

## 14. Bureaucratic representation in Israel

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### INTRODUCTION

Gender and minority equity in the Israeli civil service provide a unique case study. This is because Israel is the most ideological of all contemporary democracies (i.e. Zionism is the dominant ideology); social architecture is widely accepted as a government task (e.g. immigration absorption, dispersion of population, and so on); government is in charge of making critical choices as it faces direct threats to the survival of the state and society, and there is a scarcity of strategic thinking. As well, Israel has a highly fragmented political system, no professional civil service elite compensating for the weakness of the political system, and political structures, processes, and cultures that inhibit administrative reforms (Dror, 2002, pp. vii–x). Indeed, no comprehensive reform of the Israeli administrative system has been undertaken since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.<sup>1</sup> A few committees were established and reports published – the Kubersky Commission Report (The Kubersky Commission, 1989) being the most wide-ranging – but aside from a very few islands of excellence and professionalism, the civil service system as a whole remains fragmented, politicized, and devoid of a sense of identity, cohesiveness and esprit de corps.

Against this background, this chapter examines the representation of women, Israelis of Ethiopian Descent, Arab Citizens of Israel, Druze and Circassians in the Israeli governmental ministries and subsidiary units. It discusses the factors affecting the representation of these groups during the last decade, and identifies actors and practices that facilitate or prevent minority access to senior positions. Attention is focused on actual achievements and failures rather than the governments' promises and commitments. The argument advanced here is that although the issues of gender and minority equality have been firmly on the political agenda, certain groups have remained underrepresented in the Israeli civil service. Specifically, despite some principles of formal equality, the higher

the grade, the fewer women and Arabs. These groups are the two most underrepresented groups in the Israeli civil service. Legislation, which was supposed to cater for these groups, was by-passed and diffused by a combination of organizational obstacles and personal barriers. There is therefore an urgent need for women and minority groups to be placed into positions for which they are qualified, rather than to satisfy political demands for a diverse workforce.

### THE ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK

Public sector organizations in Israel are divided into three categories: the governmental sector (civil service), the non-governmental sector (e.g. Office of the President, State Comptroller, Knesset Administration and the Bank of Israel), and local authorities. The governmental sector is divided into three categories, namely, governmental ministries and subsidiary units, statutory authorities, and government corporations. Governmental ministries are in charge of policy formation, funding, implementation, and evaluation. Each ministry is headed by a minister who is accountable to the Knesset. Due to their distinct policy areas, responsibilities, tasks, and in many cases also culture, the ministries are quite distinguishable from one another. Furthermore, because hiring and promotion for senior posts are largely undertaken within each ministry, a narrower policy view in each ministry is common and loyalty of senior employees rests with the ministry rather than with the civil service system as a whole. It is therefore hardly surprising that the Israeli civil service system resembles a loose federation of ministries. This system can be traced back to the federative structure of the government ministries in 1948 (Kfir, 2002). As of 2011, there are 28 government ministries whose numbers and boundaries are frequently changing due to coalitional considerations. A few of them employ less than 15 civil servants.

These government ministries house 29 subsidiary units, not including the 22 government hospitals. Subsidiary units include, for example, the central Bureau of Statistics in the Office of the Prime Minister, the Meteorological Service in the Transportation Ministry, and Veterinary Services and Animal Health at the Ministry of Agriculture. There is no clear definition of the status or function of a subsidiary unit. The Civil Service Commissioner has the authority, upon a request from a ministry's director general, to design a unit within a government ministry as a subsidiary unit. Such a designation implies that the unit will be semi-independent in matters of budget, human resources, accounting, legal matters, etc., and its head will usually report directly to the minister.

Governmental hospitals are special subsidiary units within the Ministry of Health and enjoy even greater administrative autonomy. The Civil Service Commissioner can extend or restrict the authorities of a subsidiary unit at any time on the recommendation of the ministry's director general or with his or her approval, or terminate its status as a subsidiary unit upon the request of a ministry's director general or with his or her approval.

