

**Policy Program
Paper**

**Integration of Arab Israeli
Pharmacists into the Labor Market**

Noah Lewin-Epstein, Alexandra Kalev,
Erez Marantz, and Shimrit Slonim

Policy Paper No. 2015.03

Jerusalem, October 2015



The Taub Center was established in 1982 under the leadership and vision of Herbert M. Singer, Henry Taub, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The Center is funded by a permanent endowment 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, the Milton A. and Roslyn Z. Wolf Family Foundation, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

This paper, like all Center publications, represents the views of its authors only, and they alone are responsible for its contents. Nothing stated in this paper creates an obligation on the part of the Center, its Board of Directors, its employees, other affiliated persons, or those who support its activities.

Translation: Shoshan London-Sappir
Editing and Lay-out: Laura Brass

Center address: 15 Ha'ari Street, Jerusalem
Telephone: 02 5671818 Fax: 02 5671919
Email: info@taubcenter.org.il Website: www.taubcenter.org.il

■ Internet edition

Integration of Arab Israeli Pharmacists into the Labor Market

Noah Lewin-Epstein, Alexandra Kalev,
Erez Marantz, and Shimrit Slonim*

Abstract

This policy paper attempts to examine the mechanisms that both facilitate and hinder the employment of educated Arab Israelis by Jewish employers. The study focuses specifically on pharmacists. The past decade has seen a growth in the number of Arab Israelis entering this profession - a large share of whom are employed in businesses that are owned or managed by Jews. On the basis of in-depth interviews with Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists and with the managers of pharmacies, the paper compares their work experiences along their career paths, as well as their perceptions of differences between the groups. The study points to the complexities of the professional integration process for Arab Israelis. On the one hand, the opening of higher education opportunities in Jordan - which helps Arab Israelis overcome rigorous entrance requirements to study pharmacy in Israel - allows Arab Israelis to gain a professional education. There has also been a rise in the willingness of Jewish employers to hire them. On the other hand, studying in Jordan is less respected among Jewish employers than studying in Israel, and this makes it harder for Arab Israelis to find internships and employment. In addition,

* Prof. Noah Lewin-Epstein, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University. Prof. Alexandra Kalev, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University. Erez Marantz, doctoral student, Department of Sociology, University of New York. Shimrit Slonim, MA student, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University.

many employers are hesitant to hire them due to their lack of experience in the local market. In light of this, seeking internships and employment takes longer for Arab Israeli pharmacists than for their Jewish counterparts, and many find that they have to compromise on their place of employment and salary. These difficulties are intensified due to the lack of professional contacts, although Arab Israeli pharmacists who have studied in Israel also experience difficulties in finding internships and employment. In addition, those interviewed report instances of discrimination. For instance, candidates who wear a hijab reported prejudice on the part of Jewish customers, and difficulties stemming from a lack of an organizational policy that recognizes their culture and religion. The study also found that working together contributes to a positive change of attitudes by Jews towards Arab Israelis. In light of the findings, the paper recommends policy steps that can contribute to the integration of Arab Israelis into the pharmacist job market, such as specialized training and consideration for Muslim holidays.

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
1. The Status of Arab Citizens of Israel in the Labor Market	7
2. The Pharmacy Industry in Israel	11
3. The Study Design	16
4. Findings	25
5. Summary and Conclusions	69
References	77

Introduction

Most of the studies on the integration of Arab Israeli workers in the Israeli work force focus on barriers to their integration, reflected in the fact that the Arab community in Israel is characterized by high levels of unemployment and low income compared to the Jewish population (Khattab and Miaari, 2013c). Arab citizens of Israel have difficulty finding employment with Jewish employers, and those of them who are the most educated are usually employed in ethnic enclaves within the Arab communities, where their economic opportunities are limited.

However, following the rise of the market logic in Israel's economic policy, and Israel's admission to the OECD, it is evident that policy makers have begun emphasizing the equal integration of Arab Israelis in the labor market as an important goal for advancing Israel's economy in general, and the Arab community's standard of living in particular (Yashiv and Kasir, 2013). That emphasis provides new opportunities to reduce economic inequality between Arabs and Jews in Israel.

The purpose of this study is to identify effective models of intervention to advance the employment of Arab Israelis in Israel. To that end the study discusses changes that have occurred in the labor market and examines the strategic organizational practices that either promote or inhibit the integration of Arab Israelis into Jewish owned or managed work places. The study focuses on the profession of pharmacist, which in the last decade has been characterized by high rates of integration of Arab Israelis in the Israeli labor market.

The dramatic rise in the employment of Arab Israelis as pharmacists stems from changes in the structure of the profession and the pharmaceutical industry over the last three decades. In addition, the peace process with Jordan made higher education more accessible than ever to the Arab community in Israel. This case study will enable an examination of how organizational and professional changes and economic-political processes that combine to shape the integration of Arab Israeli men and women in the labor market in the Jewish sector. The study provides a unique inside look both at the limits of the integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists in the Israeli labor market and at the social mechanisms that enable change and weaken ethnic boundaries. The conclusions of the analysis suggest modes of operation for public policies to support these mechanisms and allow the equal integration of this minority group beyond the pharmaceutical industry.

The pharmaceutical industry expanded considerably in the last few decades. Drug store chains have grown with a new business philosophy that combines pharmacy with consumer culture, creating new competition in the industry. At the same time, the health funds, which maintain a 46 percent market share of the drug stores in Israel, have undergone organizational changes and adopted a market economy approach, after being separated from labor organizations and adjusting their activity to the National Health Insurance Law. These changes are not unique to the pharmacy industry but rather reflect widespread economic processes in the labor market and in the Israeli economy in general.

Changes are also evident within the Arab Israeli community. One of the most noteworthy is the consistent rise in the level of education – to a large extent thanks to peace with Jordan, which considerably increased access to higher education for this community. Other changes include the expansion of consumer culture in Israel, the drop in the birth rate and the generational turnover. All of these factors are contributing to the rise of an educated Israeli Arab middle class with an urban, consumer, Western orientation, and the opening of more opportunities for Arab Israelis, especially women, to enter the work force. These changes are rapidly producing more educated women and a growing acceptance of their participation in the labor market.

The focus on pharmacists will enable an examination of the required policy steps for the equal integration of educated Arab Israeli men and women in the Israeli work force. Such integration is extremely important on three levels: (1) providing role models within the Arab Israeli community and giving legitimacy to an ongoing change, especially on the issue of women's education and their integration into the work force; (2) integrating a population with high human capital into the work force, which will make a significant contribution to the growth of the Israeli economy in general (Yashiv and Kasir 2013); (3) integrating Arab Israeli workers alongside Jewish workers at places of work that serve diverse populations will increase mutual familiarity between the two populations, and may neutralize prejudice and reduce hostility (Pettigrew, 1998).

This study is primarily inductive and seeks to show social processes and mechanisms that are not necessarily statistically quantifiable or predictable based on existing theories of ethnic integration.

The study has at this point focused on community-retail pharmacy and is based on in-depth interviews with Arab Israeli and Jewish pharmacists and pharmacy directors from the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area. The interviews

enable an analysis of the stages in the career of a pharmacist – from selecting a school through full employment as a certified pharmacist – and the differences in the patterns of career development for Arab Israeli and Jewish pharmacists. The interviews, as well as the background material about the development of the profession of pharmacy in the last years, indicate both formal and informal organizational processes that serve as catalysts for the integration of Arab Israelis, and those that inhibit integration.

1. The Status of Arab Citizens of Israel in the Labor Market

Arab Israelis comprise 20 percent of the population of Israel (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014). As a minority perceived by many as a threat to the Jewish national majority (Kimmerling and Migdal, 2009), Arab Israelis suffer from deep spatial and social segregation (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1993; Shdema, 2013). Most of the Arab Israeli population lives in separate communities from the Jewish population and is located in the northern and southern districts of Israel, far from the Jewish majority in the economic center of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area (Monterescu and Rabinowitz, 2012). At the same time, Arab Israelis have suffered over the years from institutional discrimination, such as the unequal distribution of government budgets (Lewin and Stier, 2002), and a lack of planning and development that have led to a shortage of urban, industrial and educational infrastructures in their communities (Khamaisi, 2013; Lewin, Stier, and Caspi-Dror, 2006). Subsequently, Arab Israeli communities are disproportionately represented on the list of poor communities in Israel (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014).

A long list of studies indicate the difficulties that Arab Israelis face in the labor market (Khattab and Miaari, 2013c; Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1993). The deep segregation and lack of economic development of their communities have narrowed the fields of employment in which Arab Israelis can be assimilated to a limited number of professions and sectoral-economic enclaves characterized by high “density” (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1993). Arab Israelis whose employers are Jewish are concentrated in low status occupations and exposed to a range of forms of discrimination by their employers (Wolkinson, 1999; Steiner, 2013). Educated Arab Israelis are usually

employed in professions that are incompatible with their education (Khattab and Miaari, 2013a), and earn less than Jewish employees with the same professional profile (Miaari and Khattab, 2013).

Due to the position of Arab Israelis in the secondary labor market in Israel, they are also the primary victims of economic crises and suffer from higher rates of unemployment and a relatively slower rate of recovery compared to the Jewish population (Sa'di and Lewin-Epstein, 2001; Khattab and Miaari, 2013b). Furthermore, in recent decades, the Arab community has found itself competing with migrant workers over its traditional position in occupations that require manual labor (Yashiv and Kasir, 2013).

Arab Israeli women experience a different and deeper kind of marginalization in the labor market in Israel (Abu-Baker, 2002; Daoud, 2012). Despite a considerable rise in the levels of their participation in the work force, those levels are still very low compared to Jewish women – 30 percent compared to 72 percent respectively. A combination of cultural factors, the lack of conditions conducive to going out to work, and the Jewish-Arab conflict in Israel – all contribute to the difficulty of their integration in the work force (Yashiv and Kasir, 2011). Traditional patriarchal concepts in certain Arab communities deny women the freedom to enter the work force, acquire higher education and develop careers (Abu-Baker, 2002; Offer and Sabah, 2011). Women who earn a higher education tend to choose fields such as teaching or social work, which track them into employment in the local work force and types of employment that enable them to fulfill their traditional roles in the family and preserve gender relations in their community. Many members of the Arab Israeli community, especially the Muslim community, believe that employment in the Jewish-dominated sector of the economy is not appropriate for women or exposes them to dangers, in the absence of suitable protection outside of their communities (Sa'ar, 2007; Azaiza, Abu-Baker, Hertz-Lazarowitz, and Ghanem, 2009). Studies also indicate an association between the disempowered status of Arab Israeli men and an increasing erosion in the status of Arab Israeli women in their communities, which includes a rise in the levels of violence (Abu-Baker, 2002; Sa'ar and Yahia-Younis, 2008). The constraints are not only cultural, though (Lewin-Epstein and Semyonov, 1993; Sa'ar, 2007); the deep spatial separation between Arab Israelis and Jews, as well as accessibility issues cause particular problems for Arab Israeli women who are expected to combine work with their household and family

responsibilities (Abu-Baker, 2002; Herzog, 2007). In this context, numerous studies have indicated that factors such as appropriate public transportation and day care for children would help encourage the employment of Arab Israeli women (Schlosser, 2005; Yashiv and Kasir, 2011). Another study found that work spaces that blur ethnic differences, such as recreation and shopping areas with a global consumer culture, help provide legitimacy and promote the employment of Arab Israeli women in the Jewish sector (Marantz, Kalev and Lewin-Epstein, 2014).

Significant changes have occurred in the last decades in the employment patterns and human capital of the Arab Israeli community. More and more Arab Israelis are integrating in retail occupations, paramedical professions and civil engineering (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). This trend is accompanied by a rise in the level of professional labor among all Arab Israeli workers, and a moderate drop in the level of self-employment in this sector (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). These changes are only beginning, but they reflect deep processes both in the Arab Israeli community and in the Israeli economy in general. The work force of Arab Israeli women and men is characterized by a higher level of education and a lower birth rate than before. Furthermore, Arab Israeli women appear to have lengthened their participation time in the work force, as evidenced by the rise in the average age of Arab women in the work force, which now approaches that of Jewish women (Yashiv and Kasir, 2013). These processes are accompanied by the rise of a new middle class in the Arab Israeli community, characterized by higher education, higher income and a lifestyle influenced by Western consumer culture (Kanaaneh, 2002). In recent years, there has also been a slow transition of Arab Israeli families into communities that were previously considered purely Jewish, to the point of creating new mixed cities, such as Karmiel and Nazareth Illit (Monterescu and Rabinowitz, 2012).

The changes in the Arab Israeli community must be understood in the broader context of changes in the Israeli economy, the strengthening of market logic in shaping economic policy, and the influence of the broader institutional environment. All of these led to increasing pressure on Jewish employers to be open to integrating Arab Israeli workers et al., 2014). The entrance of international corporations into the Israeli market and the borrowing of organizational models from Western countries undermine the exclusivity of the ethnocentric logic among Jewish employers and serve to strengthen a more economic-based logic, with an

emphasis on profit and loss considerations. Moreover, given the expansion of the service and retail sectors, new opportunities are opening for employees from the Arab Israeli population, who Jewish employers perceive as an important work force for attracting clients from their sector (Marantz et al., 2014). These market trends are reinforced by the discourse of employment diversity, which has taken hold since Israel joined the OECD, as well as the development of regulation and public policy in this area (Dobbin and Kalev, 2013).

These processes, which institutionalize the idea of employing Arabs in the Jewish sector, are not free from difficulties and objections, especially concerning Arab Israeli women. Despite the rise in their status in their communities, numerous studies show that while education and employment among Arab Israeli men are perceived as solutions for the material ambitions of the growing middle class in that sector, the education of women is usually perceived as an investment in the family, and they are expected to fulfill their traditional role as managers of the household and caretakers of the children (Abu-Baker, 2002). Women who wish to break away from this patriarchal yoke are exposed to emotional and sometimes physical abuse, alienation and demands to accommodate their Western lifestyle to their traditional role as mothers and housewives (Khattab, 2009; Daoud, 2012; Sa'ar, 2007). Arab Israeli women who move away from their communities and choose to live in the Israeli urban centers find themselves socially isolated and dealing with discrimination by the Jewish population and the absence of a family safety net to help them develop their careers while raising their children (Herzog, 2007). Many educated women adopt the strategy of partial acceptance of the traditional norms, in order to guarantee their ability to develop an employment career that will give them a degree of autonomy and self-realization (Azaiza et al., 2009). Educated young men also find themselves facing opposing demands, which often put them in a problematic position vis-à-vis men from the older generation in their communities, their families and the Jewish community (Al-Haj, 1989).

The fact that most of the Arab Israeli population lives in Israel's geographic-economic periphery also contributes to the difficulty of Arab Israelis in assimilating equally (Khamaisi, 2013). Like Jewish residents of the periphery, they are far from the center of Israeli business world and from many employment opportunities. Those who seek to expand their employment opportunities and develop professional careers must often move away from their families and supportive communities. For many, it

is not only a matter of a daily commute but of living far away from their families for most days of the week.

In light of these complex processes, this policy paper seeks to examine the mechanisms that allow the employment of educated Arab Israeli men and women by Jewish employers, and the results of that integration. The study focuses on the social and organizational processes and structures that shape the integration of members of the Arab Israeli community in the Jewish-dominated labor market, while highlighting both opportunities and difficulties and new dilemmas that have been studied very little until now.

Retail pharmacies serve in this study as case studies. An in-depth examination of the career stages of Arab Israeli pharmacists, comparing them to those of their Jewish counterparts, and interviews with employers will shed light on the processes that shape all aspects of the profession: acquiring an education, accumulating the necessary experience, both professional and social, finding a job as a certified professional, and the daily routine of work. The basic assumption of the study is that these insights are relevant for application to other fields where Arab Israelis are integrated into the Jewish labor market.

2. The Pharmacy Industry in Israel

According to Ministry of Health figures, the number of working-age licensed pharmacists tripled in the last 25 years from 1,982 licensed pharmacists ages 65 and under in 1988, to more than 6,500 in 2013 (Ministry of Health, 2013). During that time the civilian work force in Israel grew by 137 percent and the entire population grew by 82 percent (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2014). This means that the overall growth rates in the population were much lower than the growth in the pharmacy field. The impressive increase in the number of pharmacists occurred at quite a steady pace over the time period: from 1988-2000 the number of pharmacists up to age 65 rose by 71 percent, and from 2000-2013 it rose by 77 percent.

