Mobility among Arab Women in Israel

Tamar Keinan and Dorit Bar

Editor: Tagreed Alahmad

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The Aim of the Report

This report’s objective is to examine, for the first time, the issue of the mobility of Arab women in the Arab sector. The report presents the personal, political and socio-economic implications of the state of mobility and proposes practical ways to improve the situation. It is based on an in-depth survey conducted in the period between September 2005 and January 2006 in 11 Arab communities in the North and in the Triangle, the regions that contain the majority of the Arab population in Israel.

Executive Summary

Many activities that could have been conducted in the past by traveling on foot currently require transportation by vehicle. The existing means of transportation, the use of cars and public transport, provide little help for Arab women in Israel. In practice, they suffer from a double discrimination, as Arabs in Israel and as women in a traditional society. The service that they receive from the public transportation system in these villages is lacking: most of the bus lines do not enter the villages at all or enter the villages very infrequently.

Social exclusion is a situation in which an individual or group is ostracized and pushed to the margins of society. Social exclusion derives from a lack of social justice and reflects the failure of the social, cultural and economic systems (including transportation systems) to incorporate groups within society. This situation cuts off the excluded individual or group from support systems that could provide them with the ability to cope.

In addition to the exclusion of the Arab society in Israel as a whole, there is also the exclusion of women within this society. Despite the fact that some of the women have a driving license, the use of the family vehicle is determined by the men in the family, and the infrastructure in the community does not consider the needs of women.
In advanced models of transportation planning, one can discern a reciprocal relationship between the demand for participation in activities, the quality of the public transportation system, travel time, car ownership and more. From this, one can deduce that a change in the transportation system, such as adding bus lines or train lines, can lead to an increase in the demand for activities by the excluded groups and an increase in the ability to access these activities.

The rate of participation in the workforce among Arab women is low, standing at about 30% for women of ages 25 – 44, compared to about 80% of Jewish women of this age group. The improvement in the public transport system could lead to an increase in the number of Arab women participating in the workforce, which would empower them, enhance their status in society, and strengthen the economic situation of the Arab sector within Israeli society.

In the “Mobility Patterns among Arab Women in the State of Israel” survey conducted in 11 Arab communities, 85% of the women declared that if there was public transportation within their community they would make use of it. In light of the fact that 70% of the women do not leave the village on their own, and most of the activities within the village are conducted without an escort, it is clear that the most urgent and fundamental change within the village must occur in the public transportation system. In order to provide efficient transportation within the village, the public must be involved in its planning, and it should be inexpensive, frequent and accessible to those with limitations. Clear information on locations and timetables should be available to every household.

Our recommendations focus on a number of areas, each of which is critically important for change. Both, the attitude of the excluder and excluded within our society, must change for real improvements in the situation to occur. Therefore, it is important to change the outlook of the women themselves, as well as that of the decision makers at the national and municipal levels.
Introduction

Patterns of mobility among women reflect their status as women in society and as citizens of the state. “Friends, I want to go out of the house and attend an empowerment workshop. I want to contribute to the empowerment of other women and to the society, but it is difficult for me to come. If there is no man - brother, father or husband to drive me, I have to go by foot for an hour!” said a woman participating in an activity group run by the Kayan organization in the village of Mghar after arriving late for a session. This statement encouraged us at Kayan to initiate a community project, “Women Demand Mobility,” which, with the women of Mghar began to operate public transportation initiatives in accordance with their needs. The initial survey conducted in 11 communities in the North and in the Northern Triangle examined the patterns of mobility among the women in these communities.

In parts of the groups we worked with, women reported that they had never used public transportation; some of them had never traveled outside the village on their own. This situation constitutes a social and economic loss for all of the relevant parties: the women, the society, the Ministry of Transportation and the public transportation companies.

To reverse this situation requires involving citizens, in this case women, in the planning and activation of public transport in Arab towns. This can only create a win-win situation.