By the end of December 2009, there were 56993 employees in the government ministries and subsidiary units, up from 53503 in 2004 (Civil Service Commission, 2005; Shachar-Rosenfeld and Berger, 2010; Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010).<sup>2</sup> Focusing on the three highest grades of government ministries and subsidiary units, there were 350 employees in the highest grade, 649 in the second highest grade, and 1340 in the third highest grade (Shachar-Rosenfeld and Berger, 2010, p. 25). This is also the place to note that the screening and examination of candidates for senior positions, for which the Civil Service Commission is responsible, are vulnerable to external (read: political) pressures (State Comptroller, 2004, 2006, 2007). The fact that the civil service is not mentioned in Israel's Basic Laws, and that laws relevant to the civil service are not strictly enforced, extends politicians' room for maneuverability in this regard.

### THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretically, the trickling down of political norms of behavior into public management is supposed to be limited by a series of legal barriers. Article 32 of Basic Law: The Government (2001) determines that the government must act solely and exclusively within the framework of the powers set by law. The Administrative Procedures Amendment (Decision and Reasoning) (1958) also determines that any governmental organization must act in accordance with its powers as defined by law. All decisions by the government and its bureaucracy are therefore subject to judicial review, meaning that the court can force any government agency to comply with the law if it exceeds its powers without due cause. Hiring and promotion of civil service employees on the basis of a merit system, public tenders and impartial examinations are regulated by the Civil Service (Appointment) Law (1959). The requirement imposed on civil servants to resign if they wish to enter the political arena and compete in an election is specified in the Civil Service (Curtailed of Partisan Activity and Fundraising) Law (1959) and disciplinary procedures and sanctions are laid down in the Civil Service (Discipline) Law (1963). Entitlement to state pension and its regulation is set in the Civil Service (Pension) Law (1970). Regulations and directives regarding the rights and obligations of civil servants, collective

agreements about wage and other employment conditions are laid down in the Civil Service Regulations (Personal Code). The Civil Service Commission, which is in charge of enforcing the aforementioned laws, is an autonomous subsidiary unit in the Prime Minister Office. Its head, the Civil Service Commissioner, is appointed by the Prime Minister with the approval of the government, and has independent powers guaranteed by law over appointments, discipline, pensions and so on. Overall, these "laws do not reflect a clear and consistent concept about the nature and desirable patterns of public management. Instead, they present the broad range of problems that have arisen over the years for which *ad hoc* legislation has sought solutions" (Galnoor, 2011, p. 41, italics in original).

### PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR AND ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE

According to Galnoor (2011, pp. 45–48), there are four patterns of behavior of the Israeli civil service. These patterns include: (1) centralization in the relationships between central government and citizens, central government and local authorities, and "strong" ministries (e.g. Defense, Finance, and Justice) and the other ministries; (2) pragmatism, which devalues any notion of planning because of a fatalist presumption that the unexpected will most likely occur, and its derived by-product of improvisation, meaning "an extemporaneous action undertaken to cope with a problem or seize an opportunity" (Sharkansky and Zalmanovitch, 2000, p. 321); (3) organizational territoriality; and (4) secrecy, or more specifically, "compartmentalization of secrets between government ministries and sometimes between units within the same ministry" (Galnoor, 2011, p. 47). Not surprisingly, turf battles and interorganizational rivalries are common and policy coordination for crosscutting issues is rare. Regarding administrative culture, political appointments are prevalent (Galnoor, 2011), corruption by high-level civil servants is rare (although in recent years there have been some highly visible cases such as, for example, at the Tax Authority and the Ministry of Interior), a bond between the wealthy and senior civil servants has been recorded in numerous instances, and a relaxed public attitude towards corruption is common.

### THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE STATE

The changing role of the state is evident in Israel by the decreasing proportion of the public sector in the GDP: from 70.5 percent in 1980 to 54.8

percent in 1990, 46.9 percent in 2000, and 42.7 percent in 2009 (Bank of Israel, 2010). The most significant, comprehensive, and consistent change in Israeli public management is rooted in the process of privatization that has been carried out in practice since the 1980s. The process includes both transparent privatization decisions, and secret administrative decisions regarding budget cuts and reducing the supply of public services and goods (Paz-Fuchs and Kohavi, 2011). Additionally, it spans all government offices and policy areas, and takes place regardless of political changes or the identity of the Prime Minister and the minister in charge. Parallel to the process of privatization, outsourcing is taking place, encompassing two phenomena: First, entire fields are transferred from the state to subcontractors (for example, cleaning, computing, security). Second, manpower contractors supply workers and government units employ their services only as long as they are required (Paz-Fuchs and Kohavi, 2011; Meron, 2011). This process occurs without thorough public debate with regard to its consequences for a young democracy still striving to build its foundations in various domains, and without an orderly procedure to examine the profitability of privatization in each individual area (Paz-Fuchs and Kohavi, 2011). The privatization touches upon matters of internal and external security, among others, while the outsourcing relates to areas of welfare and social security, among others. A central feature of these processes is weakness in supervision, both in terms of resources and expertise, and a lack of commitment by policymakers to deal with this weakness (Paz-Fuchs and Kohavi, 2011).

#### Bureaucratic Representation

A convenient starting point is a 1995 amendment to Article 15A of the Civil Service (Appointment) Law (1959), which laid down the principle of affirmative action in the civil service. This principle reads as follows: "Among employees of the civil service, expression shall be given, taking the circumstances into consideration, to the appropriate representation of members of both genders." In subsequent amendments, Article 15A was expanded as follows: "Among employees of the Civil Service at all grades and professions, in every ministry and subsidiary unit, expression shall be given, taking the circumstances into consideration, to the appropriate representation of members of both genders, people with disabilities, Arab members of the population, including Druze, Circassians, and anyone who was, or whose parents were, born in Ethiopia" (quoted from Galnoor, 2011, pp. 79, 169). In 1996, the Unit for the Advancement and Integration of Women in the Civil Service Commission was formed by the Civil Service Commissioner (Shaked, 2004). An in depth analysis of its structure and operation can be found elsewhere (Maor, 2001; Shaked, 2004).

#### Gender Equity

Since the 1980s, there have been more women than men in the civil service – 62 percent during 1997–98, 63 percent during 1999–2000, 64 percent during 2001–03, and 65 percent during 2004–09 (Shachar-Rosenfeld and Berger, 2010, p. 26; figures do not include employees at the Ministry of Defense). Although some improvement is noticeable in recent years, Table 14.1 clearly indicates that the higher the rank, the fewer the women. Perhaps most important is that in 2002, women filled 38 percent of the positions in the civil service in the highest rank – defined as grade 46 in the humanities and social sciences professional ranking and its equivalent ranks in the remaining 17 specialized fields. This figure has increased to 60 percent in 2006 and remained stable until 2009. A similar, albeit less dramatic trend has been recorded in the second highest grade, with 44 percent of women filling positions at this grade in 2002, rising to 49 percent in 2005 and 2007, and reaching 50 percent in 2009. The question that has arisen is whether women are being appointed to token positions to fulfill affirmative action goals (Dolan, 2004). Table 14.2 presents the number of women whose working conditions are stipulated in personal contracts – commonly known as Senior Contracts. At face value, an increase in the number of women is recorded, from 27 percent in 2002 to 30 percent in 2009. However, if one excludes registrars who have no influence over policy, the share of women ranges between 23 percent in 2002 and 28 percent in 2009. Putting these figures in perspective, in 2009 women constituted 17.5 percent of members of the 18th Knesset (21 of 120 members), 28.5 percent of the Supreme Court (4 of 14 judges; 2011 figures), 65 percent of the civil service at large, 60 percent of the highest rank of the civil service, and only 28 percent in positions that afford opportunities to influence governmental decision-making. Women at large, and executive-level women in particular, have undoubtedly benefited from the equal employment opportunity provisions of the 1995 amendment to Article 15A of the Civil Service (Appointment) Law (1959) and its subsequent modifications. However, more needs to be done to ensure that female advancement into positions of power and influence takes place.