Ministry of Health figures provide information on the number of licensed pharmacists, but it can be reasonably assumed that the number of people actually working as pharmacists is smaller than those licensed to practice. Estimates from Central Bureau of Statistics surveys help to fill in the picture, because they provide information about the interviewees'

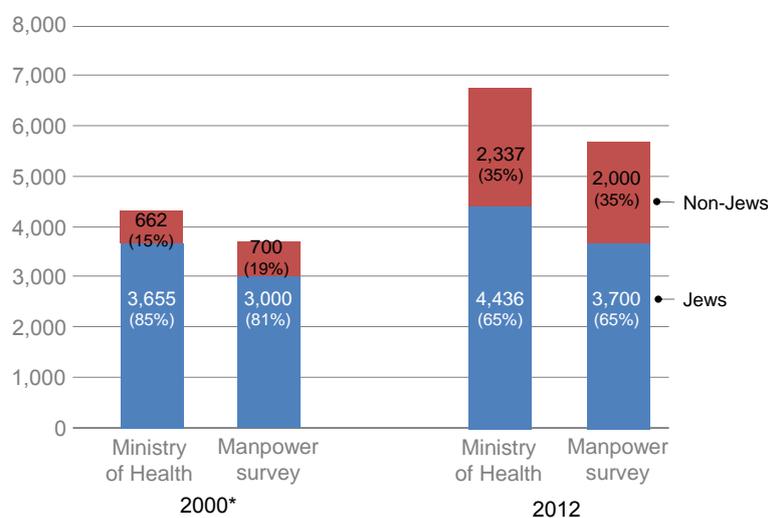
occupations at the time the survey was conducted. According to those estimates, 3,700 respondents declared their occupation as pharmacist in 2000,¹ compared to 5,800 in 2012. As expected, the estimates derived from the manpower survey databases are indeed lower than the Health Ministry figures, but they also indicate a substantial 60 percent rise (compared to 77 percent according to the Ministry of Health figures) in the number of people working as pharmacists in the last decade.

Figure 1 shows the number of professional pharmacists in the years 2000-2012 by sector: Jewish compared to Arab Israelis. In 2000, 20 percent of pharmacists were Arab Israelis, a slightly higher rate than their share in the total adult population. This indicates a long-term preference by educated Arab Israelis to enter this profession, as well as its accessibility to the Arab Israeli community compared to other occupations in Israel.² Over the first decade of the 21st century, as the pharmacist profession expanded, the rate of Arab Israeli pharmacists reached one-third of all pharmacists. It is noteworthy that the main cause of that growth was the integration of Arab Israeli women into the profession. Among Jewish pharmacists, women have been a majority for many years – 58 percent in 2012 – but that was not the case for Arab Israeli pharmacists, and women hardly worked in that field until recently. In the last decade, the rate of Arab Israeli women among pharmacists in Israel has reached 15 percent and is approaching the rate of Arab Israeli men.

¹ Due to the relatively small samples of the manpower surveys during those years, the estimate is based on an average of three years: 1999-2001 (see Figure 1).

² This pattern in the profession of pharmacy is typical of medical professions in general (Popper-Giveon, Liberman and Keshet, 2014).

Figure 1
Number of pharmacists
 by population group, 2000 and 2012



* Average for 1998-2000

Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Data: Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Health

The Jordanian option. A key factor in the change of the demographic breakdown of pharmacists in Israel has to do with changes in the opportunity for higher education among the Arab Israeli population. Pharmacy studies are available at only two universities in Israel, Hebrew University in Jerusalem and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Until the last decade, graduates of these two programs were the main source of practitioners entering the pharmacy profession in Israel. In the years of massive waves of immigration, such as the early 1990s, the work force in the profession was also bolstered by Jewish immigrants, who had practiced the profession in their countries of origin.

Following the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994, the opportunity opened for Arab citizens of Israel to pursue higher education in Jordan, and they gradually began to exercise that option. One decade after the peace treaty, in the academic year 2004-2005, as many as 1,645 Arab Israeli students were studying in various academic fields in Jordan, comprising 8 percent of all foreign students studying in Jordan at that time. Two years later, as many as 5,000 Arab Israelis were enrolled in

Jordanian universities, almost one-third of whom were women (Haj-Yihya and Arar, 2009). This development enabled many Arab Israelis who did not meet the admissions requirements for Israeli universities, or who avoided taking the psychometric (entrance) exam, and particularly women, who preferred studying in a social-cultural environment more suitable to their lifestyle, to pursue pharmacy studies and later to try to enter the profession in Israel. This new opportunity to study in Jordan generated far-reaching changes. A clear example of the extent of the changes is that half of the 167 pharmacy licenses granted by the Ministry of Health in 2013 were given to graduates of Jordanian universities. That was the peak year, but a similar trend has been evident for the entire last decade. More than one-third of all pharmacy licenses issued since 2005 are for graduates of Jordanian institutions (Ministry of Health, 2013).

Internship and Ministry of Health licensing. A six-month period of internship is an inseparable part of the studies in the field and a condition for receiving a license. Until recently, graduates of Israeli universities were granted a license to practice pharmacy at the end of the internship period, whereas graduates of foreign universities had to pass an additional Ministry of Health exam. Since 2013, graduates of all pharmacy programs, both in Israel and abroad, must pass the Ministry of Health licensing exam. The exam can be taken only after completing an internship.

The profession of pharmacists has several advantages as a test case for the integration of Arab Israelis in general, and Arab Israeli women in particular, in the Israeli labor market. First, it is a professional occupation that requires higher education, and can serve as a model for turning higher education among Arab Israelis into suitable employment. Secondly, the industry-specific and organizational changes in retail pharmacy in the last decades reflect the broader changes in the economy, consumer culture and the labor market in response to the strengthening of a market unhindered by regulatory barriers. Pharmacy is customarily characterized as a profession that combines complex scientific knowledge with responsibility and commitment to service. The vocation's professional orientation has been increasingly combined over the past decades with a market logic, which is to say operating the pharmacy as an economic business. In Israel like in other places, family-owned pharmacies were the cornerstone of the retail pharmaceutical industry for many years. They were typically owned by a person trained and certified as a pharmacist, and sometimes employing a small number of hired

pharmacists. This model was dominant in the world and in Israel for most of the 20th century, and like many other small businesses is struggling to survive in light of the economic changes and the growth of large retail drug store chains.

Major changes have occurred over the last three decades in all aspects of the retail pharmaceutical industry in Israel, mainly in the organizational, employment and demographic aspects. The Super-Pharm chain, which introduced the business model of a pharmacy combined with a supermarket for toiletries and cosmetics, took its first steps in the Israeli market in 1978. Its entrance into the market was accompanied by legislative changes that allowed its growth and expansion. Up until the change, it was illegal to open a new pharmacy within 500 meters of an existing pharmacy. That law played an important role in limiting competition and protecting the pharmacists who owned family drug stores. In the era of neoliberal economics in Israel that took shape over the last quarter of the 20th century, those barriers were removed and the way was opened for a new business model in the private sector, based on relatively large pharmacies employing a large number of hired pharmacists. The health fund pharmacies, which employ a large share of the pharmacists in the country, also underwent changes during that period, with the rise of the privatization of the healthcare system following the enactment of the National Health Insurance Law and the encouragement of the health funds to pursue profits and the manufacture of new sources of revenue.

There are currently 1,450 pharmacies in Israel (Crystal and Lahav, 2014): half of these are run by the health funds, another third remain private-traditional, and the rest (250 pharmacies) are owned by the drug store chains. The drop in the number of private and family pharmacies – about 100 of them closed in the last decade – versus the expansion of the drug store chains, has changed the nature of work in retail pharmacy. The practices of large organizations have grown stronger and are reflected by a rise in the number of salaried workers in the profession, organizational changes in terms of the formal division of work and jobs, the institutionalization of practices of recruitment and promotion, the introduction of shifts, mobility between branches, and opportunities to develop a career in pharmacy within the organization.

These changes have redesigned employment opportunities, with a growing demand for pharmacists on the one hand, and on the other hand, competition that exerts pressure to lower their wages, as well as a formal

division of jobs. The fact that this occupation is practiced both in the private and the public sectors enables a comparison of what is similar and different in the integration of Arab Israeli graduates of pharmacy studies in a wide range of employment settings, from family drug stores to large bureaucratic organizations. It also allows an examination of the organizational and employment characteristics that encourage the integration of minority groups as well as the identification of career patterns, all in the diverse contexts of the encounter between Arab Israeli workers and their Jewish colleagues and Jewish customers.

The data presented above were the starting point for this study, whose purpose is to understand the mechanisms that shape the integration of Arab Israeli workers in the pharmacy profession and the meaning of that integration in terms of working conditions and the daily encounter with Jewish employers, colleagues and customers. This case study can contribute to understanding the processes that facilitate fuller integration of the Arab Israeli community, and especially Arab Israeli women, in the labor market, and which also lead to more varied daily encounters between the two sectors.

The study of pharmacy as a case study can deepen our insights into the integration of the Arab Israeli community in the labor market. The processes that this industry is undergoing are characteristic of Israeli society and its economy in general, including the privatization processes that have led to the rise of retail chains with global characteristics, the rise of consumer culture, the removal of barriers to the entrance of women into the labor market in general and prestigious professions in particular, the rise of the middle class in the Arab Israeli sector, the rise in the demand for highly educated workers, and the rise in the willingness of Jewish employers to employ workers from different sectors in professions in which they were not previously represented.

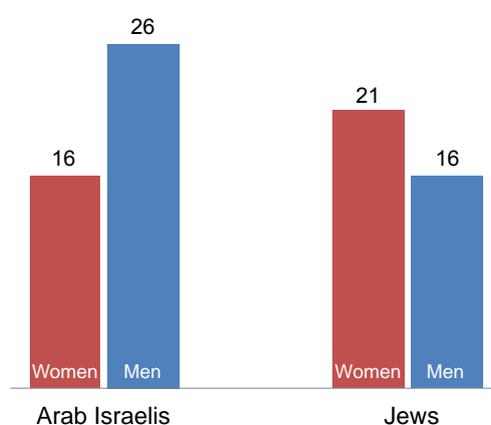
3. The Study Design

The main tool used in this study was the semi-structured interview.³ The study findings are based on interviews with 80 pharmacists, managers and pharmacy owners – Jewish and Arab Israeli, men and women – who

³ Semi-structured interviews are based on a fixed set of questions in every interview which are then open for elaboration and accommodation in every interview.

worked in the Tel Aviv metropolitan area between February and June 2014. Of the interviewees, 37 were Jewish and 42 were Arab Israelis; 37 were women and 43 men. Of the 42 Arab Israeli pharmacists, 9 were Christian, including 2 women and 7 men. The other 33 pharmacists were Muslim – 14 women and 19 men (Figure 2). One additional interviewee was a Christian who is not an Arab Israeli (and is not included in the following report of results).

Figure 2
Distribution of interviewees by gender and population group



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

In an effort to understand the characteristics of the integration of the Arab Israeli pharmacists in the varied modes of employment in community pharmacy, and in order to describe the full breadth of the phenomenon, pharmacists employed both in the private and public sectors were interviewed, according to a breakdown that reflects the market share of each sector in the pharmacy industry in Israel: 36 pharmacists employed by drug store chains; 28 pharmacists employed by private, neighborhood drug stores; and 16 pharmacists employed by pharmacies owned by the health funds. Of those interviewed, 27 were pharmacists who are employers and/or in managerial positions, which enabled insight into the integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists from the employers perspective as well, and also enabled an examination from the

viewpoint of Arab Israeli pharmacists who were promoted to managerial positions.

In order to develop the research sample, a detailed list of all pharmacies in the Tel Aviv area was made. The pharmacies were divided into private and public. Then the pharmacies were randomly sampled.⁴ Pharmacists employed by the selected pharmacies were contacted independently, personally and directly with a request to interview them for the study. The vast majority of pharmacists who were approached agreed to be interviewed and also expressed interest in the subject of the study and the possibility of expressing their opinions. Only two of the pharmacists who were approached turned down the offer and refused to participate in the study.

The identity of the research participants is confidential, and therefore the names that appear in this report are pseudonyms.⁵ Throughout the interview, interviewees were asked questions about the reasons they chose the pharmacy profession, as well as their studies and the process of finding an internship position. Later they were asked about their work and their employment history. The interviewees were also asked about their present jobs, their promotion potential and their future aspirations. They were asked to describe in their own words what their jobs are like, their interaction patterns with customers, their relations with colleagues and employers, and how their ethnic and gender identity influences their

⁴ The selection of interviewees according to socio-demographic characteristics is detailed in the following section.

⁵ The interview began with a general explanation about the study, and the interviewees were told that it had been approved by the Tel Aviv University Ethics Committee. Before contacting pharmacists employed by the drug store chains, the managements were informed. After receiving approval in principle to interview the chain's employees, employees in the relevant pharmacies were approached. The interviewees were asked to sign an informed consent form and gave their full consent to be interviewed. Most of the interviews were conducted in the pharmacy office or in a quiet room in the pharmacy, and a few were held at the interviewees' houses. The interviews were between 25-40 minutes long. All 80 interviews were recorded with the interviewees' consent, except for three who refused (in those cases notes were taken during the interview). The recorded interviews were transcribed and later encoded and prepared for content and statistical analysis with the Atlas.Ti Content Analysis software. The software provides topical identification and mapping of main patterns in the interviews, along with an in-depth and broad understanding of the interviewees' experiences and feelings as expressed in the interviews with them. The software also produced quantitative and descriptive data, as described in the findings section of this paper.

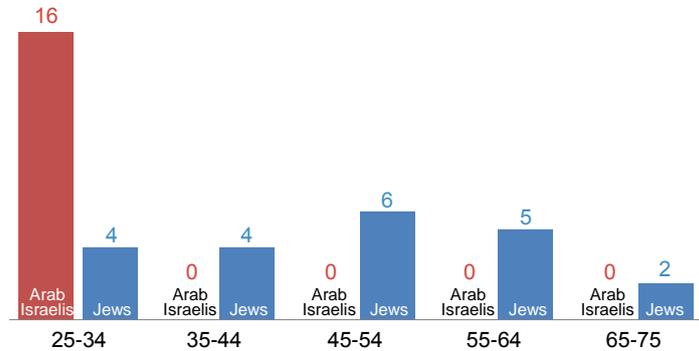
behavior in those contexts. Later in the interview, the interviewees were asked about their general perceptions about the integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists in the pharmacy profession,⁶ and finally they were asked background socio-demographic questions about their family status, place of residence, gender, religion, sector, and salary. Out of all of the interviewees, four refused to answer the salary question.

The interviewees' socio-demographic profiles

The goal in the selection of pharmacies was to guarantee diversity in the interviewee population to reflect their integration patterns in as broad as possible a variety of workplaces. The study sample was not designed to be a representative sample of all of the pharmacists in Israel. More than 50 percent of the pharmacists interviewed for this study are Arab Israelis, whereas in the population of licensed pharmacists in Israel they comprise only one-third. The higher rate of Arab Israeli pharmacists in the research sample compared to their relative share amongst pharmacists in Israel was designed to allow a larger study sample. By gender breakdown, the rate of women among the Arab Israeli interviewees was 38 percent (16 women) and among the Jewish interviewees their rate was 57 percent (21 women). The sample includes more male pharmacists compared to the national figures for the population of pharmacists, especially among Jews, to ensure enough interviewees in each gender-sector category to present a diverse and valid picture.

⁶ Two interviewees refused to address the question of integration.

Figure 3
Age distribution among women interviewed
 by population group



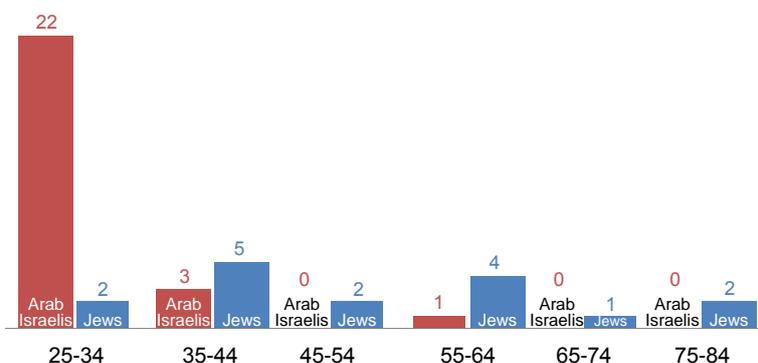
Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Figures 3 and 4 show the breakdown of interviewees by age group in each one of the two population groups. Figure 3, which shows data for women, indicates that the age range for female Jewish pharmacists is wide, whereas all of the female Arab Israeli pharmacists are ages 25-35. This difference reflects two important aspects of the profession of pharmacy: (1) the significant integration of Arab Israeli women pharmacists is a relatively new phenomenon; (2) a pattern is emerging among female Arab Israeli pharmacists that immediately after they graduate, while they are young and still unmarried, they choose to work in pharmacies in Tel Aviv and central Israel, even though most of them live in the North. As the interviews show, this choice arises both from the scarcity of work opportunities in the North and from the priority given in those areas to experienced pharmacists. As will be discussed below, after gaining experience in central Israel, the Arab Israeli women plan to go back to their families in the North and work closer to home.

Figure 4 shows the age breakdown of the male pharmacists among the interviewees. In this context as well, most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists (85 percent) employed in central Israel are young (25-35), compared to a wider age range among Jewish men. The average age difference between Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists is more than 20 years. The male Arab Israeli pharmacists, like the women, said they preferred to work in the North, and this breakdown might reflect a phenomenon of a transition

to work closer to the family and community after working for a few years in the Center.