During the preparation of the report, a number of findings arose indicating that mobility is problematic in the Arab sector, especially among women. As this was the first attempt to make a report on this subject, we faced certain setbacks, such as a lack of information and clarity about the situation on both the research and institutional levels. The women who participated in the survey did not have much information about public transportation in their communities: routes, frequency, hours, and some of them were unaware that public transportation even existed in their communities.
Part A: Background

1. Social exclusion
In the past, women who went out to work did so on the borders of the village in the fields close to their homes. Today, employment is not only agricultural and it is often located outside of the village in nearby cities which requires the use of transportation.

An increase in the mobility of men has led to a change in the structure of the village and has excluded women, who are no longer able to access places of employment, shopping and social exchange.

Mobility via private vehicles or public transportation is available only in a limited way; the public transportation system in Arab communities is fundamentally deficient; the majority of the bus lines do not enter the villages; and the buses which do enter the villages do so very infrequently.

Social exclusion occurs when an individual or group is pushed to the margins of society. It requires interpretation by those who are excluded, who perceive that their situation marginalizes or prevents their participation in society (Strier, Bar-Yosef, 2001).

The traditional cultural-social system perpetuates the supremacy of men over women, so that the private realm belongs to the women and the public arena to the men. Social stereotypes perpetuate the allocation of roles and the withholding of opportunities from women. Since a person builds his/her self-image according to the open and implied messages he/she receives from society, a process of self-fulfilling prophecy is created (Espanioli, 2006).

For a discriminatory situation to be defined as social exclusion, three conditions must exist simultaneously: 1) multiple dimensionality, 2) durability over time, 3) social cutoff and distance. By analyzing the survey findings, the issue of the social exclusion of Arab women will be examined.
2. **Women, participation in the workforce and mobility**

Though more and more women today have a driver’s license, the use of a car by women is not prevalent. Women who do not have access to cars are dependent on public transportation. Thus, when public transportation is not a priority in the national transportation policy, women are the first to suffer. (Fletcher, Ginsberg, Garb, 2000).

As noted, the rate of participation in the workforce is low among Arab women: for women of ages 25-44, it stands at about 30%, compared to about 80% among Jewish women in the same age group. Even so, there has been a significant change in the percentage of participation in the workforce rising from about 10% in 1985 to about 30% in 2000 (Sahayak, 2004).

There is a direct correlation between the rate of participation among women of ages 18 – 50 in the civilian workforce and the size of the community in which they live: among those living in mixed or large cities, the rate of participation is about 50% (with the exception of Jerusalem); in medium-sized and small cities (where most Arab women live), the rate of participation is about 24%. In small communities, the rate of participation is only about 13% (Lotan, 2005).

While the ratio of women to men receiving driver’s licenses is constant (about 90%) in the Jewish sector, this ratio is increasing annually in the Arab sector: from 16% in 1985 to 79% in 2003 (see the first table in page. 10).

Women have less access than men to private vehicles for a number of reasons: a large percentage of the women work at home, particularly in the Arab sector, and those who do work outside the home have lower incomes than their male counterparts. In the communities studied in the survey, the average income of women comprises only 57% of the average income of men. Other significant factors include the social issue pertaining to decision-making in the family, the traditional role of women, and the necessity for women to obtain social
“permission” to move around independently outside of the home. The severity of this problem differs from one community to another.

*Ratio of driver’s licenses among women versus men in the Jewish and Arab sectors*

![Graph showing the ratio of driver’s licenses among women versus men in the Jewish and Arab sectors.](image)

**Source:** The Central Bureau of Statistics – Table 4, Licensed drivers by population groups, gender, year of license issue and age.