#### Arab Citizens of Israel, Druze and Circassians

Arabs, Druze and Circassians (hereafter referred to simply as Arabs), comprise about 20.5 percent of the Israeli population,<sup>3</sup> and yet, in 2010, less than 8 percent of civil servant positions were filled by this sector of society (Table 14.3). In 2010, 4717 Arabs were employed in the Israeli governmental offices and subsidiary units, 2941 men and 1776 women.

Table 14.1 The representation of women in the civil service according to rank, 2002–09\*

Rank	2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Total**	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
1	555	38%	556	40%	571	41%	307	57%
2	586	44%	566	47%	558	48%	606	49%
3	950	35%	970	36%	977	37%	1239	33%
4	2754	44%	2776	43%	2823	44%	3015	45%
5	4113	47%	4251	47%	4317	47%	4444	48%
6	4692	52%	4648	53%	4584	54%	4661	55%
7	5905	62%	6026	63%	6144	64%	6267	66%
8 and below	29954	72%	30589	73%	31242	72%	30835	73%
Total	49509	31550 (64%)	50382	32443 (64%)	51216	33051 (65%)	51374	33466 (65%)

Rank	2006		2007		2008		2009	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
1	311	60%	331	60%	344	60%	350	60%
2	558	48%	600	49%	625	48%	649	50%
3	1160	35%	1163	35%	1264	37%	1340	38%
4	2907	47%	2950	47%	3082	48%	3228	49%
5	4373	48%	4461	48%	4615	49%	4840	49%
6	4969	56%	5641	59%	5615	60%	5973	61%
7	6546	65%	6577	66%	7287	67%	8206	68%
8 and below	31147	72%	30252	72%	30237	72%	30238	71%
Total	51971	33797 (65%)	51975	33980 (65%)	53069	17995 (65%)	54824	35755 (65%)

## Notes:

\* The data displayed above is according to grades across different rankings that do not necessarily reflect seniority and organizational hierarchy. Only government offices with over 50 employees were included in the data presented here. Employees at the Ministry of Defense are excluded.

\*\* "Total" refers to men and women.

Source: Shachar-Rosenfeld and Berger (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010); Civil Service Commission (2005)

Table 14.2 Women employed under senior contracts, divided by types of contracts, 2002–09

Type of contract	2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
Registrars	78	41 (53%)	82	41 (50%)	79	42 (53%)	80	45 (56%)
Senior Contracts	146	25 (17%)	135	22 (16%)	124	21 (17%)	478	121 (26%)
Deputy Minister	3	0	5	0	2	0	2	0
Legal Advisers	32	15 (47%)	34	15 (44%)	34	16 (47%)	37	20 (54%)
Senior Contract (New)	301	78 (26%)	320	78 (24%)	334	89 (28%)	—	—
CEOs (New)	35	2 (6%)	38	5 (13%)	37	5 (15%)	44	7 (16%)
Total	595	161 (27%)	614	161 (26%)	610	176 (29%)	641	193 (30%)

Type of contract	2006		2007		2008		2009	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
Registrars	87	52 (60%)	80	46 (58%)	85	48 (56%)	92	53 (58%)
Senior Contracts	481	119 (25%)	482	125 (26%)	495	130 (26%)	541	151 (28%)
Deputy Ministers	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Legal Advisers	39	19 (49%)	40	20 (50%)	39	16 (41%)	40	16 (40%)
Senior Contracts (New)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
CEOs (New)	44	7 (16%)	43	7 (16%)	47	8 (17%)	47	6 (13%)
Total	652	197 (30%)	646	198 (31%)	667	202 (30%)	721	226 (30%)

Source: Berger and Shaked (2004); Civil Service Commission (2005, 2006); Shachar-Rosenfeld and Berger (2010)

