Social & economic issues | Non-partisan, action-oriented Israeli policy analysis center |

| Objectives | Products & Publications | Target Audience |
|---|--|---|
| <p>The promotion of equality and social justice in Israel; advocacy for policy changes that favor disadvantaged groups in Israel; organizing coalitions for social change; popular education to promote progressive social ideas to a large and varied audience</p> | <p><u>Publications:</u> Annual Reports Israel: Social Reports Israel: Equality Reports Israel: Labor Reports Budget Reports Position Papers on gender, employment, education, health, income, housing, development, & globalization</p> | <p>Advocacy organizations, Cabinet members, legislators</p> |

Leadership and Personnel

| Name of Institute | Chairman/Board Members | Director/Head |
|--|--|-----------------|
| The Israel Democracy Institute | Honorary chair: Prof. George Shultz International chair: Bernard Marcus Israel chair: Eli Horvitz | Dr. Arye Carmon |
| Reut Institute | | Gidi Grinstein |
| The Shalem Center | | Daniel Polisar |
| The Heschel Center | Chairperson: Orly Peled | |
| Macro | | |
| The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute | Chairman: Ivar Sarman Honorary chair: Zelman Cowen | |
| The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel | Chair: Caryn Wolf Wochster Honorary chair: Henry Taub | |
| Adva Center | Dr. Yossi Dahan | |

| CEO | Research Staff | Administration |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| | Senior fellows: 6 Senior researcher: 3 Research staff: 53 | Project directors: 10 Administration: 14 <i>The Seventh Eye</i> (journal): 10 The IDI Press: 6 Website: 9 |
| Gidi Grinstein | Analysts: 22 | 1 |
| Yoram Hazony | Fellows: 21 | 6 |
| Dr. Eilon Schwartz | No research fellows Environmental Leadership Fellows:- 19 | 18 |
| Dr. Roby Nathanson | Fellows: 2 | 2 |
| Prof. Gabriel Motzkin | Senior fellows: 26 Fellows: 19 Researchers: 7 | 3 |
| Yaacov Kop | Researchers : 7 Economics Team: 17 Education Team: 23 Health Team: 23 Welfare Team - 22 | 8 |
| Barbara Swirski | Academic director: 1 Research coordinator: 1 Researchers: 2 Women's budget coordinator: 1 | 1 |

Budgets and Finance

| Name of Institute | Donors | Main Source of Income & Annual Budget |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| The Israel Democracy Institute | <p>Marcus Bernard, cofounder & CEO of Home Depot</p> <p>American Friends of IDI</p> <p>Members: Elliott Broidy, Susan Crown, David Fox, Tony Gelbart, Michael Gelman, Mike Leven, Fred Marcus, Roberto Sonabend</p> | <p>Most of the IDI's annual income comes from AFIDI and American Jews; a small portion of it comes from Israeli donors</p> <p>Annual Budget: around \$5,000,000</p> |
| Reut Institute | <p>American Friends of Reut Institute</p> <p>Does not accept any contribution exceeding 15% of its annual budget, or donations from government agencies (Israeli or foreign)</p> <p><u>In 2004:</u> Reut accept 65 donations from various organizations & individuals, ranging from \$50-\$55,000 9% of them from Israelis, 2% of them from Europeans, and 89% of them from Americans</p> <p><u>In 2005:</u> The goal was to increase donations from Israelis from 9% to 25%, & from Europeans, especially those from Paris & London, to 10% 72 donations were received, ranging from \$50-\$60,000</p> | <p>Main source of Income: The Unites States and Europe</p> <p>Annual Budget (2007): around \$2,000,000</p> |