*Average salary of women vs. men in some of the communities surveyed*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Men’s Average Salary</th>
<th>Women’s Average Salary</th>
<th>Percentage of Men’s Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judeida-Maker</td>
<td>5,610</td>
<td>3,445</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daburiya</td>
<td>6,424</td>
<td>3,798</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mghar</td>
<td>6,703</td>
<td>3,231</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahf</td>
<td>5,850</td>
<td>3,528</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Um el-Fahm</td>
<td>5,302</td>
<td>2,919</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarara</td>
<td>6,017</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fureidis</td>
<td>5,112</td>
<td>2,791</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** “Place of Residence and Salary Level, 2002”, Schwartz, 2005.
3. Transportation – What is it and what is its role?
A transportation system is a service, its role is to create fluid movement of people and goods between different origins and destinations at the levels of the neighborhood, town, city and region, and to provide the required accessibility (Hashimshoni, 1999). From an economic perspective, transportation has great importance as the means of enabling the transfer of people and goods from one place to another (Hansen, 2004). In addition to the economic aspect, transportation is significant in involving people in community life at both the social and cultural level.

The level of service is largely determined by supply, demand and transportation technology. Demand is a consequence of other systems that influence and are influenced by transportation systems: population density, number of people employed, businesses and so on. Supply is a function of infrastructure and transportation technology (Hashimshoni, 1999).

Transportation in Arab communities: The system of public transportation to and from the Arab cities and villages is not at the level of other communities in Israel. The roads leading to these communities and the roads within them are in poor condition. These facts reflect the inferior status of these communities in Israeli society (Khamaisy, 1995). The expansion of villages and the lack of public transportation within them have led to a situation of disparity and dependence: on the one hand, strong groups that own cars and driving licenses, and on the other hand, weak groups that lack these means. The latter groups become heavily dependent, a trend that is even further reinforced by the expansion of the village and economic ties to employment centers outside of the community. The disparities and relationships of dependence exist on various axes: Arab to Jewish, women to men and between women themselves.

One main road usually connects the Arab locality with the outside world. That road sometimes runs adjacent to the locality
and sometimes crosses through it. The roads that reach the center of the village or town are narrow and winding, with no hierarchical order of size. In general, the streets are not of uniform sizes or construction, or marked by standard signs because they originated as paths for pedestrians and animals. On the outskirts of the cities and villages the sparse construction creates inefficient development of infrastructure and provision of services including roads and public transportation (Gonen and Khamaisy, 1995).

Public participation in transportation: The Ministry of Transportation has recently begun an important process of involving the public, hearing its needs with regards to transportation planning. This process is in its infancy, but the potential is great. The decision by public organizations involved in transportation to form a council for promoting public transportation will greatly improve attentiveness to the needs of the people in each community. The principles for maintaining a correct process of public involvement include: a commitment to transparency, providing the possibility of exerting influence, active communication of information, and efforts to encourage active citizenship among different groups in the population. The empowerment of citizens will enhance the process and enable it to generate more significant results (Keinan, 2005).

4. Communities in the survey
The survey was conducted in 11 Arab communities of different sizes in the Galilee and Triangle.

Judeida-Maker
The village is located in the western Galilee, about 5 kilometers east of Acre. There is one entrance to the village from the Acre – Carmiel road (Rte. 85) and a second entrance from Rte. 70 between the Ahihud and Cabri junctions.
The population of the village is about 17,200 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 8,300 dunams.

**Daburiya**
A village located at the foot of Mount Tabor, about 10 kilometers as the crow flies from Nazareth and about 5 kilometers from Afula. The entrance to the village is from Rte. 65, between Afula and the Golani junction.

The population of the village is about 8,100 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 7,200 dunams.

**Yafi’a**
A village on the outskirts of Nazareth, in the Galilee hills bordering the Jezreel Valley. The village is located along the road leading to Nazareth from the Jezreel Valley (Rte. 75).

The population of the village is about 16,200 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 4,000 dunams.

**Majd el-Krum**
A village at the foot of the Tefen hills, on the Acre – Carmiel road (Rte. 85), about 2 kilometers west of Carmiel.

The population of the village is about 10,000 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 9,000 dunams.

**Yirqa**
The village is situated in the middle of the Tefen range. The entrance to the village is from Rte. 70 in the section between the Yasif and Kabri junctions.

The population of the village is about 12,300 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 15,000 dunams.