Table 14.3 Arab citizens employed in the Israeli Civil Service Commission

Year	Men	Women	Total Arab employees	Percentage of civil servants
1992	n.a.	n.a.	1117	2.1
1993	n.a.	n.a.	1369	2.5
1994	n.a.	n.a.	1679	3.0
1995	n.a.	n.a.	1997	3.5
1996	n.a.	n.a.	2231	4.0
1997	n.a.	n.a.	2340	4.1
1998	n.a.	n.a.	2537	4.4
1999	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
2001	n.a.	n.a.	3176	5.7
2002	n.a.	n.a.	3440	6.1
2003	n.a.	n.a.	2798	5.6
2004	n.a.	n.a.	3154	5.5
2005	2123	1128	3251	5.7
2006	2215	1174	3389	5.9
2007	2312	1265	3577	6.2
2008	2452	1431	3883	6.7
2009	2650	1595	4245	7.0
2010	2914	1776	4717	7.5

Source: Haidar (2005); Civil Service Commission (2010)

To enter the civil service, Arabs can compete in tenders open solely to the Arab population or in general tenders open to all segments of Israeli society. The share of tenders open solely for the Arab population out of all tenders available rose from 4.5 percent (36 of a total of 805) in 2005 to 15.4 percent (182 of 1366) in 2008, and then dropped back down to 9.4 percent (145 of 1546) in 2010 (Civil Service Commission, 2010).

The very few Arabs employed in the Israeli civil service enter at the lowest levels, and are distributed across the following professional rankings: 1518 (32 percent) in the specialized field of nursing, 849 (18 percent) in the administrative rankings, which include low level technical employees and clerks, 518 (11 percent) in the ranking of doctors, 302 (6.4 percent) as Imams (i.e. worship leaders of mosques), 231 (4.8 percent) in the professional ranking of social sciences and humanities, 172 (3.6 percent) employed as social workers, and the rest in other rankings (Civil Service Commission, 2010, p.25). Another finding that comes out of the data is that Arab civil servants are employed in positions that require knowledge of Arabic. The defining characteristics of these positions are that they are geographically centered in the north of Israel and that they are positions

Table 14.4 Distribution of civil servants of Ethiopian descent

Year	Civil servants of Ethiopian descent			Total number of civil servants	Percentage of civil servants
	Men	Women	Total		
2007	292	337	629	57946	1.09
2008	330	386	716	59505	1.2
2009	372	410	782	61338*	1.27
2010	388	453	841	64062**	1.31

Notes:

\* Data is correct for June 15, 2010.

\*\* Data is correct for February 11, 2011.

Source: Civil Service Commission (2011)

that cater almost exclusively to Arab society. According to the 2010 data, 1628 (34.5 percent) are employed in the Northern District, 1195 (25.3 percent) in the Haifa District, 416 (8.8 percent) in the Jerusalem District, and the rest in other regions (Civil Service Commission, 2010, p.15). Regarding the upper ranks, only 38 Arabs were at the highest senior grade of the civil service (i.e. professional as well as administrative rankings) in 2010 (Civil Service Commission, 2010, p.27).

The fact that many of the positions held by Arab civil servants are in the administrative ranking, and therefore do not require academic knowledge, does not mean that these employees do not possess academic knowledge. In fact, 52.5 percent of all Arab civil servants have an academic degree, an increase of 3 percent since 2008 (Civil Service Commission, 2008, 2010, p.10).

#### Israelis of Ethiopian Descent

In 2010, the community of Israelis of Ethiopian descent constituted just under 2 percent of the general population (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010). The number of Israelis of Ethiopian descent employed by the civil service stood at 1.09 percent in 2007, and showed a slight increase to 1.2 percent in 2008 and 1.31 percent in 2010 (Table 14.4; Civil Service Commission, 2011). Regarding their distribution according to rankings, of the 841 citizens of Ethiopian descent employed by the civil service in 2010, 518 are at the administrative rankings, 146 at the nurses' professional ranking, 49 as academics in the humanities and social sciences, and the remaining at all other rankings. Most of these civil servants work at the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services, the Immigration and Border

Control Authority, and the Tax Authority. Of those employed in the civil service in 2010, over 13 percent have elementary education, over 35 percent have secondary education and 19 percent have academic education (Civil Service Commission, 2011).