Figure 4
Age distribution among men interviewed
 by population group

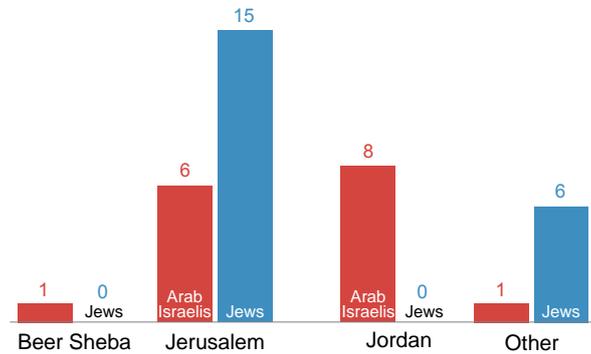


Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

As noted, the opportunities to study in Jordan, and to a lesser extent in Egypt, have grown considerably in the last decade. As a result, new opportunities for higher education have opened up to young Arab Israelis, both because of the geographic proximity and because of the cultural environment in those countries. The following figures reflect the impact of those opportunities.

Figure 5 shows the breakdown of the number of Jewish and Arab Israeli female pharmacists by the location of the professional school where they qualified as pharmacists. According to the figure, 70 percent of the female Jewish pharmacists who were interviewed studied and were qualified by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The rest of the female Jewish pharmacists studied at institutions classified as “other” located in Europe, except for two immigrant pharmacists – one studied in Australia and the other in Iraq. The breakdown of the female Arab Israeli pharmacists by location of place of study was equal between Jordan and Israel. Among the female Arab Israeli pharmacists who studied in Israel, most went to the Hebrew University.

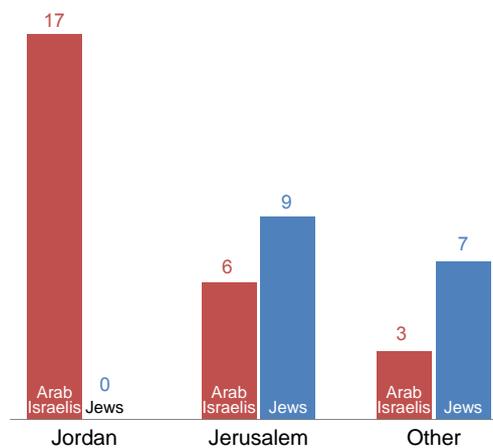
Figure 5
Place of study for women interviewed
 by population group



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

A similar breakdown is seen among male Arab Israeli pharmacists (Figure 6). Almost two-thirds of male Arab Israeli pharmacists went to school in Jordan. Most of the others went to the Hebrew University and a minority went to institutions classified as “other”, usually in Eastern Europe. Among the male Jewish pharmacists, the school most frequently attended was the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and in the entire sample of pharmacists, there was not a single graduate of Ben-Gurion University in the Negev. One possible explanation, which applies to the Jews, is that pharmacy studies at Ben-Gurion University began just over a decade ago, whereas the average age of the Jewish pharmacists in the sample was 51. More than 40 percent of the male Jewish pharmacists interviewed went to school outside of Israel at pharmacy schools classified as “other,” in Romania, Russia, Italy, England, France, and Iran.

Figure 6
Place of study for men interviewed
 by population group



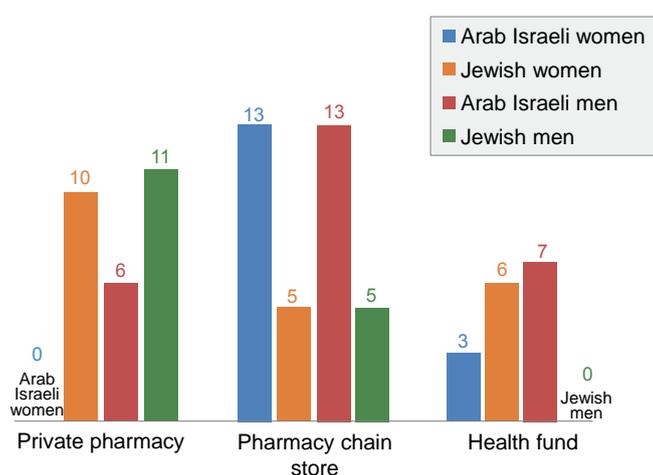
Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Most of the pharmacists who were interviewed are employed in pharmacies in the private sector and a minority in public pharmacies (Figure 7). The private sector includes family-owned neighborhood pharmacies as well as pharmacies that belong to the leading drug store chains. The pharmacies in the public sector belong to the health funds.

As will be described, in the community pharmacies there is a career track that allows promotion to positions that demand greater responsibility and involvement in management. Figure 8 shows the breakdown of interviewees (all licensed pharmacists) by position. The category of pharmacists includes pharmacists and head pharmacists. The category of managers includes both heads of pharmacy departments and managers and owners of pharmacies. The job of manager included recruiting and managing pharmacy staff.

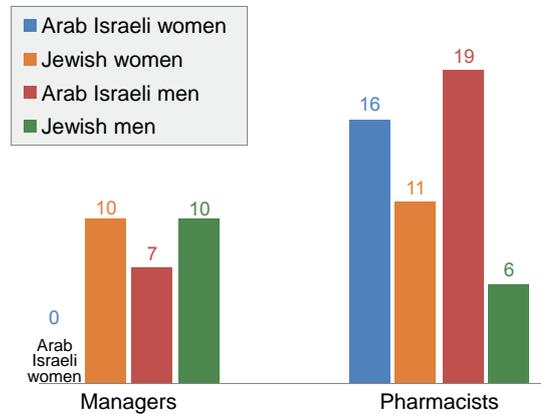
Figure 7

Distribution of interviewees by pharmacy type



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Figure 8

Distribution of interviewees by management level

Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

The managerial category included 47 percent of the female Jewish pharmacists; there were no managers among the Arab Israeli women in the sample. Among the male Arab Israeli pharmacists, 27 percent fill managerial positions compared to 62 percent of the male Jewish pharmacists. However, the number of Arab Israelis should be qualified because it is an overestimate; this was the result of a deliberate attempt to find Arab Israelis in management positions for the study, in order to include their perspectives. In any case, the gap between Jews and Arab Israelis in the rate of employees in managerial positions is wide. It can be at least partially explained by the fact that the Arab Israeli interviewees were significantly younger than the Jewish ones and had not yet acquired the necessary experience for promotion.

4. Findings

This section presents the career stages of the Arab Israeli and Jewish pharmacists, from choosing a school to finding an internship, the licensing exam and finally finding a job, promotion and salary possibilities. Features of Arab Israeli pharmacists' work routines will also be discussed. The findings indicate both ongoing barriers despite integration, as well as local solutions that manage to overcome those barriers.

The influence of the location of educational institution on pharmacists' careers

"First of all, graduates of Israeli institutions are considered better than those from abroad"

Of the Jewish pharmacists in the sample, 65 percent went to school in Israel, compared to 30 percent of the Arab Israeli pharmacists. This indicates that studies in Jordan provided Arab Israeli men and women with new opportunities for higher education. But the interviews, both with employers and with pharmacists, indicated that the educational institutions for pharmacy studies in Israel and Jordan are perceived differently as far as their professional level, and there is a clear preference of employers to recruit and promote graduates of Israeli institutions. Therefore, the place of learning appears to have a significant impact on the integration of Arab Israelis in the pharmacy profession and on their professional status. A look at the considerations in choosing a school will shed initial light on the career differences between Jews and Arab Israelis.

Jews and Arab Israelis reported different considerations in choosing a school. For Jewish pharmacists, it appears that the choice of school was based on considerations of convenience. The Jewish interviewees did not mention difficulties or constraints in choosing a school, except for one woman and one man, who chose to go to school in Europe, according to them because the admission requirements in Israel are relatively high and require longer studies for the psychometric exam. Others, especially Jewish interviewees who chose to study in Europe, did so for personal reasons or because they wanted to experience going to school abroad, as expressed by David, who chose to go to school in Italy: "I felt like going

abroad after a time, after I was in the army. I felt the need to go away for a while and chill, I went with two friends.”

As opposed to the Jewish interviewees, among the Arab Israeli interviewees the choice of place of education was made mainly due to a push factor – a constraint or barrier concerning their chances of admission into an Israeli institution. Even though they described the educational institutions in Jordan in a positive light, only two interviewees (8 percent) reported study in Jordan as a free choice, and like the Jews who chose to study abroad, said they liked Jordan or joined friends who were there. On the other hand, most of the interviewees said they went to study in Jordan because of the limits and difficulty of being admitted to pharmacy studies in Israel. This, for example is what Ahmad said about his decision to study in Jordan:

Only because of the psychometric exam, that’s the only reason. I did it twice, I tried to improve it and couldn’t [...] I needed something like 720, I improved it to 600 and something, it was very difficult.

Or as Adel said:

In Europe, for example, or in Jordan, it’s not hard to get in. It’s enough if you have, let’s say, a matriculation certificate, and you have a test [...] They give you a test, it’s not very complicated.

Studies in Jordan offer a solution to the admission difficulties in Israel, and allow the Arab Israelis to save time. As Nur said:

Actually, I never tried to do the psychometric in Israel. I just graduated from the 12th grade and went. So I didn’t sit at home. I finished school, and in October I started pharmacy studies. Because the admission requirements are easier there and there is no age limit.

Those who study in Jordan see it as a good way to enter the profession, but studying in Jordan appears to have a negative impact on their future careers. The interviews indicate that the employers have a clear preference to recruit and promote graduates of Israeli educational institutions. That preference was mentioned repeatedly, both by Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists, and in the interviews with employers, who mentioned this preference in their considerations.

A typical description of how the Arab Israeli pharmacists feel about that can be found in the words of Khaled, a Jordan-educated pharmacist, in response to the question of whether he felt his identity as an Arab affected his career:

No. But where I went to school might have affected it.

How do you feel that?

It's something you don't only feel, you see it. A certain manager, he looked at where the pharmacists went to school and treated them differently, he didn't look at what they did at work every day, and it had an effect [...] He said it wasn't true, but you can feel it because [...] I'm the oldest worker here and when it was time for promotion [he] didn't promote me. He promoted somebody else because he and the other guy went to the same university. And before him too, the one he promoted – the same thing. You can feel it. I don't care, I feel good about myself, but it can be painful at some point.

Amina, an Arab Israeli pharmacist, explained:

There aren't really that many places where they teach interns. Even though there are all the branches [of the chains]. In the health fund pharmacies, in general, the same idea – they prefer for there to be somebody from the Hebrew University, they will probably prefer somebody who went to school in Israel.

The Jewish pharmacists also reported a preference for graduates of pharmacy schools in Israel. So, for example, explained Dalit, when she was asked whether employers care where the candidate was educated:

They [the employers] don't care whether it is Jerusalem or Beer Sheba, but they do care whether you graduated in Israel or abroad. I don't know, I can just see that graduates of Israeli schools are preferred. For someone who graduated in Israel, it is much easier to find a job, much easier to find an internship. Graduates from abroad have a problem, because it's a matter of exposure. It's like now if I went to work in the US, of course they would give me a lower preference than somebody who graduated there. It's a matter of generics, a matter of active ingredients, there is a difference in things that are over-the-counter, by prescription, between Israel and abroad. There are many adjustment problems, so it is much easier to integrate somebody who was already [here]. It's like it is much easier to assimilate somebody who worked at Super-Pharm while they were at school than somebody who came from outside, it's all a matter of ease.

The preference for graduates from Israel is not explained in ethnic terms but in terms of efficiency or “ease.” Pharmacists who did not study in

Israel have less informal experience (“it’s a matter of exposure”), and sometimes less formal experience (“didn’t work at Super-Pharm while they were in school”). Findings described in a later section challenge this argument that minimizes the ethnic differences in favor of terms of efficiency. They show that Arab Israelis who graduated in Israel also experience barriers in assimilating into work, although fewer than those who graduated from schools abroad.

Interviews with employers show that the pharmacists’ feelings about the employers’ preferences are grounded in reality. The employers interviewed also described preferring graduates of Israeli institutions, for professional and convenience reasons. Many employers feel that employing a graduate of a Jordanian school requires more training and learning resources during the internship. Said Reuven, director of a central branch of a drug store chain:

In this particular profession, the educational institution is of critical importance. Israel has two very high quality schools. At the other end of the spectrum, there are the guys who come here who studied abroad, mainly in Jordan, who come with a very, very low level of knowledge.

As implied by the interviews with the employers, the main reason for employing Jordanian graduates is the perception of the ongoing shortage of pharmacists. Later on in his interview said Reuven:

They [the graduates of Jordanian schools] come with a problematic knowledge level, so that let’s say if I had a choice, and I could choose whether to employ an Israeli graduate, then they would have no chance of competing. The reason that the Jordanian graduates manage to get in anyway is that there is an ongoing shortage of pharmacists in Israel, so you hire whoever you can. But the knowledge level they come with is not even comparable to the Israeli graduates. It is like training them from zero; you take someone who has a pharmacy license, but don’t trust anything he knows, and train him for a few months. For a few months they work not even as pharmacists but as shadows of pharmacists, until you reach the point where you can say “Okay, he has enough knowledge.”

The shortage described by the employer does not necessarily reflect the state of pharmacists at the macro level. In 2008, the Ministry of Health estimated that the number of pharmacists in Israel was 0.75 for every 1,000 residents. That level is identical to the OECD average. The forecast

is that by 2020 the number of pharmacists will grow faster than the population and the ratio will reach 0.83 pharmacists per 1,000 residents. Therefore, the shortage appears to actually be of graduates of Israeli institutions who are interested in working under the conditions that employers in local pharmacies are offering today. In this context, it is important to note that the state views the graduates of the pharmacy schools in Jordan as an important source of professionals for the future. The report of the Committee of the Future Needs of Manpower in the Health System from 2008 stated that “since 2004, there has been a significant rise in the number of license recipients who studied in Jordan (Ministry of Health, 2008, p. 19),” and the committee’s conclusion in light of that was that there was no need to expand training programs for pharmacists in Israel.

As for knowledge gaps, another employer, Miri, explained:

First of all, graduates of Israeli institutions are considered better than those from abroad, and it depends where abroad. Unfortunately, I have come across enough pharmacists who are not really qualified, went to school in all sorts of places, mainly Jordan, whose knowledge in the field seems purely accidental. There are a lot of things they don’t know at a very basic level, and these are things you don’t see in graduates from Israel.

Can you give an example, how this is expressed during a shift?

First of all, it holds the shift back, because they don’t know a lot of medications, interactions, they don’t know how to approach the professional literature, they can’t deal with anything that is a little more complicated. They don’t have the tools, they simply don’t know basic medications, antibiotics, what goes with what, etc. Things you expect a pharmacist to know – they don’t have it, and that’s unfortunate. It is very difficult to run a pharmacy when your staff is not qualified enough. Now some places train the pharmacists better, and some worse. The health fund I come from takes a lot of care to train the pharmacists, each pharmacist has to undergo in-service training once a month or every three months, as it was in my day. There is a course in clinical pharmacology every few years, they have to work and take that course. That is not something I’ve seen in the chains.

According to what the employer said, it seems that in-service training for pharmacists can help close knowledge gaps inasmuch as they exist, among overseas graduates.

The preference for graduates of Israeli schools is also common among Arab Israeli managers and employers, but as opposed to the Jewish managers, Arab Israeli managers distinguish between lack of professionalism and “cultural” reasons and familiarity with the professional environment in Israel. As Mahmoud, an Arab Israeli manager, explained:

It’s hard to know, there are also some who went to school here in Israel who are less professional, it’s all relative. The ones who study in Israel are also more proficient in the language, and in general it’s easier for them in terms of the Israeli culture, which they already know.

Fadi, another Arab Israeli manager, also indicated differences in professional culture, and emphasized that work experience makes up for them:

I would prefer Israeli graduates. The staff we have here right now are people who were here before I came, but what would I prefer? That is, at least at the beginning. If a pharmacist shows up with years of experience, it is less relevant where he or she went to school. There is one guy here, Evgeniy [a pharmacist], who went to school in Romania, but if two students were to arrive now, one of whom went to school abroad and one in Israel, I would prefer the one who went to school in Israel. If somebody comes here after working at the counter for a few years, then it’s less relevant.

The importance of work experience and local cultural knowledge as human capital make the question of initial integration in the profession even more important.

Finding a place of internship and initial integration in the profession: working as an assistant pharmacist

The process of entering the work force as a pharmacist is comprised of a number of stages. At the end of formal studies, pharmacy graduates seeking to enter the profession must intern for six months. The internship must take place at a pharmacy in Israel and depends on the pharmacy’s willingness to admit the intern and train him or her. The rules for employing interns vary from place to place. For example, in the Tel Aviv

area the employment of an intern requires the presence of two licensed pharmacists on the same shift, and this limits small pharmacies that employ a single pharmacist. The process of finding an internship depends on personal initiatives, and for Arab Israeli workers it requires a lengthy period of searching, which can even last as long as a few years.

At the end of the internship period, the pharmacist can take the government licensing exam. Those who pass the test successfully can work as pharmacists with a temporary license and at the end of one year receive permanent pharmacy licenses. Added to these stages of joining the profession are also some informal stages. The most important one is working during school as a pharmacy assistant, sometimes called a “pharmacist-in-training.” Even though experience as a pharmacy assistant does not have a formal status, it provides “exposure” both to the local professional culture, which is considered human capital in the profession, and to potential employers.⁷

Finding an internship among Jewish pharmacists

“It was clear I was going to do my internship here”

An analysis of the interviews shows an essential difference between the way Jews and Arab Israelis experience entry into the work force and particularly the search for an internship position. For Jewish graduates, the process of finding an internship is brief and usually occurs before they finish school. For Arab Israeli graduates, especially for graduates of Jordanian institutions, it is very difficult to find an internship position, and the search period can range from one month to two years.