**Mghar**
The village is located in the eastern Galilee between the cities of Safed, Tiberias and Carmiel.
The population of the village is about 18,600 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 23,000 dunams.

**Nahf**
The village is adjacent to northern Carmiel, at the foot of the Tefen hills. The entrance to the village is from Rte. 85, a road leading from Acre to the Amiad junction.

The population of the village is about 9,800 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 5,000 dunams after the expropriation of some 9,000 dunams of the village’s land.

**Um el-Fahm**
The city is situated on the Um el-Fahm range; the most prominent peak in this range is Iskander Mountain, with an elevation of 552 meters above sea level.

The entrance to the village is from Rte. 65, between the Caesarea interchange and Afula.

The population of the city is about 40,000 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 25,500 dunams.

**Jarara**
The village is located in the center of Wadi Ara. The entrance to the village is from Rte. 65, between the Caesarea interchange and Afula.

The population of the city is about 15,200 and its jurisdiction encompasses about 9,000 dunams.

**Fureidis**
The village is situated at the foot of the Carmel Mountains, by the Fureidis junction, between Rte. 70 (from the Zichron Yaakov interchange to Yoqneam) and Rte. 4 (from Hadera to Haifa). It is located about 2 kilometers north of Zichron Yaakov.

The village has about 9,800 residents.
General details on the surveyed communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population 12/04 (1000s)</th>
<th>Employed men 1</th>
<th>Employed women 1</th>
<th>Private cars</th>
<th>Private vehicle</th>
<th>Public transport</th>
<th>Organized transport</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>By foot</th>
<th>Income: Women vs. Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judeida-Maker</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>496%</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zalafa</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>496%</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabuniya</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yafa</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir el-Aaad</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majd el-Krum</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirka</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahf</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-el-Fahm</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zairiya</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarara</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/04 1000s</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources of data for the table:
Employed men/women 1995 – Population and Housing Census 1995, Table 2: People 15 years and older, by selected work characteristics and religion
Private cars – The Local Authorities in Israel – profile, 2003
Means of traveling to work - Population and Housing Census 1995, Table 3: 15 years and older, by selected work characteristics and means of getting to work

In the Triangle area, the rate of participation in the workforce is high, and the rate of unemployment is particularly low. That is, the situation of this area is relatively good from an employment perspective in comparison to other communities in the Arab sector (Sahayak, 2004).
5. Transportation in the surveyed communities

Public transportation from the communities studied in the survey to nearby cities is conducted via Egged, Al-Afifi and other companies. The buses do not enter the villages; the pickup and drop-off points are at the junctions near the localities.

The public transport is mostly limited to buses that leave the village early in the morning and return at the end of the work day. These buses generally travel on the main roads and through Jewish cities. Direct links between the Arab villages themselves are very few. One bus serves a number of villages along the main route and circles around each of them. Thus, the trip is very long and slow. The transportation companies assign the worst buses to these routes and they are usually very crowded. Due to the sparse and uncomfortable bus service, “sherut” taxis have become prevalent. These taxis have many drawbacks in terms of reliability and availability outside of peak hours (Fletcher, Ginsberg, Garb, 2000).

During the past decade, there has been a significant increase in the use of minibuses and taxis – a growth trend similar to that which occurred in privately owned cars in the surveyed localities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private cars</th>
<th>Taxis</th>
<th>Minibuses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of taxis and minibuses</td>
<td>No. of private vehicles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Various vehicles in the surveyed communities
The use of various vehicles in the surveyed communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Taxis</th>
<th>Private vehicles</th>
<th>Minibuses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6,143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>7,105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>7,864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9,443</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>10,315</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>11,762</td>
<td>183</td>
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<td>1996</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>12,824</td>
<td>235</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>13,724</td>
<td>271</td>
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<td>1998</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>14,417</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>15,460</td>
<td>291</td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>16,614</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>18,411</td>
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<td>2002</td>
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<td>19,208</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>19,900</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics

6. Transportation in Israel: Declared policy and the existing situation

A comparison of economic indexes in the past 15 years shows that while the state’s population has grown by 45% (from about 4.7 million people to some 6.8 million people), the number of vehicles on the country’s roads has risen by 91% since 1990 (from about 1.07 million vehicles to 2.04 million vehicles).