## ORGANIZATIONAL OBSTACLES AND PERSONAL BARRIERS

At first glance, Israel is seemingly one of the most progressive societies in regards to minority rights and representation. Women have always had the right to vote in Israel, women serve beside men in the military, and early legislation was already protecting women's rights in the workplace. When one begins to scratch the surface, however, a more complicated picture appears. The military, for example, while it accepts women, does not recruit Arabs and exempts any female who declares herself religious. Furthermore, within the army, the rank of combat soldier was closed to females until a few years ago. Family law is under the sole jurisdiction of the Rabbinical Courts, and religious political parties, which hold enormous power as pivotal parties in Israeli coalition governments, refuse to loosen the grip of those Rabbinical Courts, making civil marriage and divorce unattainable in Israel, and leaving women vulnerable to their husbands and the rulings of all-male courts (Golan, 2011).

Despite a plethora of legislation and high court rulings on matters of gender, ethnic, and national equality, Israel still encounters problems with underrepresented minorities in the workforce and discriminatory hiring and general workplace practices. With regard to the Arab citizens of Israel, the Orr Commission investigation (2003), which followed the killing of 13 Arab citizens by Israeli police during the political riots in 2000, has determined that there is discrimination against this group. The data clearly indicates that this is still the case. According to Galnoor (2011, p. 81), "The Discrimination is collective – Arabs work in the civil service in small numbers because they are Arab, not because they lack qualifications (thousands of Arab university graduates are employed), or because they pose a security risk [ . . . ]." On top of that, the representation of all minority groups in the civil service is undermined by decision makers' flaunting and bypassing of the laws. Let me elaborate on this point.

According to the Civil Service (Appointments) Law (1959), tenders are to be used to fill positions and, when confronted with two qualified individuals, the one from an under-represented minority is to be chosen for the job. However, there is a list of positions that are exempt from tender. The "Exemption List" includes, for example, directors general,

senior positions in the Prime Minister Office and the Finance Ministry, the Cabinet Secretary, and others. Since 2002, contenders for other positions that are exempted from tenders must appear before a Candidate Search Committee. As for the remaining senior positions, the law is circumvented all too often by appointing a civil servant to the job in an acting capacity (e.g. acting director, acting manager), or as a temporary appointment or replacement. Once a tender is undertaken in order to make a permanent appointment, the acting, temporary, or replacement civil servant has, of course, an advantage over all other candidates as he or she has already been trained for the position in question and will need no further transition period (Maor, 2001; Tirosh, 2009). In fact, out of all of the tenders issued between 2002 and 2004, 55 percent of those positions were filled by people who had worked at that job or a similar job for an average of 21 months before the tender. In the Ministry of Justice the percentage was 66 percent, and in the Treasury Department it rose as high as 88 percent (Tirosh, 2009, p. 715). Another way in which hiring tactics are skewed is by issuing tenders that are specifically biased towards a preferred candidate (Maor, 2001; Tirosh, 2009).

According to Tirosh (2009), when positions are filled through an appointment process, as opposed to a public tender, there are two adverse results. First, the immediate position is far more likely to be filled by someone of the hegemony, which directly harms underrepresented minorities despite their qualifications. This is because people tend to hire those most similar to them and those they are familiar with. Underrepresented minorities are less likely to be within the network of people who come in contact with the person hiring, thus unable to make themselves familiar and prove their qualifications. Second, since many of the tenders are internal and interdepartmental tenders, based on the wrong assumption that the original hiring process was fair and representative, underrepresented minorities are again harmed by not being eligible to apply for those tenders (Tirosh, 2009). Moreover, these tenders often only have one applicant, and office norms dictate that it is "rude" to apply for a position that was not tailored for you (Tirosh, 2009, p. 717).