From all the interviews with male and female Jewish pharmacists, only a few responded that they had to look for internships. Of those who did look, the process only took a few days. In the rest of the cases, the pharmacists explained they did not look for internship positions because during their studies they had worked as pharmacist assistants, a role which led to an internship. In other cases, they had secured a position

⁷ The healthcare system also has a formal definition of “pharmacy assistant,” an employment category that enabled the employment mainly of immigrants who studied the profession abroad in institutions that are not recognized by the Israeli authorities. That category is in decline in recent years, with the retirement of many who were employed as pharmacist assistants. Today, fewer than 10 permits are granted each year for the profession formally defined as “pharmacist assistant” (Ministry of Health, 2008).

before school ended at the pre-graduation employment fairs at Israeli institutions. As Odelia said:

I didn't look for [an internship] because I worked here as a pharmacist assistant and it was clear I was going to do my internship here. I secured myself an internship position for later.

Employment fairs by the large chains during school help ensure a future internship position. As Yael said:

I, for one, because I was there [at the pharmacy where she did her internship] for almost three years as a pharmacist assistant, so she already promised me I would do my internship there. But there are a lot of pharmacists who were not [assistants] in a pharmacy, and only in the last year let's say they were supposed to begin an internship, so they started [as pharmacist assistants] only for five months previously, and they stayed in the same place. They [the chain] have a fair for third-year pharmacists, for all of the graduates of Jerusalem and the graduates of Beer Sheba, and they actually offer them, come be pharmacists for half a year and your internship will be guaranteed. The purpose of the fair is to raise awareness of the chain, connection with the chain.

Reuven, a branch manager, says:

In my day there was nothing to it. We graduated, the university organized an employment fair, representatives of Super-Pharm, New Pharm and health funds showed up, and you just circulated between them like a king and asked them what they had to offer. At the end, I got to the chain through a personal connection, but many of the pharmacists met the world of employment that way. Final year, employment fair, there in the lobby beneath the faculty, and we walk through and ask "what do you have to offer?" "How many hours do you work?" "What's the pay?" "What are the benefits?"

Finding internship positions for Arab Israeli pharmacists

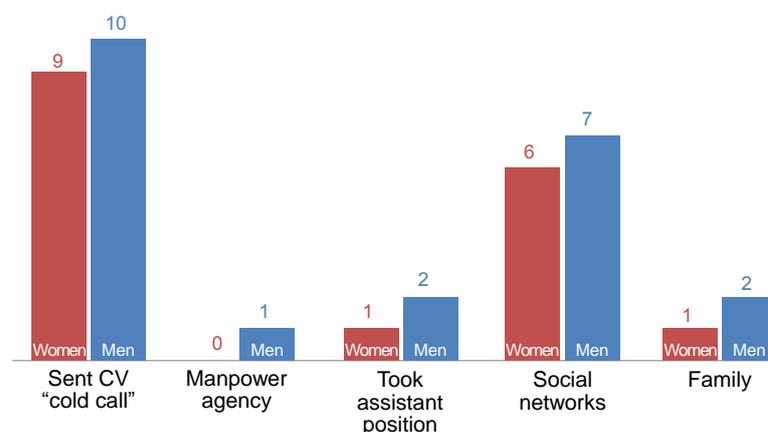
"It was hard for me to find a place to intern because of the shortage"

The interviews with the Arab Israeli pharmacists paint a different picture, of a lengthy and complex process of searching for an internship. First, the graduates from Jordanian or other overseas institutions cannot secure internship positions by working as pharmacist assistants before they

graduate, because they are not physically present in Israel to do so. Nor are they present at employment fairs organized by the employers or universities for last year pharmacy students studying in Israel. Considering the fact that most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists are graduates of overseas institutions, their possibility of ensuring internship positions are considerably more limited.

The methods Arab Israeli pharmacists use to find internships are described in Figure 9. About half of the pharmacists looked for internships independently, whether by sending resumes or by physically going to pharmacies. The other half looked by activating social networks and previous acquaintance with relatives, friends or colleagues who helped them find an internship position.

Figure 9
Ways of finding internships among Arab Israeli pharmacists



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

The interviewees emphasized connections and personal acquaintance as the most effective way to find an internship. This fact is not surprising considering the low value of their educational credentials in the eyes of the employers. The following descriptions by Arab Israeli pharmacists are typical:

I tried to look using my resume – it didn't work. You need connections, and there was someone from my village who was the head pharmacist there, and he hired me.

It was hard for me to find a place to intern because of the shortage of positions.

How long did it take you to find one?

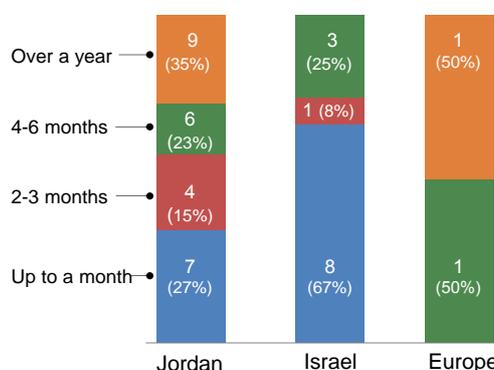
It took me a year.

Where did you look?

I looked all over the country but in the end, after I found connections, I wanted to be close to home, in the village next door to our village.

The difficulty that Arab Israeli pharmacists have in finding an internship position is evident during the search period. The interviews indicate that the length of time it takes Arab Israeli graduates to find an internship, regardless of where they went to school, was significantly longer than Jewish graduates: it took the Arab Israeli pharmacists between one month and two years compared to only a few days, sometimes while still at school, for the Jewish pharmacists (Figure 10). Even for the Arab Israeli graduates, though, it appears that the length of time searching for an internship depends on where they went to school. Arab Israeli graduates of Israeli institutions found internships relatively more easily than graduates of Jordanian ones.

Figure 10
**Length of time spent looking for an internship
among Arab Israeli pharmacists**
by place of study



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

For example, Riyan, an Arab Israeli interviewee who went to school in Jerusalem, says:

If you graduate from Hadassah you will have no problem, really. When I called and said “I graduated from Hadassah,” they said, “okay, go on.” My friend, who would say, “I went to school in Jordan,” they would say: “Sorry, we don’t have anything.” Just like that [...]. My friend has been looking for an internship for a whole year and she still doesn’t have one. It’s a problem, something changed. It’s hard to find internships. There has to be a solution, it’s really not fair for people who come back from abroad and have to wait for a year or two until they find an internship.

Another reason mentioned for the difficulty to find an internship is the regulation that limits the pharmacies’ ability to offer internships. Ali, an Arab Israeli pharmacist, explained what we had heard from other informants in other interviews:

Is it hard to find an internship?

Yes, positions are really limited.

Why?

Legally, not every branch can offer internships. For example, if there is a new head pharmacist, he cannot offer an internship in his branch until he

has two years of experience in the same branch. A branch that has one pharmacist per shift cannot offer an internship, there have to be at least two supervising pharmacists.

The regulation is not uniform between districts, though.

The prolonged search for an internship position delays and postpones the licensing exam and the process of entering the work force. The lengthy search for an internship and time of unemployment also take a toll on the community and the family, who paid for the studies with loans. Many of the pharmacists are frustrated and disappointed by the long search period. Amina, an Arab Israeli pharmacist, explained:

I sent resumes, I even walked around with my resume, every day I chose an area: one day Kfar Saba, one day Ra'anana, one day health funds. This one sent me to that one, this one gave me that one's fax number, and no answer. It is such a bummer, you are raring to go after four years of school, you want to work, you want to know what's going on, what the work is like. Suddenly you get a punch in the face.

Most of the pharmacists had to compromise and take internships far from home or at places without staffing positions for interns, and therefore without pay.

Geographic remoteness and working in student positions.

Compromising on an internship far from home, requiring relocation to another town and the distance from the family came up as a major issue in the interviews. For example, Ragd, who lives in northern Israel, looked for an internship for two years, and finally had to compromise and move to Jerusalem:

I looked in every district. I looked in Umm al-Fahm, there's nothing in the North, nothing. I was in Tel Aviv, I was in Beer Sheba, but in the end I did my internship at a private pharmacy in Jerusalem.

Ragd's comments about the difficulty of finding internships in northern Israel were repeated in other interviews. Another interviewee, Mohammed, explained:

I looked in the North, near home. I didn't want to leave my village and move to central Israel. If I had moved to the Center, I would have had no problem finding a position, it is much harder in the North.

Assad, who lives in the North, also had to move all the way down south to Eilat, after a year of steady searching in all kinds of pharmacies in different areas in the North and Center:

I had to do my internship and then the exam. For a year I had nothing, I searched for an internship for a year and couldn't find one. Then I found a position in Eilat. I started there [as a pharmacist assistant] for two months and then I did a six-month internship.

Assad's comment presents two main themes that recurred in numerous interviews. First, the problem of finding a position that requires relocation to another city, far away from family. Secondly, even after finding an internship there is a waiting period until the position opens, and meanwhile the candidate has to work as an assistant, a student position with lower pay. For example, this is what Nadim, an Arab Israeli interviewee who graduated in Jordan, said:

The hardest thing was to find an internship, it's almost impossible. It started at the time I finished school. I had a very difficult time because there was already an abundance of pharmacists in the market, and it was hard to find an internship, and there wasn't a need, and finally I did my internship in Eilat. From the North [I moved] to Eilat. Then I had to wait around for three months for somebody else to finish, and I was a pharmacist assistant – not a pharmacist assistant, actually a cashier, like until I could take up my position.

Compromising over geographical location and working as a pharmacist assistant helped the Arab Israeli pharmacists overcome the low supply of internship positions for them.

Internship salary. Besides the geographic distance, there were cases where Arab Israeli pharmacists worked as interns for six months without salary (which is against the law). For example, this is what Yasmeen said:

By the time I found an internship, it took me lots of time. I also did my internship for free, just so I could get it over with and take the test.

It appears from other interviews that this was not an exceptional case, as Samar describes:

When I was looking, it was a little difficult, not difficult, it's not as if you find a place and then they don't hire you or something. You might only find a place that's far away. There are even places that offer you to work for free. So you do finally find a place. I don't think anybody rejects it

[...] Let's say they offer you to either work without pay, or postpone your internship, I think most people would rather work even without getting paid.

Mahmoud gave similar testimony:

There was no place for internship in the north. "You have to wait." There was one [assistant] waiting for an intern to finish, you have to wait until he gets promoted. I had to wait for three jobs in order to do my internship, so I preferred coming here. It wasn't easy, even back then. Today I imagine, and I was a head pharmacist for something like a year, people would come to me, offer to pay me for them to work, even under the table.

It is noteworthy that the matter of interning without pay did not come up in any of the interviews with Jewish pharmacists.

In conclusion, the interviews indicate that the amount of time it takes to find an internship is an impediment for the Arab Israeli pharmacists, whether they graduated abroad or in Israel. It gets easier to find an internship if you can use personal connections or "reserve a place" by being a pharmacist assistant while in school. But these options are more available to Jewish pharmacists, who work as pharmacist assistants while they are in school and gain experience and connections. All of the Jewish graduates who were interviewed found internships within a short time. Arab Israeli graduates took longer to find internships, and the internships they found usually involved compromises, both in terms of salary and in terms of geographic location. Distance from the family also has an economic cost. The regulation limiting the employment of interns to shifts staffed by at least two pharmacists is also perceived as an impediment, because it limits the ability of small employers to offer internships. This regulation cannot explain the significant gap in the time it takes to find an internship between Jewish and Arab pharmacists, though. It should also be kept in mind that the interviews were conducted only with employed pharmacists, and at this stage there is no information about graduates of pharmacy studies who are not working, or who left the profession because of difficulties finding internships.

In terms of the policy, it would seem to be very valuable to introduce programs to accelerate the process of finding internships for Arab Israeli graduates of pharmacy studies, or work as pharmacist assistants until an internship opens up in a particular branch. Employers can be incentivized to offer internships to Arab Israelis by subsidizing intern salaries.

Another option is for outstanding students from Jordanian universities to be offered scholarships to fund their salaries as interns. The Ministry of Immigration already offers salary subsidies to Arab Israeli graduates from Jordan who are “returning citizens,” but the interviews with employers in the pharmacy business indicated that they are not aware of the subsidy policy and therefore it is not being fully utilized.

The licensing exam

After the internship, candidates have to pass a government licensing exam in pharmacy administered twice a year. The licensing exam policy recently changed and as of January 2013, graduates of Israeli pharmacy schools also have to take the test, and not only overseas graduates as was the case previously. Since the interviews were conducted in 2014, of the pharmacists who were interviewed for the study only those who had gone to school in Jordan or Europe had to take the exam.

An analysis of the interviews shows that 90 percent of the interviewees reported they passed the exam on their first try. However, they said the exam required a long preparation period. Their assessments of the exam were mixed. Of the Arab Israeli pharmacists who passed the test the first time, 32 percent described the preparation as challenging and difficult compared to 47 percent who saw the test as relatively easy. Another three interviewees did not give their assessments. As Bayan said:

It was easy, I passed the first time. We were ready for it. The questions were pretty basic, there were calculations. Okay, we passed. All of my friends who were with me and studied with me also passed.

The test can be taken in three languages and the pharmacists who studied in Jordan said they preferred to take it in English, because they studied in Jordan in English, and were familiar with the professional terminology. Lina, one of the interviewees who went to school in Jordan and was asked about her experience of the exam, said:

There was a lot of pressure but I could do it in English, which helped a lot. Studying all of the [terms], remembering everything I learned about pharmacology was difficult, very difficult, but I passed.

Salim, an Arab Israeli pharmacist who graduated in Jordan, described it as follows:

You don't really need to prepare, you don't have to take a course before it, you don't need to do anything. There is one but nobody needs it, if you went to school there. Also you get to do the test in the language you studied in, English, so it helps.

But interviews with Jewish pharmacists show that they perceive the success rates of Jordanian graduates in the test in a different light. Most of the interviewees said that in the licensing test Arab Israeli pharmacists have a low success rate, and that this proved they did not meet the required professional standards. Some of the employers even belittled the value of success in the licensing exam as a basis for assessing the pharmacist's knowledge, as Nava said:

Yes, they take the test [but] it takes them a long time to pass and they don't always pass the first time. They study for that test, but anyone who studies knows that when you study for a particular thing you're just studying for that thing, it goes in one ear and out the other, it doesn't stick. Or maybe the test itself doesn't really test the knowledge that you should test.

A minority see the test as a stamp of approval of the Arab Israeli pharmacists' professionalism. As Roman said:

Now I understand they opened the doors of the faculties like in Jordan – not bad faculties, by the way, that produce high level people. You can know by the licensing exam. Anyone who passes the first time, and most of them pass the first time [...] From Romania, most of them don't pass, and they stopped from Italy, too. They made the licensing tests here really complicated, which means it is not really licensing tests anymore, questions of who and what and all sorts. They test you on knowledge and analysis of situations, that if you haven't been a pharmacist yet and haven't worked yet, it's pretty hard. It's actual situation analysis, clinical situations. I saw the tests, they're pretty complicated.

According to the interview findings, the licensing exam is not an obstacle for Arab Israeli pharmacists, at least not according to the interviewees, all of whom were employed. However, there was not a consensus among the Jewish interviewees as to the value of the licensing exam as a tool of comparison. This is in keeping with the employers' emphasis on experience and local familiarity at work. The licensing test does not compensate for deficiencies in those areas. As the following section in

this paper indicates, internships do help pharmacists in their future careers.

Finding a job

Those who complete their internships can work as pharmacists. Just like finding an internship, the interviews indicate a significant difference in the job search experiences of Arab Israelis and Jewish pharmacists. For Jewish pharmacists, looking for a job is experienced as quick and full of options. On the other hand, Arab Israeli pharmacists spent much more time looking for jobs, although much shorter than the time they spent looking for internships. The interviews show that the main reason the job hunt is shorter than the search for an internship is that Arab Israeli pharmacists tended to continue working where they did their internships. In contrast, Jewish pharmacists are more inclined to move to a job that suits their preferences better, after certification. Only 8 percent of the 37 Jewish pharmacists who were interviewed stayed to work where they did their internships, compared to 33 percent of the Arab Israeli pharmacists. In that sense, the process of finding a job resembles the process of finding a school: tracking as the result of constraints for Arab Israelis, and choosing on the basis of preferences for Jews.

The employment integration of Jewish pharmacists

“No problem. I found a job just like that”

Interviews with Jewish pharmacists, who studied either in Israel or abroad, described the profession as one that is not problematic at all in terms of employment, and one where it is actually very easy to find a job. As Roman, who graduated in Romania, said:

In this field, and I also recommend to anyone who asks, there is no shortage, there is no unemployment in pharmacy, there just isn't. There is no such thing, the word “unemployed” doesn't exist in pharmacy. Unless someone got in serious trouble with the Ministry of Health, and then [...] You really can't work anywhere. But in general all of the pharmacists – I even know pharmacists who did get in quite a lot of trouble – find jobs. They had pharmacies, [the district pharmacist] closed them, and they found jobs. No one is unemployed, there is no such thing as unemployed.