Contrary to these impressive growth figures, the investment in transportation infrastructure did not grow as required (Kedmi, 2005). In the early 1920s, the rail system in the country was more developed than the road system. With the establishment of the state and the attempt to strengthen the periphery, an accelerated program of road paving was initiated as part of a worldview that was also in vogue in Europe during
those years. According to this outlook, the supply had to keep pace with the demand (Tal, 2005). A multiyear plan for transportation infrastructure, the first in Israeli history, was incorporated in the “Economic Policy for 2006,” the basis for the state budget. The scope of the program is NIS 68 billion. The investment in transportation infrastructure during 2000 – 2005 stood at NIS 38 billion. Thus, the planned investment represents a steep increase of 80%.

The five-year plan is allocated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Investment (billion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercity ground infrastructure</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal ground infrastructure</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ports and airfields</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of the five-year plan
Investment in intercity ground infrastructure will be allocated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Investment (billion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Five-year plan for the National Roads Company</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five-year plan for the Israel Railways</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans-Israel Highway – sections 18, 20</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercity safety (Sheinin Commission)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Investment in municipal ground infrastructure will be allocated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Investment (billion)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mass transit systems (Light rail in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving and upgrading urban roads in local authorities</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Budgets in the area of air transportation and ports will be divided as follows: NIS 1.8 billion for the airport in “Timnah” and 2.7 billion for the ports (Kedmi 2005).

The policy is clear: intensive investment in the transport infrastructure, backed by a plan extended over several years. The investment in transportation should be examined by comparing the funds invested in roads versus the funds invested in public transportation (mass transit) such as light trains and Israel Railways. From this perspective, it turns out that NIS 30 billion will be invested in roads under the plan for the next five years, while NIS 32.5 billion will be invested in trains. This investment will improve the array of public transportation, but will not succeed in bridging the gap between the road and rail systems that has developed over the past 50 years. The Ministry of Transportation’s goal, as defined by the
transportation minister at the time, Meir Sheetrit, is “to abolish the periphery through transportation. The central task of the Ministry of Transportation is to enable every citizen to access a large metropolitan center within half an hour” (Nissim, 2005).

Public transportation is a basic necessity that the state is obliged to provide under reasonable conditions and costs. According to the principles of natural justice, the right to mobility is a fundamental right, and the violation of this right can be considered a violation of individual liberty. The Forum for Public Transportation worked to incorporate the principle of the right to mobility and accessibility in a proposed Basic Law on Social Rights, but the legislation was frozen several years ago. Today, the right to mobility is not anchored in any law (Edison, 2004).

**Public transportation in the world**

In recent decades, there is increasing awareness in developed countries of the negative ramifications of vehicles – traffic jams on the roads, an increase in illnesses resulting from air pollution, loss of leisure and work hours, general environmental degradation and more. Against this background, momentum has begun to develop for alternatives to the burgeoning use of private cars. Many countries are encouraging the transition to public transportation. In addition, they have begun to promote passenger trains again. Much attention has been given to non-motorized means of transportation, such as walking and cycling.

For example, during the 1980s, about 71% of the European Community’s investment in transportation infrastructure was earmarked for roads. During the 1990s, a sharp shift was introduced in this policy, and most of the planned investment is now earmarked for trains (Fletcher, 2000).
7. Models of transportation demand

In order to assess the level of demand for transportation, the classic models present a four-step system, which measures the number of trips on the roads network.

The four steps are:
- **Generation**: How many trips does the individual make?
- **Distribution**: The probability of traveling to a specific destination.
- **Mode**: Choice of the mode of transportation for each trip.
- **Assignment**: The individual’s choice of route for each trip.