| Name of Institute | Donors | Main Source of Income & Annual Budget | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|------|------|------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|-------|--------|-----------------|--------|--------|
| The Shalem Center | The Berenstein Foundation, the Edelson Foundation, other private donors | Annual Budget: around \$10,000,000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The Heschel Center | <p>Most supporting foundations are Jewish & progressive:</p> <p>The Abraham Fund Initiatives, The Nathan Cumming Foundation, The Dorot Foundation, Eco Ocean, The Fox Family Foundation, The Friedman Foundation, The Grimprich Foundation, The Goldman Foundation, The Green Environment Fund, Health Foundation Consortium, The Boll Foundation, The Levinson Foundation,</p> <p>Israel Ministry of Education, Ministry of the Environment EC-Life Third Countries Program</p> <p>The Maor Family Foundation, Porter Foundation, The Pratt Foundation, The Rose Family Foundation, The Alan Slifka Foundation, The Sheli Fund, The N.A. Taylor Fund, The Tel Aviv Municipality</p> | <p>All sums are in US\$:</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="903 644 1358 853"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>2004</th> <th>2005</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Donations</td> <td>494,490</td> <td>670,116</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Government</td> <td>5,299</td> <td>18,297</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Projects</td> <td>33,326</td> <td>16,859</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | | 2004 | 2005 | Donations | 494,490 | 670,116 | Government | 5,299 | 18,297 | Projects | 33,326 | 16,859 |
| | 2004 | 2005 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Donations | 494,490 | 670,116 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Government | 5,299 | 18,297 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Projects | 33,326 | 16,859 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Macro-The Center for Political Economics</p> | <p>Information not available</p> | <p>Information not available</p> |
| <p>The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute</p> | <p>Main Source of income: The Van Leer Group Foundation (an \$800,000,000 endowment) <u>Benefactors</u>: Ford Fund, Canadian Embassy, EU, Naomi and Nehemya Cohen Fund, UJA federation of NY, The Poppers Print Foundation. <u>Friends</u>: The Ebert Stiftung, The Irvin Harris Foundation, the Jewish Agency for Israel, The Lois & Richard England Family Foundation, The MB Foundation, the New Israel Fund, The Osias & Dorothy Goren Foundation, The Rich Foundation, Salter Family Charitable Foundation, Sieroty Family Fund, Stanley & Dorothy Winter Fund, The Swiss Confederation, The Yaacov Hazan Memorial Fund. <u>2005</u> – the Van Leer Fund donated €3,982,000 <u>2006</u> – Van Leer Fund donate €3,516,000</p> | <p><u>2005</u> – Van Leer Fund donated €3,982,000 Euro (from 27,658,000) <u>2006</u> – Van Leer Fund donated €3,516,000 Euro (from 27,755,000) Information on additional sums (from benefactors) is not available.</p> |
| <p>The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel</p> | <p>Since its establishment, the Taub Center has enjoyed the financial support of the JDC. In recent years, an endowment has been created by the Henry and Marilyn Taub Foundation, the Herbert M. and Nell Singer Foundation, Jane and John Colman, the Kolker-Saxon-Hallock Family Foundation, and the JDC. This marks a milestone in the Center's development, and secures its future by ensuring long-term funding.</p> | <p>Annual Income: around \$1,000,000</p> |

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|---|
| <p>Adva Center</p> | <p>Main source of Income: The Ford Israel Foundation, the New Israel Fund, NOVIB, The Jacob & Hilda Blaustein Foundation</p> <p>Additional supporters:</p> <p><u>In 2002:</u> Heinrich Boll Fundation , Howard Horwitz & Alisse Waterston Levi Lassen Foundation, Moriah Fund</p> <p><u>In 2003:</u> Tel Aviv Jaffa Fund, the New Israel Fund, Goldman Fund Middle East Peace Dialogue Network/ Richard Goodwin, National Council of United Churches of ,Jewish Women The Netherlands</p> <p><u>In 2004:</u> The Naomi & Nehemia Cohen Foundation, The Rich Foundation</p> <p><u>In 2005:</u> Boston Jewish Community Women's Fund, Gimprich Family Foundation, Jewish Women's Foundation of Metropolitan Chicago, Oxfam GB</p> <p><u>In 2006:</u> Kathryn Ames Foundation, Robert Amow, Nathan Cummings Foundation, Hadassah Foundation, Israel Delegation of the European Commission, Kahanoff Foundation</p> <p>Some reports were financed by US/Israel Women to Women The Ford Foundation, MAZON/A Jewish Response to Hunger</p> | <p>Annual Income: \$300,000-\$400,000</p> |
|---------------------------|--|---|

Appendix 2: List of Interviews Conducted

- Dr. Aaron Back, Director, the Ford Israel Fund
- Yael Shalgi, Philanthropist Adviser, Israel Philanthropy Advisors
- Jay Kaiman, Director, the Marcus Foundation for Jewish Causes
- Rachel Liel, Director, Shatil, the New Israel Fund's Empowerment and Training Center for Social Change Organizations in Israel
- Avrum Burg, former Speaker of the Knesset (1999-2003)
- Dr. Shirli Avrami, Director, the Knesset Information and Research Center
- Dr. Eilon Schwartz, Director, the Heschel Center for Environmental Learning and Leadership
- Barbara Swirski, Director, Adva Center: Information on Equality and Social Justice in Israel
- Prof. Yaacov Kop, Director, The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel
- Dr. Arik Carmon, Director, Israel Democracy Institute
- Dr. Roby Nathanson, Director, Macro Center
- Prof. Gabriel Motzkin, Director, Van Leer Institute
- Dr. Yoram Hazony, Co-Director, the Shalem Center.
- Gidi Grinstein, Director, Reut Center