Jewish pharmacists described the process of looking for a job as a very simple one. In most cases the pharmacists were offered several different jobs and could choose where to work. As Shira said: “There’s no problem. I found a job just like that. There were even a few places that wanted me to come work and in the end I chose here.” This is also what Danielle said about finding her first job as a pharmacist: “Right away, just right away.” Indeed, an analysis of the interviews with the Jewish pharmacists shows that the length of time they looked for jobs ranged from one day to three days.

Figure 11 shows the breakdown of job searching methods among Jews by gender. In most cases, applicants approached pharmacies directly or through friends and acquaintances, and the most common method of looking for a job was directly approaching employers to apply for jobs in their pharmacies. As Danielle described:

To tell you the truth? Just by accident, I went to buy pizza with my husband and I saw a branch [of one of the health funds]. I went in, it was after I was accepted [by a branch of a different health fund], so I had my whole resume and everything. I just went in, walked up to the head pharmacist, and just like that, by accident.

Carol, a new immigrant from France, described a similar experience. She walked into one of the branches of a major chain, and as she said: “Within two days I found a job [with one of the branches of the major chain].” Similarly, Michal, a graduate of an Israeli academic institution, says:

The day I left [one of the major chains], just by chance I had to go into the pharmacy [of one of the health funds], and I saw they needed workers, so I just walked in. I left [the previous branch] on Friday, on Sunday I already started [at the new branch].

The second most frequent method among Jewish pharmacists, which served about one-third of the interviewees, was finding jobs through colleagues, acquaintances or personal connections. As Chen, a Jewish pharmacist, said:

They found me. After all it’s the same agents, the same pharmaceutical representatives, the same workers, it’s always the same people, always. I, for example, know almost all of the pharmacists in Tel Aviv and Ramat Gan, everything that’s in your district, you know it. So there’s always someone who has my number, this one or that one, that’s how it works.

And then suddenly somebody calls, I don't even know them, "I'm interested." Now he will tell me the chain of connections, how he got my phone number.

So it goes by word-of-mouth?

That's how it goes, because manpower companies ask for lots and lots of money to find a head pharmacist. That's why they always avoid, private pharmacies are struggling to survive anyway, so we avoid unnecessary expenses. They prefer it that way, word-of-mouth.

Shachar, another interviewee, recalled:

The same day I told people in the business, agents who circulate between all the pharmacies, that very same day I got a phone call that "they need someone here, they need someone there, and there." People who knew me connected me to a few pharmacies right away.

You mean it's a kind of "word-of-mouth" system?

Yes, because here the sales representatives of certain companies cover certain areas, so they know all of the pharmacy owners and all of the pharmacists. So they can also tell you, to describe to you, what the atmosphere is like in the pharmacy, what the bosses are like. You tell them: "Check for me if somebody needs someone." You have answers within a week.

The employment integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists

"It's really not hard to find a job in the Tel Aviv area. But in our area, more in the North, it's hard."

The interviews with the Arab Israeli pharmacists, no matter where they went to school, indicated that the amount of time they looked until finding their first jobs after interning ranged from one month to two years. Just like finding an internship, searching for a job is a much longer and harder process for Arab Israeli pharmacists than for their Jewish counterparts. However, for Arab Israelis, looking for a job takes less time than finding an internship.

Part of the relative ease of finding a job can be explained by the fact that many Arab Israeli pharmacists (14 of the respondents) "skip" the stage of looking for a job and stay to work in the same place they do their internships. This practice was usually made possible in the pharmacies of

the major chains and of the health funds, because they have more branches, positions and work opportunities, and this seems to facilitate the process of searching for a job for many pharmacists. This for example is what Yusef and Amina said:

Between my internship and working as a pharmacist I didn't look, I stayed [at the same branch]. They offered me, I finished with them, so they saw they were interested. They needed pharmacists, so right away they referred me to a branch that had a need.

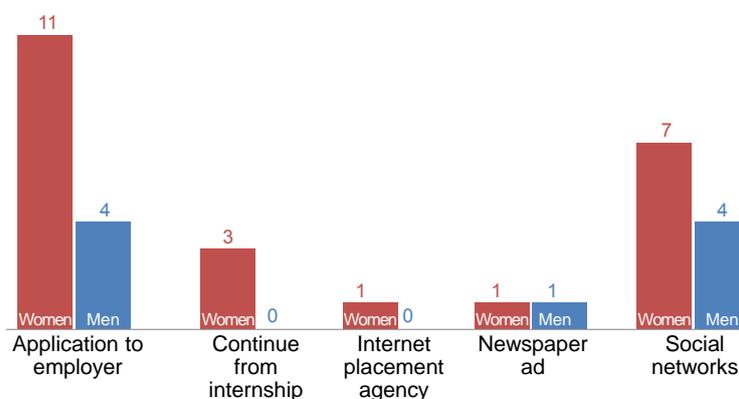
After I finished, she [the employer] said: "You, stay with me." She saved me the place.

So you didn't look for a job?

No, I didn't. And I'm very happy, at least she appreciates me, my work, everything. In other places it's not... It doesn't work out.

Figure 11 shows that for Arab Israeli pharmacists staying where they did their internship is more common among men than women. The number of female Arab Israeli pharmacists who found jobs by sending out their resumes is relatively larger than the number of male Arab Israeli pharmacists. An important feature that arises from the findings is that male and female Arab Israeli pharmacists seek the help of family and friends who went to school with them to approach employers and receive information about work opportunities. That is the second most common method among Arab Israeli pharmacists, and it is more characteristic of looking for jobs than looking for internships. This phenomenon emphasizes the importance of creating a "critical mass" of Arab Israeli employees in the field, as a basis for the continued integration of Arab Israelis in jobs outside of their communities.

Figure 11
Ways of finding employment among Arab Israeli pharmacists

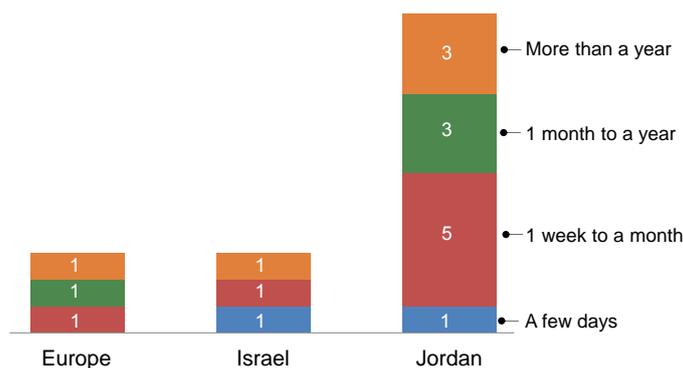


* Interviewees could give more than one answer

Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Figure 12 shows the length of time Arab pharmacists who did not stay in their internship positions searched for jobs, by place of studies, based on 18 responses. The figure shows that between one-third and one-fourth of the Arab Israeli pharmacists who did not stay to work at their places of internship looked for jobs for more than one year. But there is also a certain variance by place of their education.

Figure 12
Length of job search among Arab Israeli pharmacists
 by place of study



Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Even though the length of job searches among Arab Israeli pharmacists was longer than among Jewish pharmacists, a comparison between the length of time to find a job compared to the length of time to find an internship (Figure 10 above) and analysis of the interviews indicate that for Arab Israeli pharmacists the process of finding a job is relatively simple compared to finding an internship. Even the pharmacists who did not stay to work where they interned usually experienced an easier process finding jobs than they had experienced finding their internships. As the pharmacist Salim described:

The difficult part is the internship, but when it comes to a job, it is not hard to find a job. There are lots of jobs. Internship is... Not every pharmacy can accept interns and if they can, they cannot employ more than one intern. By the time one intern finishes and another starts, that's half a year. And by the time the Ministry of Health actually approves that - it's a long road. It's a problem. But jobs are not a problem. There are lots of places to work, there was never a problem finding a job [...]

Then I started looking for a job, and found one easily. A week after I finished the test I already found a job. We were six friends who passed the test, and a week or two later we all started to work.

Even though Arab Israeli pharmacists look for jobs longer than Jewish ones, out of the 43 interviews with Arab Israeli pharmacists only five mentioned difficulty finding jobs. Experiences of difficulty were mentioned in the interviews with the pharmacists who had looked for jobs for a year or more. For example, this is what Yasmeen said:

I looked everywhere, I sent resumes everywhere, but nothing, it's hard. I started looking for a job, only six months later did I find one at [one of the major chains] in Jerusalem, and it wasn't what I wanted either. Then I heard they were looking here, I did an interview and I got it.

Nardeen, another interviewee, said she looked for a job for a few months and finally found one through a close friend who connected her with an employer at one of the pharmacy chains:

First all the doors were shut before me, I couldn't find a job.

Why?

They were, but you know, it didn't really work out, didn't work, a matter of time, they tell you to wait. I went, I did tons of interviews, but they don't get back to you with an answer, you don't know. Even though you

know they were impressed and are interested. Even though you know they are interviewing other people and you have to wait two more weeks for each job, so I gave up, I said, “there is no job.”

Just like in the case of finding internships, it was difficult to find jobs in northern Israel, close to where many of the interviewees live. Said Ibrahim, an Arab Israeli interviewee from northern Israel:

“It’s really not hard to find a job as a pharmacist, it’s only really difficult to find an internship, but it’s really not hard to find a job in the Tel Aviv area. But in our area, more in the North, it’s hard.”

Just like an internship, the difficulty finding jobs in their area of residence in northern Israel led some of the pharmacists who were interviewed to compromise geographically and relocate to central Israel for a few years, in the hope of gaining experience in the profession and returning to the North. The interviewees claimed the problem was a surplus of pharmacists in the North compared to the supply of jobs. Said Adwan, an Arab Israeli interviewee:

When I started looking, I got back from abroad and I didn’t have a job, I couldn’t find one in the North. Maybe if I’d waited I would’ve found one but meanwhile here I am [in central Israel].

Nadeem, one of the interviewees, also brought up the question of being willing to work in the North despite the lower salaries:

In the North it is very hard to find jobs as pharmacists, and if you get the job, then it’s like one-third of the amount, of the salary, that’s what they pay there.

Why?

Because they aren’t good jobs in the North, and they don’t need people either.

Employment in central Israel involves significant social costs, whereas working in the North is perceived as attractive and conducive to family life. Said Sami, an Arab Israeli interviewee who works in Tel Aviv:

It’s hard to live here with a family and children. If I were single it wouldn’t be a problem. With a family and kids it’s difficult. You can’t move the whole family here, you know, life here is altogether different, not like by us in the North.

And do you plan to go back to the North at some point?

Yes, I was just talking to the manager, now they're trying to find me something in the North.

Working far from family and community also means spending a lot of time on the road. Says Ulfat, an Arab Israeli pharmacist: "By car, via Highway 6, it's about 40-45 minutes from here without traffic." Despite the daily commute to work in central Israel, many pharmacists prefer to stay living in the North.

Many pharmacists said they saw working in central Israel as temporary and as an opportunity to gain experience that would enable them to move to the North. Samar, a pharmacist employed by one of the chains, described it as follows: "I'm getting experience here until I find a position there, and then I'm moving." In that respect, working for a chain has a certain advantage, because there might be an opportunity to move inside the chain when a position opens up.

Arab Israelis looked for jobs as pharmacists in ways different from Jews. Whereas Jewish pharmacists usually tend to go submit their resumes personally and proactively to employers, Arab Israeli pharmacists tend to use the connections they had already created in the labor market, whether by remaining where they did their internships or by relying on friends and acquaintances.

The impact of ethnic affiliation on decision makers in admission to work***"We need pharmacists and there aren't any Jews, so we look in the Arab Israeli community"***

The interviews with Jewish employers discovered ambivalent attitudes regarding the employment of Arab Israeli pharmacists. The employers expressed a preference to employ Jews over Arab Israelis, and many employers described the employment of Arab Israeli pharmacists as a default choice because of the limited supply of Jewish pharmacists. For example, Oded, a Jewish employer who runs a private pharmacy, claimed as follows:

We need pharmacists and there aren't any Jews, so we look in the Arab Israeli community. So there are a lot, and that is why they succeed in the

chains, I don't know if it has to do with their abilities, I don't know, because they are the only ones who are available.

These employers cited a list of reasons for their preference for Jewish pharmacists, such as a fear of working with Arab Israeli pharmacists or fear that their employment would damage the pharmacy's reputation in the eyes of its customers. Nava, a manager at a private pharmacy, explained that she does not want to employ Arab Israeli pharmacists because she is afraid of them:

Me, it's hard for me to let in an Arab Israeli.

Why?

It's hard for me, it's hard for me, I'm scared of Arab Israelis. I lived in Iraq, I came from an Arab sector so that... I don't trust, I'm scared of them, so I can't let in someone who is an Arab. I just can't, I have a very strong resistance. It's different, I can't here, I don't know how to treat them. If I scream at someone, what will happen to me, I just can't handle it. You know, what if her father or his father comes at me with an ax or something, who knows.

Danit, a branch manager, provided a more business-oriented explanation that focused on the customers' preference:

I have diverse customers. I know there are stores with a very strong preference for Arab Israelis, I know that, and am trying to keep that [Israeli-Jewish] identity. I saw such a pharmacist looking for work, an Israeli [Jew], I just grabbed him that second. I didn't even let him take a look, there's no choice. Because that's what the population here demands. It's not that... There's nothing wrong, and it's not like I have a problem of racism or anything.

Similarly, Orna, another branch manager, testified:

I don't employ pharmacists from Amman. But I know from my friends. I prefer Israelis for this area, for this place, for my kind of population, it's not suitable [...] Look, this is my house, it is a house in every sense. Everyone who comes here is a guest in my house, my employees represent me. I choose my employees very carefully, because now as I sit here with you, the pharmacists over there represent me. The customer says: "It's not what it used to be," if let's say a pharmacist speaks to them rudely or doesn't give good service.

Later Orna explained that if she were to employ an Arab Israeli pharmacist at all, she would prefer to employ Christian Arabs:

I have one, I have one Christian Arab pharmacist here right now, and there is a difference, too, between Muslims and Christians. Her Hebrew, Hebrew is very important to me, it is particularly important to me, I think, the question of communication, understanding what the customer is saying, to understand the customer and for the customer to understand what I am explaining. The Hebrew, the wording, is very, very important. She sounds good and she looks good, so in that sense it is actually a success.

Other Jewish employers mentioned what they considered disloyalty on the part of Arab Israeli pharmacists, which prevents their hiring. Thus, for example, said Galit, a private branch manager in the Tel Aviv area:

I have interviewed [Arab Israelis] before. Why didn't I take them? Because they want to work somewhere else as well as here. They work 24 hours a day, around the clock, they make loads of money, they want to make loads of money. Now me, I will have none of that. One guy I interviewed said, "I work at the health fund. I'll come to you between one and three." What am I supposed to do with those two hours? That's how badly he wanted to fill it. Forget it, as far as wanting to work, there's nothing like them.

Other employers actually mentioned a preference for employing Arab Israeli pharmacists, for a number of reasons. First, some of the employers spoke about their high level of devotion to work and in general. Said Varda, a Jewish manager who employs many Arab Israeli pharmacists: "They fit in, they are hard-working, they have work ethics, they're not spoiled." Another manager spoke about her deep appreciation for them and said that working with them changed the negative stereotypes she had about them:

In general, I am not left wing, and I never was [...] in my views. But in this setting you see the people, and you really like them as people and it's amazing. I was just talking about it with my husband, they are people that I really respect. It doesn't come up at all. I say, "if only my kids turn out so well. If only they were to get educations, and study dentistry, and work as pharmacists, and support themselves, and rent apartments, and be impeccably dressed and impeccably shaved. You see them, you sit next to

them, do you feel anything? You don't feel anything. It doesn't come up in any shape or form, that business, it doesn't come up, really.

Tsipi, another manager, said that most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists participate and work hard at training and study sessions, as opposed to the Jewish pharmacists, who don't work as hard at their profession:

You should know that from the Arab Israeli sector they come a lot, and good for them. They come down from Kiryat Shmona to study in Tel Aviv for four hours and they go back. I have to give it to them. There are a lot of Jews here in the central region – who couldn't care less about studying.

It appears that what the Arab Israeli perceive as constraints, such as working in the Center even though they live in the North, or working long hours to repay loans, is perceived by employers as admirable diligence. It is noteworthy that this perception of Arab Israeli pharmacists as diligent and devoted is typical of employers of minorities in jobs that were previously staffed by the majority group and are undergoing a demographic transformation (Moss and Tilly, 2003).

Some of the employers spoke against employing Arab Israelis, but most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists who were interviewed did not mention that they felt employers preferred Jewish pharmacists – at least not in retail pharmacy. In most cases, interviewees claim that their Arab Israeli identity itself did not have a detrimental effect on the process of being hired. Thus, typical answers to the question of whether their Arab Israeli identity impacted the process of getting hired were: “I never felt that,” “neither getting hired nor getting promoted,” “getting hired no, for sure, that's what I think, I had no problem getting hired.” Riyam, who looked for a job for two years, recalled:

I don't really know what it was that held me back, my pregnancy or my identity. I don't think it was [my identity], because I would go to an interview, and they knew I was Arab Israeli, before they invited me, that wasn't the issue. I think it was more about my pregnancy.