The underlying assumption of these models is that each step is based on a separate decision by the individual. But this is not the case, more advanced models take note of the reciprocal impact of various components: demand for participation in activities, travel time, car ownership and the scope of travel. In addition, the classic models address each individual separately, while more advanced models address the decisions of households as a single unit in regard to participation in activities and mobility. Thus, one can conclude that improvements in the system of public transportation can lead to an increase in the demand for activities (Golob, 1997).
Flow chart of a model of household demand for participation in activity and mobility

- Participation in activities for household members by type of activity
- Level of motorization per household
- Accessibility
- Demand for means of mobility
- Time management affects
- Demand for routes
- Travel time per household in all means of transportation
- Vehicle use
- Trips per household
Part B: Analysis of data, conclusions and recommendations

1. The Sample
In the survey, 154 questionnaires were collected in 11 Arab communities in Israel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>No. of questionnaires</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Um el-Fahm</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biane – Deir el-Asad – Majd el-Krum</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judeida – Maker</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daburriya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zalafa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fureidis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mghar</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahf</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yafi’a</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirka</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarara</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The women in the sample are aged 17–69. Some 37% of them have a driving license and 63% do not. About 25% of the women have a high school education, while 16% finished middle school and 13% have only elementary school education; 17% have an academic or parallel degree. 78% of the respondents have a private vehicle in the family and 7% of the respondents have two vehicles in the family.
2. Key findings
The mobility habits, as reflected in the survey, indicate two dominant groups each of which includes about a quarter of the population: One group leaves the home once a day on average, and the second group leaves home five times a day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of trips</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One trip</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 trips</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 trips</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 trips</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 trips</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 trips</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 trips</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most common means of transportation used by the surveyed population is walking. About 40% of the routes were traveled by foot. About 50% of the trips in the survey were conducted via a private vehicle, whether driven by the respondent herself or by another driver. Travel via public transportation comprised only about 5% of the trips.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Means of transportation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drives in a vehicle</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travels in a vehicle</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public bus</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public taxi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private taxi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By foot</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private vehicle with fee</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About 24% of the women who traveled in private vehicles as drivers or passengers reported four passengers traveling in the car, in many cases, the passengers were family members.

Some 72% of the passengers were members of the immediate family.
About 85% of the surveyed group said that if there was public transportation within their community, they would make use of it, while approximately 15% of the women stated that they would not use public transportation even if it were available in the community.

3. Analysis and Conclusions: Points of Strength and Weakness

85% of the women who responded to the survey declared that if there was public transportation within their community, they would make use of it. In light of the fact that 70% of the women do not leave the village on their own, and most of the activity within the village is conducted without an escort, it is clear that the most essential change must occur in public transportation within the village. In order to provide efficient transportation within the village, it must be inexpensive, frequent and accessible to those with limitations. Of course, making information on schedules, routes, etc available to every household should be a priority.
Among the women who do not have a driver’s license, 44% attributed this to economic reasons, 30% said that they have no need for a car, and 23% cited social obstacles.

In our view, there is a hidden message in the statements made by some of the women who said they do not have a driver’s license due to economic constraints or because they have no need for one. This message, which they have internalized, is that a woman does not need mobility and/or that a driver’s license is not a means for helping to improve the household’s economic situation. This message indicates that there is also an underlying social reason for the fact that they do not have a driver’s license. The situation in which women acknowledge the existence of a social obstacle is a good starting point for change. And it is precisely those women who stated this that can comprise the target group for generating the change.

According to the survey findings, the escorting of women differs depending on the destination:

Some 76% of the women said that when visiting public institutions they go alone. About 73% of the women are not accompanied when going to places related to child care such as clinics, well-baby centers and day care facilities. Some 43% of family visits are escorted; this derives from the content of the visit, they explain 54% of other social visits are conducted unaccompanied.

When shopping, 40% go by themselves, while 34% are usually accompanied by someone. The reason cited for the escort in most cases is social barriers, and 22% said that this is their only possibility for going out to buy things.