Furthermore, the tenders that are issued do not always follow the guidelines of proper tenders. The reviewers are not anonymous, which means that they can be swayed by friends and co-workers to accept someone familiar and from within the office (Tirosh, 2009). Often, no written test is administered to the candidates, thereby making it difficult to properly assess two candidates in comparison with each other. In many cases, there is no written protocol for the reviewers' decision-making process, nor is there any explanation for the final decision (Tirosh, 2009). In addition, an important aspect of the Civil Service (Appointments) Law (1959) is the

text reading "as much as possible under the circumstances." This short addition effectively renders any law impotent of real meaning. It provides a clear loophole for anyone not wishing to comply with the law (Maor, 2001; Shaked, 2004). Consequently, the current hiring practices in the Civil Service Commission effectively shut out underrepresented minorities from many professional and senior level positions (Tirosh, 2009).

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

This analysis yields several conclusions. First, bureaucratic representation varies across gender and other minority groups, with significant advances made with regard to women. However, there is still a need to recruit and promote Israelis of Ethiopian descent to medium and senior positions, and to undertake a persistent and targeted effort to bring into the civil service highly qualified Israeli Arabs and ensure their equal representation at all rankings and grades. Women and minority groups must be placed into positions for which they are qualified, rather than to satisfy political demands for a diverse workforce. Second, policy-makers must ensure that executive-level women continue to benefit from equal-opportunity provisions, and that gains will be noticeable within the upper ranks, especially where they can influence policy in ways that bestow rewards upon their social groups.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Hayah Eichler for her research assistance.

### NOTES

1. Other countries, however, have experienced wide-ranging reforms insofar as recruitment and training of senior civil servants are concerned. See, for example, Maor (1997, 1999a, b, c), Maor and Stevens (1997), and Maor and Jones (1998).
2. These numbers were calculated as follows: overall number of employees (not included the Ministry of Defense) – drawn from the Civil Service Commission reports (2004, 2009) – combined with the number of employees at the Ministry of Defense – drawn from the Central Bureau of Statistics (2010). These figures do not include temporary and special contract employees as well as subcontracted employees.
3. As of December 2010, the Israeli population is comprised of 1 587 000 (20.5 percent) Arab citizens out of a total of 7 746 000 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

## 15. Representative bureaucracy in Australia: a post-colonial, multicultural society

Rodney Smith

### INTRODUCTION

Given its status as a former British colony, it is not surprising that Australia has developed a public sector that belongs within the anglophone or Westminster family. Over the past 40 years, Australia's bureaucratic structures and traditions have undergone reform in response to changing political, economic, and ideological imperatives. Over the same period, governments have responded to Australia's increasing social diversity by deliberately attempting to create socially representative public sector agencies. These efforts are analysed in this chapter, with particular attention given to the representation of minority immigrant ethnic groups and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (the latter group will also be referred to as Indigenous Australians in this chapter). The argument in the chapter is that while the Australian public sector has made great strides toward representing social diversity within its ranks, the deeper implications of Australia's status as a multicultural, post-colonial society for bureaucracy have not been fully recognized or acted upon.

### AUSTRALIAN POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AND TRADITIONS

The Australian public sector falls within an 'anglophone' family that includes the United Kingdom, Canada, and New Zealand (Halligan, 2010). Its core structure and practices reflect the traditions associated with Westminster systems. The influential Northcott Trevelyan Report of 1853 on the organization of the British civil service just preceded the beginnings of responsible self-government in the Australian colonies. The Westminster bureaucratic norms of permanency, professionalism,

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# Representative Bureaucracy in Action

Country Profiles from the Americas, Europe,  
Africa and Asia

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Cheltenham, UK • Northampton, MA, USA

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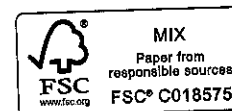
Published by  
Edward Elgar Publishing Limited  
The Lypiatts  
15 Lansdown Road  
Cheltenham  
Glos GL50 2JA  
UK

Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.  
William Pratt House  
9 Dewey Court  
Northampton  
Massachusetts 01060  
USA

A catalogue record for this book  
is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012949449

This book is available electronically in the ElgarOnline.com  
Social and Political Science Subject Collection, E-ISBN 978 0 85793 599 1



ISBN 978 0 85793 598 4

Typeset by Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire  
Printed and bound by MPG Books Group, UK

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