Among the Arab Israeli pharmacists, for Arab Israeli women who cover their heads with the traditional scarf, the hijab, the experience of finding a job was particularly difficult. As Salim, an Arab Israeli head pharmacist, describes:

For a religious Moslem woman pharmacist it is hard to get hired here, really hard. There is someone who graduated with me and is religious, it's

a serious problem. Every time she goes to an interview, because of the [...] points at his head, signifying the head covering].

Her religious attire?

Exactly. So yeah it's harder for her. That's the only problem, but in every other way fine.

Asia, an Arab Israeli interviewee, says:

Nobody will tell you, even if you do an interview and they give you a test, so they'll tell you the results, [but] you can't know, they won't tell you the reasons. So it's just kind of a system, but meanwhile [...] Once I had an interview and the manager said to me: "It's too bad you have a head covering, you know, with all your qualifications." Officially they won't tell you, but the fact is that they need interns and suddenly they hire somebody else, and they didn't hire you. Somehow you understand.

The *hijab* serves as a negative symbol for employers, although there appears to be a misunderstanding among Jews as to its significance, as Ulfat says:

When I went to an interview, [the interviewer] saw me and said: "I bet you people don't touch men." He said: "Okay, we'll call you." He didn't interview me or anything. It was really [...] But I still don't know what it has to do with the profession. You don't touch anyone.

The unwillingness of employers to hire women wearing *hijabs* as pharmacists is sometimes explained by fear and the way the customers will react. As Samar said:

I personally went to do an interview. I have a CV, I went to the Hebrew University, and I interned at a professional health fund also, something challenging. And they didn't hire me. I even had connections and everything, I had everything but they didn't hire me. I understood myself, because I am a religious Arab Israeli woman [...] It depends on the employer, there are employers who don't. My friend's employer, for example, she doesn't care, she told her from the outset: "I don't care, religious or not, black, white, it doesn't matter." But there are employers who look at that. Because you know, a pharmacy is marketing, for them a religious woman would be like, they want someone beautiful at the counter, who will bring in customers and make sales for them and so on. It doesn't really have anything to do with it.

Out of the six interviewees who wear *hijabs*, one interviewee said she had not experienced discrimination. Asia, another Arab Israeli interviewee, talked about a positive change of attitudes and greater acceptance of such women:

I don't know where the turning point started, but I always suffered a lot because I am an Arab Israeli with a head covering, finding an internship and I felt it at work. I heard that with a head covering you don't... It wasn't so accepted, and I heard stories of other women who also had trouble getting hired. It's not a matter of one manager or another. It was the non-Arab guys, they weren't very comfortable. It put them off a little, and at some point it began... But it took time. I personally felt the difference, because I experienced that rejection, because I am an Arab Israeli woman with a scarf. And somehow little by little you fit in, and before I came to the community I saw how little by little the other women got in, and it is pretty acceptable. In the chains, I don't know if you noticed, a few years ago you never saw a woman with a scarf.

Even Arab Israeli women who don't wear *hijabs* noticed the negative attitude towards religiously observant women. Kamal described her feeling that as opposed to observant women, her identity as an Arab Israeli woman did not influence her being hired for her job:

Maybe I didn't feel it because I don't wear a head covering. I can tell you that, let's say other girls with head coverings, it was much harder for them to find jobs and get hired.

It was harder for them?

Yeah. I personally didn't feel it until now but I saw that other people did. Even here in this branch, a few came and the manager didn't... Sometimes pharmacists like that finally manage to get into hospitals, because there you don't actually work with the public.

While in local pharmacies only religious Arab Israeli women identified barriers and the rest of the Arab Israeli interviewees did not feel that their identity impacted their getting jobs, numerous interviewees reported the feeling that with the pharmaceutical companies there is a clear preference to hire Jewish pharmacists. Six Arab Israeli interviewees said they tried to get jobs as pharmacists with the pharmaceutical companies but did not get hired. For example, Elias, an Arab Israeli interviewee, told about trying to get a job in a pharmaceutical company. "I tried, I looked, I sent

resumes, they didn't get back to me. Why? I have no idea, what do they look at? I have no idea."

Muslem, another Arab Israeli interviewee, spoke about the specific difficulty for Arab Israelis to get jobs with the pharmaceutical companies:

If you look at all of the pharmaceutical companies...

The major companies in the pharmaceutical industry, such as Teva?

Yeah, like Teva. All of the head pharmacists and all that, all of the pharmacists in senior positions, they're all Jewish.

And why is that?

State policy.

Did you try to get a job in a company such as Teva, for example?

They set job requirements so that you can't get it in the first place.

Like what?

After three-year military service. They disqualify you before you come and try.

Sami, another Arab Israeli interviewee, repeated the same argument: "I tried, but they won't hire me. They have requirements such as post-military service, and so on. I tried two or three times – it's hard, they have their terms." And Nadeem, another interviewee, adds:

Teva, for instance, I heard Teva doesn't hire at all. Now I haven't tried but I hear that now people are getting into Teva. Now, up to what level and what position can they occupy there? I don't know. What are the reasons? I don't know. For example, "seeking such and such, post-army," like after service. So I don't have [military service], so I can't get in there. I don't know how they do it.

The reputation of the pharmaceutical companies as preferring to employ Jews might prevent other pharmacists from trying to apply, out of the understanding that their chances are slim. This creates employment segregation: whereas in local pharmacies almost half of the pharmacists are Arab Israelis, in the pharmaceutical companies there are job requirements that pose barriers for Arab Israeli pharmacists.

Pharmacists' salaries

“A year ago we talked about looking for another pharmacist. To cut costs, we said ‘Maybe we should look for in Arab Israeli pharmacist’”

Towards the end of the interview, the pharmacists were asked to state their income from work. To make it easier for them to answer the question, they were given salary ranges (gross), and the interviewees were asked to indicate the relevant range. Table 1 presents the salary categories and the breakdown of the interviewees from both population groups by salary categories.⁸ As Table 1 indicates, 5 of the 26 male Arab Israeli pharmacists who answered the question are in the category of gross monthly income of NIS 10,000-14,000. Five others (less than 20 percent) reported salaries higher than NIS 14,000. The breakdown among the Jewish pharmacists was very similar: 57 percent of them are in the NIS 10,000–14,000 salary category and about 20 percent reported higher salary categories. However, the Arab Israeli pharmacists appear to work more hours or shifts in order to reach the same salary levels as Jews. Said Yehuda, a pharmacy owner:

They [the Arab Israeli pharmacists] want to work all the time, it doesn't bother them. They want to work a lot, they will even work 18 hours. That's why [one of the drug store chains] employs them, and that's the advantage [...] That they can work long hours there, so it's good for them and it's also cheap.

Table 1. **Distribution of monthly salary among interviewees**
gross salary in shekels, by sector and gender

Income category	Jews		Arab Israelis	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
0-6,000	2	-	1	-
6,001-10,000	3	3	8	6
10,001-14,000	8	8	6	15

⁸ Two Jewish pharmacists in management positions refused to answer the salary question, so that the data refers to only 14 male Jewish pharmacists. Two female pharmacists, one Arab Israeli and one Jewish, also refused to answer the question.

14,001-18,000	1	1	-	2
18,001-22,000	6	2	-	3

Source: Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel

Unlike the findings among male pharmacists, among female pharmacists the ethnic difference is evident, and a significant gap was found between the salary levels of Jewish and Arab Israeli women. Most of the female Arab Israeli pharmacists (8 out of 15) reported that their monthly salaries were in the NIS 6,000 – NIS 10,000 range, and none of them reported a lower salary. The most common salary level for female Jewish pharmacists was higher: NIS 10,000 – NIS 14,000, and almost one-third of all female Jewish pharmacists reported salaries higher than NIS 18,000. Without accurate information about the number of work hours, though, there is no way to evaluate the sources of the significant gap between women working in pharmacies; considering the age data (Figure 3 above), though, one of the sources of the gap might be the large difference in seniority in the profession, and consequently in level of professional responsibility. As noted at the outset, Arab Israeli women entered the pharmacy field at considerable rates only in the last years, and this is also reflected by their young ages. Likewise, as indicated by Figure 8, the research sample does not include female Arab Israeli pharmacists who are managers.

Another explanation for the gap might be the bargaining power of Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists. From interviews with both Arab Israelis and Jews it appears that Arab Israelis earn less, sometimes because from the outset they ask for less. Says for example Yaniv, a Jewish employer who was thinking of employing an Arab Israeli pharmacist to “cut costs”:

A year ago we were talking in general about looking for another pharmacist to cut costs, and we said “maybe we should bring an Arab Israeli pharmacist. But in the end we didn’t because we have enough workers, and it’s already hard enough to support the whole staff.

Says Odelia, a Jewish pharmacist:

What do you want to do? Do you want to take an Arab Israeli who makes 10 shekels less? Or an Arab Israeli who makes more? The manager here doesn’t employ any now. There were a few, there was at least one, and he

wanted one more, and then they gave him trouble and then he didn't want any more, so it's good for us. But in all the chain branches you can't get in.

Because they pay them less, they prefer them?

Yeah. They need to make ends meet.

Added Yehuda, a pharmacy owner:

Arab pharmacists are perceived as cheap labor.

What do you mean "cheap"? In terms of salary?

Yes, [names a private pharmacy] pays Arab Israelis less than Jews."

Idit, a pharmacy manager, also said that in the past they preferred to fire Jewish pharmacists and hire Arab Israeli pharmacists for less money:

[Names a pharmacy] used to do that many years ago, they fired many Jews and hired Arab Israelis because they earned less money.

These figures suggest the possibility of a violation of the Equal Pay Law in the employment of Arab Israeli pharmacists, although the legal consequences become complicated if the wage gaps are explained by differences in job seniority.

Employer-employee relations in the work routine

"When it comes down to it, the people who lead these organizations are not Arab Israeli workers"

So far, this paper has reviewed the stages of the integration of pharmacists in the labor market. The beginning of work through the career path is shaped by a variety of formal and informal aspects of employment. Formal aspects, like civil and worker's right and professional promotion tracks, and informal aspects, like employer-employee relations and relations with wo-workers and customers, all impact the quality of work life and influence the ability of the employee to maintain a job and advance professionally.

The interviews indicate that the employers' attitude and employment terms of the pharmacists were affected by the pharmacists' ethnic

identity. The central issue that came up, much more than national tensions, was the cultural difference surrounding the non-Jewish religious holidays, which posed organizational challenges.

Promotions among Arab Israeli pharmacists. According to the interviewees, Arab Israeli pharmacists are treated equally to Jews when it comes to promotion into management positions in the pharmacies. As one Arab Israeli interviewee who was promoted to a management position said: “I became a manager. I became a head pharmacist, and they offered me at [place of employment] to enter management. At [place of employment] I don’t see [lack of promotion]. At the health funds I don’t see it.” Two female Arab Israeli interviewees who are not in management positions testified about Arab Israeli pharmacists who were promoted, and what it meant for them. Said Bayan: “I know a pharmacist who became a manager and yes, it gives you a good feeling that it is possible to reach, it’s not... Just for a particular population anymore. I mean, it looks like there are no barriers at the workplace and that Arab Israelis are also given the opportunity to move up.”

Amina, another Arab Israeli interviewee, said:

They give you the opportunity at every step, okay, do you want to get promoted, to management? There are tests, they don’t look - ‘no, he’s in Arab Israeli, let’s fail him’ - I’ve never seen that. Each depending on their ability, what they come with, they get accordingly.

Although there are no statistical data about the composition of management, Arab Israeli workers still appear to be underrepresented in management positions. Samir, one of the Arab Israeli managers who was interviewed for this study, explained that the barriers to promotion did not always have to do with the place of work but with the pharmacists themselves, because of the insecurity they internalize due to their status in the work force:

I think it has to do with the pharmacists themselves, whose personality and character and self-confidence don’t let them stand out. It’s simply that here, they are still stuck in a kind of gratitude that you employed us. Since you finally employed me, now I will shut up, I won’t say a thing, thank you very much, I bow to you, thank you for employing me.

It is noteworthy that in the sample of Arab Israeli pharmacists who reached management positions there were only men. Of the female Arab Israeli pharmacists who were interviewed not a single one was in a management position.

Despite the positive perspective demonstrated in the interviews as to the possibility of being promoted as an Arab Israeli pharmacist, barriers were also mentioned in connection with more senior positions involving policy, decision making and staff executives in the pharmacy chains. Says for example Said:

Let me tell you honestly, there is no medical field in Israel, whether it is a retail chain or an institutional organization, that is run by an Arab Israeli. There is no such thing. Even though the basis of the whole profession, pharmacy, is Arab Israeli pharmacists. There are more Arab Israelis than Jews in this profession, period. So what does this mean? At least 60 percent of the pharmacists in Israel are Arabs if I'm not mistaken – even more. Who manages pharmacy in Israel? Not Arab Israelis. So I'm not claiming there is no promotion for Arab Israelis, but this is a fact. Take Clalit Health Services, for example. Management doesn't include - now I'm not talking about some branch manager in some village, that's not what I'm talking about, I'm talking about headquarters.

You mean staff positions?

Yes, the headquarters, the executive offices of any organization. Let's say marketing, a marketing perspective, an industrial perspective, it's not decision makers. When it comes down to it, the people who lead these organizations are not Arab Israeli workers. Let's say integration in the organization, which is closed to all Arab Israelis, whether he is a pharmacist or isn't a pharmacist.

Muslem, another interviewee, expressed what others described:

But if you look upstairs there is discrimination. In the senior positions you will see that there are none [Arab Israeli pharmacists].

What promotion opportunities do you have as a pharmacist?

The district has a district pharmacist, which is a NIS 30-40,000 position, and it's status. If you go to the Health Ministry in Tel Aviv [...] a lot of people try to get in, in other districts too, and aside from the Northern district, where all of the pharmacies are Arab Israeli, so they had to install an Arab Israeli district pharmacist. If you look at all of the senior

positions at the Health Ministry in Jerusalem, in the pharmaceutical office, you have the head of all pharmacists, who is in charge of all of the district pharmacists – he's a Jew. If you look at his deputy – he's a Jew. If you look at the director of the "research and medications database" – it's a Jew. Even at [name of retail chain] you will see, all of the senior pharmacists are Jews.

Therefore, all in all the interviews indicate clearly that Arab Israeli pharmacists do receive promotions, and some of them rise to staff management positions in pharmacies. The existing promotions serve as inspiration and role models for other Arab Israeli pharmacists, who perceive promotion as a question of professionalism and not sector. However, the interviewees had a feeling of a glass ceiling and underrepresentation of Arab Israelis in the senior and strategic positions in the pharmaceutical industry.

Cultural differences. The Arab Israeli pharmacists who were interviewed described a positive pattern in general and viewed their employers as considerate and embracing of cultural diversity. One of the interview questions had to do with employers' attitude towards Muslim or Christian holidays. Most of the Arab Israeli interviewees (73 percent), both male and female, described their employers' attitudes as considerate and positive, compared to 27 percent of the interviewees who described that attitude as negative. Said for example Saleh, an interviewee:

They give us the vacations we deserve, in my opinion. Sometimes there is pressure at work, and they ask the pharmacists to work even over their holidays. Some agree and some don't but I think they do let them, it's not like they reject it, I think they respect it. I haven't come across any situation, maybe there is a specific situation, but not that I know of.

To this adds Salim, another Arab Israeli interviewee:

The company itself is fine. Just like we work on their [the Jewish] holidays, like we work a double shift or stand in for them, it's exactly the same thing. They take care of it, we don't have any problem on holidays either. Let's say the holiday is three or four days, so we each take a couple of days, we work it out within the staff. The chain takes care of it, there is no problem.

However, the interviewees indicated there was no clear organizational policy about non-Jewish holidays, and the pharmacists have to sort out the shifts themselves or individually with the manager. Nonetheless, the

same pharmacists described their employers as considerate. Explained Asia, another Arab Israeli interviewee, about the lack of policy on this matter:

You get used to it.

So the company isn't really prepared for it?

No, the thing is that you're somehow in the middle of the work. There you are part of the system, so somehow you have to be part of the solution. But we work it out between us. That's what they always did, people from the [Arab Israeli] sector, between them. Because somehow the work has to get done.

One interviewee talked about cases where they did not reach an understanding. Samar, an Arab Israeli interviewee, said:

There was a problem here of taking time off on our holidays. It was our holiday and none of us got time off [...] There were Jewish pharmacists here who took vacations on our holidays. It's not that they did it on purpose. Even the branch manager who approved their vacations didn't check whether it came out on our holiday.

Even among those who described their employers as inconsiderate, the reference was to the constraints of the system and the organization and not to the employer personally. Many interviewees said things such as: "The system doesn't address it at all;" "They don't prepare. They just put you in a certain corner and you have to deal with it." Samar explained why it was a problem and the employer's lack of consideration:

They don't pay any attention here to Ramadan. There were clients who were in shock when they saw us doing evening shifts. They said: 'Why do you have to be the ones who work in the evening? They should just switch, maybe put you on the morning shift, and people who aren't fasting should work in the evening.' Because we break the fast in the evening so at least we would be able to break the fast. And we couldn't.