When traveling outside of the community, about 40% are always escorted and 32% are usually accompanied. Here we learn that the matter of being escorted depends on the destination.

There is a combination of physical and social factors that are unfavorable for the use of public transportation as it stands.
As described, most of the buses do not enter the communities and the frequency of public transportation is low. There is a lack of information about the existing public transport system and no available information center where one can check which company services the village. There is no convenient way for a woman to inform herself about the details of the line she needs to use.

In the framework of the survey, 55% of the women declared that they do not use buses at all. On the other hand, the use of taxis is widespread; only 30% of the women said they do not use taxis. Apparently, the reasons for the widespread use of taxis are their relatively high frequency and flexibility of route: the woman can reach her desired travel destination and not be solely dependent on another means of transportation.

4. Recommendations

Our recommendations focus on a number of areas, each of which is critically important for changing the existing situation. Changing a situation of social exclusion requires a change in the attitude of both the excluder and the excluded. The change in outlook must take place among the women themselves, as well as among the decision makers at national and municipal levels.

National and local government
- Promoting legislation on social rights, that includes the right to mobility as a fundamental right. This legislation could form the basis for the demands of organizations working to prevent the exclusion of various groups in Israeli society.
- Preparing master plans for transportation in the villages that includes an emphasis on principles of mobility and accessibility for women.
• Higher subsidizing of public transportation in villages (in comparison to other parts of the country) as a measure of affirmative action. With such subsidies, public transportation could become more frequent in the villages.

• Forming transportation committees at the local authorities level, with women included as committee members. These committees would work to involve the public in the decision making process regarding transportation in the villages and would engage in activity aimed at encouraging the use of public transportation. This would be in accordance with the principles of involving the public: actively providing information, transparency, and encouraging public participation on this issue.

### Changing awareness on all levels

• Decision makers: Courses/seminars/workshops for decision makers at all echelons of society on the connection between women’s ability to contribute to the economy and society and the level of their mobility. The aim is for the decision makers to internalize the right of mobility for women and understand that the contribution to society by women would grow as a result of improving public transportation and thus accelerate the desired process of change.

• Women: Community work for publicizing means of transportation and activities in the social context that encourage independent travel by women.

• Next generation: Integrating the subject of mobility of women into the formal and informal education system for young women and teenage girls. The education system is the place for instituting structural changes to create a new experience for women in the future and enable them to become familiar with other models of emulation.
Implementation activity

- Conducting a comprehensive survey on mobility options in villages from the perspective of public transportation.
- Transportation information in Arabic that displays departure times, trip duration and cost for all public transportation in the villages. The information will include all public companies operating in the villages.
- Continuation of the pilot program of public transportation in the villages in the framework of community work coordinated with the Transportation Ministry, the local authority and other organizations, with the participation of the entire population.
Appendix A: Pilot Program in Mghar

Description of the idea
After a group of women from the village of Mghar completed a workshop on personal empowerment conducted by Kayan, the women asked us, via the social services department of the local council, to organize a “community empowerment” workshop.

After the workshop began, it became apparent that the women were arriving late due to a problem of mobility, even between adjacent neighborhoods in the village. The reason: a lack of internal public transportation. This situation compelled them to wait for one of the men in the family to drive them. Another possibility was to walk by foot for an hour! It should be emphasized that these women almost never leave their homes unaccompanied except in extremely urgent situations.

The composition of the group
This group was comprised of 12 women between the ages of 30–50, housewives, some of whom had had education and some of whom did not. The women were socially active at the village level and were strongly motivated to work for change and to develop their talents in working with the public.

Description of the project and its ramifications
One of the defined goals of the workshop was “to plan and implement a community project that would primarily serve the community of women.” In this light, the participants chose the project of “bringing public transportation into the community,” with the aim of facilitating their movement and the movement of children in the community, as well as contributing to the general mobility of the residents.