Informal talks:

- Didi Remez, Ben Or Consulting
- Menachem Rabinovitz, formerly of the Mandel Institute
- Arie Dobov, Director of Global Program Strategy, JDC-NY
- Eran Klein, Project Director, Shatil, the New Israel Fund's Empowerment and Training Center for Social Change Organizations in Israel

Appendix 3: Sample Questionnaires

A. Sample Questionnaire for Interview of Think Tank Directors

General

1. When was the institute established?
2. What is the history behind the establishment of the institute?
3. Who founded the institute (person, group)?
4. What is the model of operation of the institute? Does it have fellows, ad-hoc researchers, working groups?
5. How does the institute recruit personnel? Is there an established process?
6. How many paid personnel work at the institute? Are there any full-time personnel?
7. Does the institute have a fellowship program, internships or a training program?

Funding and finance

8. What is the institute's mode of fundraising? Do you usually fundraise from foundations or from individual donors?
9. Does the institute enjoy the support of one or a few sponsors, or does it rely on multiple donors and foundations?
10. Who does the fundraising for the institute?
11. What is the nature of the institute's relationship with its donors?
12. Are the donors involved in the institute's activities?
13. Are the donors involved in strategic discussions about the institute?
14. Are the donors involved in the recruitment of staff for the institute?
15. Does the institute have a steering committee? If so, who serves on it?
16. Does the institute have a board? If so, who serves on it? What is the role of board members? Is the board a paying board?
17. Do the donors sit on the steering committee or on the board?

The institute as a think tank

18. What was the motivation or reason that led to the establishment of the institute?
19. What is the institute's "mission"?
20. What are the institute's areas of interest?
21. What, if any, policy issues does the institute endeavor to address?
22. How are these areas being decided? Is there an established process within the institute to make these decisions?
23. Does the institute work on time-restricted, ad-hoc projects? Does the institute have any long-term projects?
24. Would you define the institute as "a think tank"? Regardless of your answer, please explain why.
25. In your opinion, what is the role of think tanks in society?
26. In your opinion, what is the role of think tanks in Israeli society?
27. I would be interested in hearing your views on the existing map of think tanks that focus on social policy in Israel. Which do you feel are the central ones?
28. Who is your target audience?
29. Do you work with the government and government agencies and representatives? If so, which ones? Do you cooperate with them?
30. Do you work with the media and press? If so, in what ways?
31. Do you work with academia? If so, in what ways? Do you have academics on the permanent staff of your institute?

Visibility

32. Does the institute organize conferences and workshops? If so, are they open to the general public?
33. What sorts of publication does the institute publish? How often do you publish them?
34. Who is the target audience for these publications? To whom do you send them? Are they placed on your website? Are the publications publicly available?

35. In what way do you manage your public relations? Do you have a spokesperson?
Does the institute budget public relations?
36. How do you make your voice heard, apart from the publication of papers?

Assessing impact

37. Have you ever attempted to assess the impact of your work?

B. Sample Questionnaire for Interview of Philanthropists and Donors

General

1. How long has the foundation supported projects in Israel?
2. Which projects in Israel are supported by the foundation?
3. Are there any specific guidelines concerning Israel, or does the fund follow the same guidelines around the world?
4. How much money is being allocated to projects in Israel, and through what channels?
5. How are decisions being made regarding the allocation of money?
6. General question: Some argue that the world of philanthropy has been undergoing major changes in the past few years. Would you agree with that claim?
7. What do you feel those major changes to be? Does the changing of the generations make any difference to the aims of philanthropy? Has there been a change in the focus of allocations?
8. Has there been any managerial change? Are the demands of grantees changing?

The foundation and public policy

9. What role does the foundation endeavor to play in Israeli society?
10. In your opinion, what are the crucial issues and challenges facing Israel?
11. In your opinion, what are the main means of bringing about change in a society?

12. In comparison to other countries, what would you say about Israeli civil society? Is it active?

Think tanks

13. How would you define a think tank?
14. What is the role of think tanks in society?
15. Can you tell me how your foundation came to support this think tank?
16. How was your foundation's agenda developed?
17. Are you involved in decisions regarding the operation of the institute you support?
18. Are you being consulted by the director of the institute? If so, how often?
19. How would you define the role of think tank X in Israeli society?
20. What issues do you think the institute you support should address in the future?