Mahmoud, an Arab Israeli interviewee, adds:

I left [last place of employment] because of our Eid al-Adha. They wanted to make me work on a holiday, because we had two Muslims and one Christian, and the Christian woman was just about to leave, I don't know what the problem was. They wanted me to work on the holiday and I had agreed on the vacation before, with the manager, and suddenly it

didn't work out for her. They used to try, they used to close down a few branches here in the Center over our holidays because they did not have enough pharmacists. Now you have to work. No? They fire you and goodbye. As far as they're concerned, you can just leave [the job].

So they don't give you time off on the holidays?

No, because our job, it means we have to be available all the time. I worked on Yom Kippur, I worked on Independence Day, I worked on Election Day, I didn't vote. Sometimes I had to work when something went wrong, I had to stay all day from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m.

The absence of a policy on the question of the holidays also came up in the interviews with managers. Such as Reuven, a Jewish manager who employs Arab Israeli pharmacists in his pharmacy. According to him, effective management of cultural diversity is achieved by ignoring the religious-ethnic aspects:

It affects work, if you address it. If you address it and say, pay attention, you have to be sensitive, you have to be whatever, it becomes an issue. If you ignore it, it's not an issue. You have employees in the store, you have Muslims, you have Christians, you have Jews, and you have atheists. Each one in their own corner as long as they keep it to themselves and don't mix it with work.

Interviews with Arab Israeli employers suggest there is greater awareness and consideration of the cultural acceptance of pharmacists from their own religion. Muslem, an Arab Israeli interviewee, explained that other companies do not prepare for the non-Jewish religious holidays and don't have an official policy on them, but since he is the manager of the pharmacy he works in and is a Muslim, and since the owners are also Muslims, there is consideration of the religious holidays. As he says, at his previous place of employment, "I worked while I fasted, I was on shift on Ramadan." Now that he is a manager, on the other hand, he takes a different approach:

On Ramadan nobody works. [In other places] they don't pay attention to things like that, but especially here where we are Muslims and fasting, we close. Even the other pharmacist who is Christian, we let him leave early, we close here at seven. One law for everyone, no discrimination, I don't discriminate between anyone, I close at seven, we eat at seven thirty, so I close at seven. And personally, if I get stuck here, or if anyone gets stuck here, then we make sure that they have food even on Ramadan. So I make

sure here that they cook food at home and bring them so that they can eat, or I make sure that that person comes to our house to eat dinner.

It appears that business owners in retail pharmacy deal with the variety of religious needs on an individual basis as opposed to on an organization level. Due to the inherent inequality in the employer-employee relationship, this solution might potentially violate workers' rights, and as emerged from the interviews, employees might avoid demanding their rights out of fear of losing their jobs. Furthermore, since Ramadan is a different kind of holiday than the Jewish holidays, the equal implementation of the vacation policy on holidays still leaves the Muslim workers in a problematic situation regarding their religious rights throughout the month of fasting.

Pharmacists' relations during the work routine

"All in all, everyone works together, and everybody gets the job done"

The interviews indicate that the work routine in terms of employer-employee relations reflects the ethnic divisions on two levels: the work place is not systematically designed to guarantee the religious rights of non-Jewish workers, and promotion opportunities exist but are limited. However, the social relations and daily interactions between Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists were generally described as positive and even as an enlightening experience for the Jewish pharmacists, who were given an opportunity to get to know Arab Israelis.

Although numerous employers expressed a clear preference to employ Jews, the interviews indicate that relations between Jewish and Arab Israeli colleagues at work are not affected by ethnic identity. For example, Orna, a Jewish pharmacist, was asked whether working with Arab Israeli pharmacists affected her work: "No, we are all people who know how to live in harmony, we all get along together." Danielle, a Jewish pharmacist at one of the health funds, says: "No, it has no effect, [they are] wonderful people."

Jewish pharmacists who work for Arab Israeli managers also said the diversity had no effect. Michal, a Jewish pharmacist, said her manager is Arab Israeli and he treats everyone equally, with no discrimination:

Even though he's the boss, he knows it won't look good if he suddenly starts discriminating between us and things like that.

On the same subject, said Rumi, a Jewish manager:

After all everybody works together and everybody gets the job done, and it's not a matter of ethnic identities or genders, it's a matter of some people getting along with other people better than others. I never saw or encountered [problems] based on ethnicity. Yes, the Russians get along together better, the Arab Israelis get along with each other, but I've also seen a lot of friendships between them. So I don't think it's an issue.

Ziv, a Jewish pharmacist, concludes:

I don't think the [Arab Israeli] workers are a problem. At some point, a worker, whether they are or aren't from the Arab population, either they fit in or they work their way out, that's all. And I can't particularly connect that with workers from the ethnic group or another. There are

also Israelis who didn't get along, even who graduated from Jerusalem and everything. There is no particular difference here for Arab workers. I also think [the chain] screens out those people, who it sees have problems adjusting to such a diverse team: Russians, Israelis, Arab Israelis, everybody. There is a certain screening here.

Sometimes the relations between the Jewish and Arab Israeli colleagues go beyond work. Motti, a Jewish pharmacist, says an Arab Israeli pharmacist invited him to a family affair: "There was a function for his son or daughter, so he invited us, we went to [an Arab village in northern Israel] for the wedding." Tzipi, a pharmacist who once employed an Arab Israeli pharmacist, also said that she went to visit him:

Two weeks ago I was a Nazareth, I went to visit him, I was at his house. He's like family. It's somebody who for years [worked in central Israel], so it's hard to say he is Arab Israeli. My friend [who works at one of the health funds], her boss is an Arab Israeli and he's fine. She works with a lot of Arab Israeli girls. She says to me, you can't see it on them from the outside. One of them has this kind of hat, but the other one, she tells me, "she dresses more fashionably than me." She's both skinny and well-dressed, you can't tell on her at all.

Varda, a Jewish manager, also tells of her change of perception:

They're good people, it's doesn't matter. I tell my mother: "Look, they're good, they're just good, they do the job well, they're good people." I don't know, maybe I'm wrong, but let me tell you, as far as I know today. I don't know how I'm going to look at this in the future.

Even the matter of vacations, which is usually dealt with between pharmacists, is usually resolved positively. The interviews showed there is mutuality concerning the holidays, and the Jewish pharmacists are also aware and considerate of them. Says Danielle, a Jewish pharmacist, who works in a place where most of the pharmacists are Arab Israelis: "We are very considerate, and they're considerate of us too." Dalit, another Jewish pharmacist, says:

I don't think it's as if they are some minority of the pharmacists so there is no consideration. On the contrary, there is really understanding, and the branches know how to support each other, for example people who it is not their holiday, and give double shifts in a few branches in order to make up for it. These are things that are very deeply ingrained, we also get emails from the VP and the CEO, holiday greetings for this holiday or

some other holiday, they know everyone's holidays. It's not like... There isn't that kind of discrimination here.

Besides the fact that the Arab Israeli pharmacists get along with each other, diversity is sometimes perceived as beneficial for the employees, allowing all pharmacists to take time off on their holidays. Avi, a Jewish employer, describes the mutuality, a description repeated by many interviewees:

On the holidays they take time off, because usually they are not a majority of the staff, so there is always someone to cover, and vice versa. When we don't work on our holidays, they cover for us. It works out well, it's actually an advantage to have diversity, as far as holidays and vacations.

The interviews with the Jewish pharmacists show that they feel that relations between the Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists are good, that there are no differences between Arab Israelis and Jews ("She's both skinny and well-dressed, you can't tell on her at all"), and that diversity can be good for everyone ("It works out well, it's actually an advantage to have diversity, as far as holidays and vacations"). When it comes to accepting the cultural and religious variance, some things seem to be harder to accept. For instance, Carol speaks of the difficulty of her interaction as a pharmacist with a pharmacist who prayed at the pharmacy:

I, for instance, once worked with somebody who... First of all he was not professional, really, he was not professional. He did their prayer in the storage room, I don't think a religious person can pray in a storage room.

Chen, a Jewish pharmacist, spoke about the difficulty in interactions between Arab Israelis and Jews:

I had, it's really hard to work with them. They really like respect, they don't like to be told what to do. They're really aggressive, they lash out at customers. There's a lot of hatred. Lots and lots of hatred. You can feel it because we have Jewish and Arab Israeli workers, I think it's the only profession where we mix, we work together mixed. But there is something very very very strong, the Arab Israelis are very anti-, they are full of hate and you can feel it at work [...] Because they have to work for us, the Jewish employers.

Furthermore, some mentioned a negative attitude towards the use of Arabic in the pharmacy, especially between colleagues. This is what Nava, one of the Jewish employers, said when she was asked whether the diversity has an effect on work:

Yes, it is not a socially cohesive staff, they come to work and go home. They have no relations beyond that. I think you can't do anything about it, but there are not close friendships between Arab Israelis and Jews. Even though me, I have nothing against them, and I'm not even completely right wing, I'm even a centrist [...] But obviously we don't speak the same language, for instance they talk Arabic to each other all the time, and it creates a sort of distance for those who don't know the language. No matter how many times you tell them it doesn't help because they come from home and they speak it with each other all the time. The main language spoken at the pharmacy today is Arabic. Because the commercial director is Arab Israeli, and the pharmacists are too, so that's it, that's the language you hear there most of the time. In front of customers, too. There can be two Arab Israeli pharmacists standing there, and they want to talk to each other, to communicate in front of a customer who came to ask something, and they speak to each other in Arabic. Once I even told them it was inappropriate, because he can't understand what you're saying, and maybe you're talking about him? There is one language, you have to speak that language. But it doesn't help.

The interviews show that the ethnic-sector diversity at work presents certain challenges, such as dealing with different holidays, ways of dressing, or the use of Arabic between colleagues. The bigger picture, though, is to a large extent encouraging, because it mainly indicates collegiality and professional cooperation out of the awareness that everyone works together. Moreover, the direct encounter created at work between the Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists also enables them to meet and respect each other, and in certain cases to even develop friendly relations beyond work.

Relations with customers

"At first I used to cry, it's insulting"

Ethnic tensions between colleagues at work were mentioned in only a few interviews, but they are more frequent in customer relations. What emerges from the interviews is that while usually the relations are not

problematic, when a customer is dissatisfied or there is a professional problem, the customer will direct their anger at the pharmacist's ethnic affiliation. The same pattern was described in 12 interviews, with both Arab Israeli and Jewish pharmacists and managers. The same description came up repeatedly by all of the Arab Israeli pharmacists:

When you argue with someone and don't want to give them something because there is a problem, then they suddenly bring that up: "No, you don't want to because you're an Arab." He can say whatever he wants [...], get mad and then stick that word in your face, slip it in.

Another example:

It happens sometimes, in relations with a customer. Let's say a customer is not happy with the pharmacist's answer, and this happened to me personally, then they start with all kinds of, to say all kinds of things that are not relevant to what's happening.

Employers are aware of the problem, as Reuven, a Jewish employer said:

The unpleasant things that develop are mainly surrounding an unrelated situation, when a pharmacist cannot issue a prescription. Or else there is some customer who's trying to cut the line or something, and then sometimes customers have racist reactions.

Cheli, one of the employers, claimed that the pharmacists have something to do with it too:

I hear all kinds of cases of racism, that if you refuse to give some kind of medication, then there is cursing and... But the Arab Israeli pharmacists also have some kind of ego issues, for sure. Because they studied, they know the profession, and then if a customer comes in and tells them or God forbid doubts what they say, then it creates a sort of antagonism.

Perhaps even more important, the customer service policy is sometimes perceived as requiring the pharmacists to tolerate racism, as the two following incidents show: Said Yasmeeen, an Arab Israeli pharmacist:

As soon as you argue with them, they immediately go to: "Arab, you're treating me that way because I, my color..." What does that have to do with anything, come on? It's a pharmacist, a human being, a customer, don't mix it. But that's the way it is. It's just the way it is in this country. At first it used to bother me, I would cry. It's insulting, because you're doing everything you can to help, and then with one sentence it just

throws it all away. But the manager sat down with me and said: "Listen, this is not the only place you're going to see and hear that." It's true, it's not only here at work. When I used to work at Tiv Ta'am [supermarket], somebody also argued with me and right away said "you Arab." You just shut up, leave it alone and move on.

Said Adam, an Arab Israeli pharmacist:

There were lots of times I engaged with a customer... I had four or five customers to deal with at the same time. A guy comes in, he cuts the line, do you have this, do you have that. I said to him: "Sir, please take it easy, get back in line, let me finish with her, you will get everything you need."

- "No, I don't want to wait."

- "What do you mean wait? You just got here."

He started cursing, he started saying all kinds of garbage. But when he went too far I said to him: "I don't want to serve you, go find yourself a different place." Actually as far as all the other customers who were there, they said I was right. He went to file a complaint with the offices, to customer service.

And what did they say?

They said you have to take, customer service... "that customer?" I said to them. "Go ahead and fire me if you want, I don't care."

What did he say?

He started cursing my mother and everything, the worst racist things.

Rumi, a Jewish manager, placed racism in the context of consumer culture in the industry:

Listen, ask any pharmacist, everybody has gotten cursed equally, whether it was "stinking Arab" or "stinking Russian" or just "stupid idiot." They curse everyone equally, they find the right curse. Plenty of times I've seen people curse pharmacists in terms of their ethnicity or their gender but it wasn't... It wasn't just the Arabs, as if the Arabs are the only ones who get cursed. No, they curse the Russians plenty, too.

The interviews show that expressions of racism definitely occur in relations between customers and pharmacists, but it is hard to estimate how frequent they are. Some interviewees said that it happens frequently and others said those were rare occasions. The interviews also indicate

that employers have an impact on how the pharmacists cope with expressions of racism. Cases of lack of support for pharmacists increase their distress and intensify their feelings of discrimination. No employer described measures taken against that verbal abuse.

However, incidents of verbal abuse and racist comments seemed to arise only in arguments or under circumstances of professional constraints, as described. In general, the interviewees described the customers as accepting the Arab Israeli pharmacists, although they did emphasize their “differentness”: “Not everyone. There are some who look at you funny because you are an Arab, but most people accept me as I am,” said Amir, an Arab Israeli pharmacist. Nardeen, another interviewee, said: “Actually, I get so many compliments from people, who are thrilled to be getting good service. They give you compliments, they say ‘thank you, what a sweetheart.’ They treat you really well.”

5. Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this policy paper is to shed light on the integration process of Arab Israeli pharmacists in the retail pharmacy industry in the Jewish-dominated labor market in Israel. This section will review the main findings and suggest policies to address the aspects of that integration that are less than equal.

The location of the educational institution. As opposed to most of the Jewish pharmacists, who work as pharmacist assistants during their studies and then transition into internships upon graduation as part of a natural career transition, the Arab Israeli pharmacists are rarely taken into these positions until they graduate, where it serves as a kind of waiting period for an internship. They experience lengthy searches of between one month and two years for places to intern, even if they are graduates of Israeli institutions. Therefore they tend to compromise and to accept internship positions far from their places of residence and their families, and some even forgo pay during their internships.

The licensing exam. The Arab Israeli pharmacists who were interviewed do not perceive the exam they have to pass as an obstacle to practicing their profession, and indeed many pass it the first time. In fact, the exam gives the Arab Israeli pharmacists a stamp of legitimacy as qualified for hire, and in that sense puts them on an equal footing with the Jewish pharmacists. However, Jewish pharmacists thought the exam did not

necessarily indicate quality, and put more emphasis on place of education.

Finding a job. For the Jews, finding a job after the exam is almost immediate. However, for Arab Israelis it is a prolonged process, and finding a job in the area where they and their family live is almost impossible. While Jewish pharmacists hurry to find a better place of work after their internships, Arab Israeli pharmacists are more inclined to remain and work full-time where they interned. Except for religious women who wear hijabs, who reported difficulty getting hired, most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists did not feel that their identity as Arabs influenced their employment prospects. However, there were Arab Israeli pharmacists who speculated that work in the pharmaceutical companies is blocked for them.

The impact of Arab identity on decision makers. Employers in the field of retail pharmacy expressed a clear preference for hiring Jews. The main reasons they cited are the perception of the Arab Israeli pharmacists as less professional or less experienced; fear and lack of feeling of personal security; customer preference and reduced ability to serve customers; disloyalty and problematic work ethic. Some employers expressed a preference for employing Arab Israeli pharmacists and described them as diligent and responsible, and the experience of working with them as stereotype-shattering.

Salary. It was frequently mentioned in the interviews that Arab Israeli pharmacists receive lower salaries than Jewish pharmacists; employers look for Arab Israeli pharmacists in order to cut costs, and it seems that their bargaining power in the profession is relatively limited. The salary data provided by the pharmacists paints a more complicated picture. Among the men there is no real difference of salary between Jews and Arab Israelis, but that might be the result of the Arab pharmacists' working more hours. In several interviews it was mentioned that Arab Israeli pharmacists tend to work more, to take on more difficult shifts, and sometimes to work at more than one place. This study does not provide precise data about salary and work hours, and even though it can reasonably be assumed that there are disparities, their magnitude is not certain. Among women the picture is clearer, and there is a relatively notable disparity between female Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists. However, the reason for the disparity might be that the female Arab

Israeli pharmacists have less seniority in the profession, and that not a single one of the pharmacists in the sample was in a managerial position.