A previous attempt by the locals to operate an array of public transportation systems in the community was discontinued after a short time. The women studied the reasons for this and
found that the “marketing” was inadequate and incorrect. Most of the residents did not know about the transportation line that was operated, and no clear information was provided about timetables and stops. Thus, the group decided to invest most of its efforts in operating an internal bus line while focusing on the “marketing” activity required for spreading the word about the service to the public. The line was operated by the Nazareth-based Al-Afifi company. Operation began in January 2005 and continued for seven months before it was discontinued.

**Why?**

The women suffered from difficulties related to the very fundamental act of leaving the framework of their homes and their traditional roles. They engaged in a project that was revolutionary to some extent: helping women (indirectly) to disengage from men and their constant dependence on them.

This is the first step toward their independence, especially in regard to their movement and mobility. It should be emphasized that in this society women who drive a vehicle are still punished through a religious and social boycott against them, and this also includes women who “dare” to sit next to the driver. The group fulfilled its role in a very good way, but the local council, despite its repeated promises to support the project, did not cooperate as required, which led to the discontinuation of the transportation line.

There is great importance in what is described above, but the most important thing is the process that the women in the group experienced while taking an active role in implementing the project – both on the personal and collective levels.

The most important aspect of this project is the sense of personal and communal growth that the women experienced as a direct result of the active role they took in its implementation.
Here are a few relevant examples: The women, or at least some of them, initially encountered resentment and complaints from their relatives. Today, however, their children, husbands and families are proud of their achievements and have become partners in their path. The women saw and felt their true abilities translated into reality. They had accomplished a project that has attracted the attention of the local and international media. The residents also recognized their success in a ceremony held at the bus line’s founding. While it operated, the bus line was of assistance to many. As one of the participants of the group said, “If I was capable of contributing to such a great achievement, I certainly can achieve other goals and aspirations.” And this was indeed the objective: empowerment.

This pilot was presented to various institutional entities. It is considered a pioneering experiment among Arab women in involving the public and in creating infrastructure for public transportation in the community.

Women from the Mghar group on the bus on January 29, 2005, the day of the inauguration of the bus line.
Appendix B: Member of Knesset Dr. Dov Khanin’s Letter

Knesset Member Dr. Dov Khanin

Greetings,

In our contemporary world, mobility is an important aspect for enabling participation in economic and social life. This mobility is the central goal of every sophisticated transportation network.

These basic facts are at the core of this important report, which was prepared on the initiative of Kayan – Feminist Organization. The reality reflected in the report is difficult, for in Israel; in the twenty-first century, there are excluded population groups, who are effectively denied basic access.

The comfortable, safe, cheap and available public transportation is the central component for easy mobility for all members of contemporary society. Israel has turned into a community dependent on the private car. Those who lack a private car are doomed to become captive to the existing public transportation network. Public transportation in Arab towns is few and sometimes non-existent.

The report presents, in a social – feminist perspective, the meaning of this shortage for Arab women, for in Arab towns, women are the prominent victims of the reality of the lack of public transport.
Apart from presenting the difficult situation, the report is also a call for action and change in this area. It requires a different transportation policy, beginning at the level of the State’s institutions, local authority regulations and ending at the socio-environmental organizations and public transport companies.

Such change has already happened in many places in the world and can happen in our country only as a result of merging the public struggle with professional work, within and outside the Knesset. This report is a real contribution of these two components.

MK Dr. Dov Khanin
Co-chair of the Knesset’s socio-environmental lobby
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Kayan – Profile

Kayan, which means “Being” in Arabic, is a feminist organization established by Palestinian-Israeli women. Founded in 1998, Kayan is a capacity-building, non-governmental organization devoted to women’s development. Kayan offers a wide array of courses, knowledge-based trainings, mentoring programs and activities with women’s groups and associations, non-profits and with the public. Current strategies for women’s empowerment and gender-equity include: Grassroots skills and Capacity Building, Knowledge-Based Training, Civil and Legal Demands, Networking and Coalitions and International Advocacy. Kayan organizes, educates and motivates women to be vocal, visible, and participatory members of society in order to mainstream Arab women within their gender in Israeli society.