Employer-employee relations. In this area, the main issue that was raised has to do with observance of the Muslim holidays. These holidays presented organizational challenges and impacted the work place dynamic. It emerged that there is no clear organizational policy about non-Jewish holidays, and the pharmacists have to resolve the distribution of shifts themselves, with their colleagues and managers. Nonetheless, and despite numerous descriptions of discomfort and working on holidays, the pharmacists described their employers as considerate. The existence of national tension between Jews and Arabs was mentioned very rarely. As for promotion at work, most of the Arab Israeli pharmacists claimed that Arab pharmacists are promoted to management positions in the pharmacies equally and by professional standards, and that this gave them inspiration. However, there was evident awareness of a glass ceiling that prevents the integration of Arab Israeli pharmacists to senior management positions. The authors do not have statistics regarding the composition of the work force at the different levels.

Relations between Jewish and Arab Israeli pharmacists. Work relations are generally perceived as positive. Jewish pharmacists noted positively the lack of segregation of the Arab Israeli pharmacists, and even perceived the diversity as an advantage that provides flexibility in scheduling vacations and shifts on holidays. Negative attitudes were occasionally expressed in the context of obvious religious/ethnic differences: the place that an Arab Israeli pharmacist chooses to pray (the storage room), pharmacists speaking Arabic between them, and a general feeling of tension and alienation.

Customer-pharmacist relations. The Arab Israeli pharmacists reported that usually the customers treat them well, but they are subject to racist expressions by dissatisfied customers. Administratively, it appears that the customer service policy is sometimes perceived as requiring the pharmacists to tolerate racism from customers, or verbal abuse by customers towards pharmacists from other ethnic groups (“whether it was ‘stinking Arab’ or ‘stinking Russian’ or just ‘stupid idiot.’ They curse everyone equally.”)

As a whole, despite repeated descriptions of discrimination, a very long search until finding an internship and job, difficulty fulfilling religious obligations during work, and expressions of racism from customers, the general tone that arose from the interviews with the Arab Israeli pharmacists was very positive, and indicated a clear pattern of satisfaction with their work. This could be the result of a social desirability bias, due to the fact that most of the interviews were conducted with the knowledge of the manager. Likewise, the satisfaction might arise from the fact that the entire sample was comprised of employed pharmacists. A feeling of gratitude sometimes characterizes members of minority groups who manage to assimilate in fields where they were not previously represented. Furthermore, if these employed pharmacists know graduates of pharmacy studies who are not employed, this surely places their experience of integration at work, as hard as it might be, in a positive light compared to the possibilities of lack of integration, unemployment or career change.

Considering the fact that licensing exams exist in a range of healthcare professions and that internship requirements characterize numerous professional vocations, it appears that the barriers and difficulties that arose from the interviews apply not only to pharmacists but also affect Arab Israeli academics in other professions. These findings are all the more important considering the rise in the number of Arab citizens of Israel acquiring higher education in general and at universities abroad in particular, and therefore deserve thorough examination in follow-up studies.

Policy recommendations

The findings that arise from this study indicate the ability of market processes to bring about a significant change in the status of the Arab population in Israel in the labor market, their integration in professions that require academic education, and employment in industries that were previously closed to them.

The analysis of the interviews indicates that the integration of Arab Israelis in this industry has positive outcomes, which are likely to improve the integration of the Arab community in the Israeli population in general. One of the results is that the integrated work places provide an opportunity for Jews – managers, colleagues and clients – to meet Arab Israelis and develop a positive opinion about them (“Look, they’re good,

they're just good, they do the job well, they're good people"). According to social psychological theories, this is an expected result, because contact between segregated populations can neutralize stereotypes. Another result is flexibility managing work surrounding vacations. This result is unexpected, but relevant to retail pharmacies, because availability is an important part of its marketing strategy. The different holidays for Jews, Muslims and Christians create an available work force throughout the year. A third result, which was also unexpected, has to do with the potential for Arab Israelis employed in retail pharmacy chains to move between the chain's branches, so that over the years they have the possibility of working near their local communities. Many of the Arab Israeli interviewees, women and men, mentioned this possibility as a plan.

Meanwhile, the figures also indicate limits in integration, and the inequality and segregation that are experienced first-hand. Analysis of the interviews helps articulate concrete proposals for policy change to help the Arab Israeli pharmacists assimilate in work equally.

Removing entrance barriers for internship as a result of the perceived low quality of education from Jordanian institutions and lack of work experience. The interviews, as well as Health Ministry data, indicate that pharmacists who acquired their education abroad have in recent years constituted a significant part of the population of working pharmacists. As long as there is no intention to increase the number of students for the profession in Israel, this situation does not appear to be about to change. When preparing its labor forecasts in the field of pharmacy, Israel actually relies on a workforce trained abroad, especially in Jordan. For the Arab Israeli community this provides a window of opportunity to join the profession. Considering the asymmetric power relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel, steps need to be taken to promote integration and prevent the establishment of two parallel and unequal labor markets operating within a single profession.

At this point, the interview findings indicate uncertainty and insecurity of Israeli employers regarding the level and quality of studies in Jordan. It appears that a main source of employers' reservations is not necessarily the candidates' knowledge in pharmacy, but their experience and familiarity with the field, which is more accessible to graduates of Israeli schools of pharmacy and to Jews, both as a kind of accumulated human capital and as a kind of cultural capital. Work experience appears to be critical when employers consider hiring one pharmacist or another. This

emphasizes the importance of finding a job as a pharmacist assistant during school, finding an internship and then finding a first job.

If there really are knowledge gaps or gaps in familiarity with the work culture of the pharmacy profession in Israel between graduates of Israeli and Jordanian schools, there are effective ways to overcome them: (1) training and education sessions devoted to learning about the pharmaceutical market in Israel; (2) a proactive initiative to connect employers and Arab Israeli graduates seeking internships; (3) encouraging employers to allow Arab Israelis to intern by subsidizing internship salaries; (4) offering outstanding students from overseas universities scholarships to pay for their internship salaries.

Removing entrance barriers. Besides the often prolonged periods of time it takes Arab Israeli pharmacists to find internships and jobs, the interviews suggest another two entrance barriers: (1) **Wearing the hijab:** There are employment barriers (in violation of the Equal Opportunity at Work Law) for religious Muslim women who wear hijabs. Women who experience these forms of discrimination are often able to turn to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and submit complaints, but they do so only rarely. These findings illustrate the importance of raising the number of complaints to the commission, by increasing the commission's outreach efforts and raising awareness of its existence. (2) **Failure to be hired in prestigious areas of pharmacy:** Numerous reports were made in the interviews of unsuccessful attempts to enter more prestigious areas of pharmacy, such as work with the pharmaceutical companies. This might be partial data but it is a similar pattern to the situation in other areas such as the high tech industry, which creates a perception among Arab Israeli workers that their path to more attractive vocations in the Israeli economy is blocked (Khattab, 2009).

The integration of Arab Israeli workers in the pharmacy profession therefore establishes new patterns of inequality within the profession itself, based on ethnicity and place of study, which could diminish the vocational achievements described above. There is room to act among employers in this area and to encourage them to be proactive and hire Arab Israeli pharmacists, while emphasizing the importance and advantages of employment diversity. This can be done by the Ministry of the Economy along with the Authority for the Economic Development of the Arab, Druze and Circassian Sectors, and the Center for Jewish-Arab Economic Development.

Protecting workers' rights. The interviews indicate labor relations involving inequality on two issues: religious rights and holidays, and abuse by customers. On both issues there are ways to intervene on the level of public policy:

a. **Religious rights and holidays.** One evaluation arising from the study is that enforcing consideration of non-Jewish holidays in the pharmacy industry will not increase employment discrimination against Arab Israeli pharmacists. More generally, the more the pharmacy industry assumes patterns of a retail industry, the more the working conditions of all of the employees will be harmed.

It is possible that full consideration of all holidays is not possible, especially when the business strategy rests on availability to customers most hours of the day and all days of the year. However, public policy can employ tools for greater oversight of the protection of workers' religious rights. One of the important steps is to make sure that the workers are aware of the vacation days to which they are entitled on their religious holidays and to the higher wages they are entitled to for working on holidays, as provided by the Hours of Work and Rest Law. If such awareness does not exist, information on the law should be disseminated to pharmacists when they are granted their licenses. It is possible to grant those rights without too great a burden on the employer, especially if the work is in shifts or flexible. The main way would be by developing policies that are considerate of the special nature of the month of Ramadan, and requiring employers to take measures such as guaranteeing a certain number of work days and shifts that are easier for the fasting worker, as well as approval of a longer, paid, dinner break, for evening shift workers.

b. **Abuse by customers.** This issue came up in numerous interviews. Jewish pharmacists did not report cases of abuse, although managers indicated that verbal abuse towards pharmacists does not happen only to Arab Israeli pharmacists. According to their reports, Arab Israeli pharmacists experience abuse more frequently than Jewish ones. Nevertheless, both the pharmacists and the managers treated the abuse as a necessary evil, which happens infrequently. It is important to understand exactly why the pharmacists treat the abuse as a meaningless event. For the pharmacists, keeping their jobs is usually more important than demanding their rights, especially when their managers let them

know that the abuse is unfortunate but an evil to be tolerated, as emerges from the interviews.

The government is presently considering a draft law against abuse at work (bullying), which requires employers “to effectively handle any incident of abuse in the framework of labor relations that the employer knew about, and to do everything they can to prevent the repetition of the abuse and to repair the harm it caused to the complainant” (Knesset, 2014). Promoting this draft law, promoting pharmacists’ and employers’ awareness of the importance of abolishing abuse, and creating a protective and supportive response, will help create a safe atmosphere and help to correct the experience. Even if instances of abuse cannot be predicted, management’s support of the pharmacist during and after such an incident is a basic step towards repairing the harm done.

Even though this study focused on a single profession – the retail pharmacy sector – its findings have broad significance. They illustrate the feasibility of the vocational integration of an educated Arab Israeli population and the possibility to reduce ethnic-sectoral barriers in the workplace, both in relations between workers and in the relations between service providers and service recipients. The study’s findings also point to institutional and cultural aspects that undermine the equal integration of Arab Israelis and the “prices” they are forced to pay in the integration process. A more appropriate policy might remove many of the barriers that arise from this study and pave the way for fuller integration of Arab workers in the Israeli work force, for the benefit of everyone involved.

References

English

- Abu-Baker, Khawla (2002), "Career Women or Working Women? Change Versus Stability for Young Palestinian Women in Israel," *The Journal of Israeli History*, 21, (1-2), pp. 85-109.
- Al-Haj, Majid (1989), "Social Research on Family Lifestyles Among Arabs in Israel," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, pp. 175-195.
- Azaiza, Faisal, Khawla Abu-Baker, Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz, and As'ad Ghanem (eds.) (2009), *Arab Women in Israel, Current Status and Future Trends*, Ramot.
- Daoud, Suheir Abu Oksa (2012), "Palestinian Working Women in Israel: National Oppression and Social Restraints," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 8, (2), pp. 78-101.
- Dobbin, Frank and Alexandra Kalev (2013), "The Origins and Effects of Corporate Diversity Programs," in Quinetta M. Roberson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Diversity and Work*, Oxford University Press, pp. 253-281.
- Herzog, Hanna (2007), "Mixed Cities as a Place of Choice: The Palestinian Women's Perspective," in Daniel Monterescu and Dan Rabinowitz (eds.), *Mixed Towns, Trapped Communities: Historical Narratives, Spatial Dynamics, Gender Relations and Cultural Encounters in Palestinian-Israeli Towns*, Ashgate Publishing, pp. 243-257.
- Kanaaneh, Rhoda Ann (2002), *Birthing the Nation: Strategies of Palestinian Women in Israel*, University of California Press.
- Khamaisi, Rassem (2013), "Barriers to Developing Employment Zones in the Arab Palestinian Localities in Israel and Their Implications," in Nabil Khabbat and Sami Misari (eds.), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 185-211.
- Khattab, Nabil and Sami Miaari (2013a), "The Occupational Mismatch Amongst Palestinians and Jews in Israel: A New Evidence from the LFS 2000–2010," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 34, pp. 1-13.
- (2013b), "On the Reserve Bench: Palestinian Employees in Israel," in Nabil Khabbat and Sami Misari (eds.), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 11-36.
- (eds.) (2013c), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kimmerling, Baruch and Joel S. Migdal (2009), *The Palestinian People: A History*, Harvard University Press.
- Lewin-Epstein, Noah and Moshe Semyonov (1993), *The Arab Minority in Israel's Economy: Patterns of Ethnic Inequality*, Westview Press.
- Lewin, Alisa C. and Haya Stier (2002), "Who Benefits the Most? The Unequal Allocation of Transfers in the Israeli Welfare State," *Social Science Quarterly*, 83, (2), pp. 488-503.
- Lewin, Alisa C., Haya Stier and Dafna Caspi-Dror (2006), "The Place of Opportunity: Community and Individual Determinants of Poverty Among Jews and Arabs in Israel," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 24, (2), pp. 177-191.
- Marantz, Erez Aharon, Alexandra Kalev and Noah Lewin-Epstein (2014), "Globally Themed Organizations as Labor Market Intermediaries: The Rise of Israeli-Palestinian Women's Employment in Retail," *Social Forces*, 93, (2), pp. 595-622.
- Miaari, Sami and Nabil Khattab (2013), "The Persistent Wage Gaps Between Palestinians and Jews in Israel, 1997-2009," in Nabil Khabbat and Sami Misari (eds.), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 61-84.
- Monterescu, Daniel and Dan Rabinowitz (2012), *Mixed Towns, Trapped Communities: Historical Narratives, Spatial Dynamics, Gender Relations and Cultural Encounters in Palestinian-Israeli Towns*, Ashgate Publishing.
- Moss Philip and Chris Tilly (2003), *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill and Hiring in America*, Russell Sage Foundation.
- Offer, Shira and Michal Sabah (2011), "Individual and Familial Determinants of Married Arab Israeli Women's Labor Force Participation: Trends of Change and Stability," *Marriage and Family Review*, 47, (5), pp. 326-343.
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. (1998), "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, pp. 65-85.
- Popper-Giveon, Ariela, Ido Liberman and Yael Keshet (2014), "Workforce Ethnic Diversity and Culturally Competent Health Care: The Case of Arab Physicians in Israel," *Ethnicity and Health*, 19, (6), pp. 645-658.
- Sa'ar, Amalia (2007), "Contradictory Location: Assessing the Position of Palestinian Women Citizens of Israel," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 3, (3), pp. 45-74.

- Sa'ar, Amalia and Taghreed Yahia-Younis (2008), "Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 35, (3), pp. 305-323.
- Sa'di, Ahmad H. and Noah Lewin-Epstein (2001), "Minority Labour Force Participation in the Post-Fordist Era: The Case of the Arabs in Israel," *Work, Employment and Society*, 15, (4), pp. 781-802.
- Schlosser, Analia (2005), *Public Preschool and the Labor Supply of Arab Mothers: Evidence from a Natural Experiment*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Shdema, Ilan (2013), "Social and Spatial Examination of Palestinian Employment in Israel in Single Municipalities," in Nabil Khabbat and Sami Misari (eds.), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 241-262.
- Steiner, Talya (2013), "Combating Discrimination Against Arab Palestinians in the Israeli Workplace: The Current Enforcement Failure and the Role of the Newly Established EEOC," in Nabil Khabbat and Sami Misari (eds.), *Palestinians in the Israeli Labor Market: A Multi-disciplinary Approach*, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 37-60.
- Wolkinson, Benjamin W. (1999), *Arab Employment in Israel: The Quest for Equal Employment Opportunity*, Praeger Publishing.
- Yashiv, Eran and Nitsa Kasir (2013), "Arab Women in the Israeli Labor market: Characteristics and Policy Proposals," *Israel Economic Review*, 10, (2), pp. 1-41.

Hebrew

- Central Bureau of Statistics (2012), *Statistical Abstract of Israel*.
- Central Bureau of Statistics (2014), *Statistical Abstract of Israel*.
- Crystal, Meirav and Avital Lahav (2014), "Pharmacies are closing because of the pharmacy chains," *Ynet*, 31 January 2014, ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4483297,00.html.
- Haj-Yehia, Kussai and Khalid Arar (2009), "The Arab Palestinian Students in Jordan Universities: Factors that Push, Factors that Pull and Challenges," in Rassem Khamaisi (ed.), *Arab Society in Israel – Populations, Society, Economy*, Van Leer Institute, pp. 227-251.

- Khattab, Nabil (2009), "It Isn't Easy Being an Arab Palestinian Woman in Israel – Gender, Ethnic and Religious Penalties in the Labor Market," in Faisal Azaiza, Khawla Abu-Baker, Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz, As'ad Ghanem (eds.), *Arab Women in Israel, Current Status and Future Trends*, Ramot and Tel Aviv University.
- Knesset (2014), *Bill to Prevent Workplace Abuse 2014*, Appendix 6 (2), 19th Knesset, Internal Paper 560299, (to read the bill in Hebrew).
- State of Israel, Ministry of Health (2013), *Human Resources in the Healthcare Professions*.
- Yashiv, Eran and Nitsa Kasir (2011), "Arab Women in the Israeli Labor market: Characteristics and Policy Proposals," *Israel Economic Review*, 10, (2), pp. 1-41.
- Yashiv, Eran and Nitsa Kasir (2013), *The Labor Market of Israeli Arabs: Key Features and Policy Solutions*, Tel Aviv University.