



## UK Task Force

on issues relating to Arab citizens of Israel

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### Israel's Arab Citizens and the Private Sector 23 September 2010

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#### Introduction

Israel is renowned for its entrepreneurial culture. As of 2008, it had the highest density of start-ups in the world; more companies listed on NASDAQ than any other country and per capita venture capital investments 2.5 times those of the United States. As the 2009 book *Start-Up Nation* by Dan Senor and Saul Singer explains, this success is partly due to the diversity of Israel's population<sup>1</sup>. However, one large section of Israeli society has generally been excluded from this; Arabs constitute 20% of the population, yet contribute only 8% to the state's total GDP<sup>2</sup>.

In February 2010, Ministry of Finance Director General Haim Shani reinforced this point, explaining to the Tenth Annual Herzliya Conference that, were the Arab and *haredi* minorities economically on a par with the rest of society, Israel's GDP would rank amongst the foremost developed countries<sup>3</sup>. Senor and Singer also claim that low participation of the *haredi* and Arab populations in the economy is the biggest threat to Israel's growth<sup>4</sup>. According to a January 2010 report by the OECD, which highlights the Arab population's poor integration into Israel's high-flying economy, "tackling the root causes of such deep inequality would greatly enhance the dynamism of the Israeli economy". If Israel does not ensure that it applies meaningful initiatives to change this situation, the OECD warns that results will be "devastating"<sup>5</sup>.

The reasons for the inequalities between Israel's Arab and Jewish populations are multiple and complex. The government, civil society and the private sector can all play their part in helping to narrow the socio-economic gaps between the two communities. What is clear is that, in general, the Arab population is keen to play more of a role in Israeli society and contribute to Israel's economy in the same way as the Jewish population.

According to Dr Roby Nathanson, Director General of the Macro Center for Political Economics in Israel, the Arab sector has begun to transform in the last year. It has shifted from its agricultural focus towards business oriented professions such as high-tech and service providers<sup>6</sup>. These are areas in which Israel already excels – they provide the impetus behind Israel's thriving economy – and to which the Arab population is eager to lend its skills. This briefing paper will outline the opportunities afforded by this socioeconomic transformation.

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<sup>1</sup> Senor, D. and Singer, S. (2009) 'Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle'; pp7-11

<sup>2</sup> Arlosoroff, M. (03/04/10) 'The Arab you don't know may be about to change the market' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/the-arab-you-don-t-know-may-be-about-to-change-the-market-1.264120>

<sup>3</sup> Zeno, L. (03/02/10) 'Treasury chief: Boosting Arab and Haredi employment would make Israel rich' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/news/treasury-chief-boosting-arab-and-haredi-employment-would-make-israel-rich-1.262710>

<sup>4</sup> Senor, D. and Singer, S. (2009) 'Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle'; p220

<sup>5</sup> OECD (20/01/10) 'OECD Reviews of Labour Market and Social Policies';

[http://www.oecd.org/document/25/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_33933\\_44387417\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/25/0,3343,en_2649_33933_44387417_1_1_1_1,00.html)

<sup>6</sup> The Media Line, (10/06/10) 'TASE to add Israeli Arab companies' in The Jerusalem Post; <http://www.jpost.com/Business/BusinessNews/Article.aspx?id=178115>

## Why the Arab sector?

- A team of top academics researching for The Caesarea Economic Planning Forum, Israel's most influential economic conference, estimated in June 2010 that the failure to utilise the potential of the Arab workforce amounts to a total loss to the Israeli economy of NIS 31 billion a year<sup>7</sup>.

Despite the Arab population having much to offer the labour market, they are currently under-represented in many sectors. This problem is most acute in the booming high-tech field. For example, whilst 2500 Arabs have graduated in the exact sciences in the last decade, only 500 are currently employed in software development. In contrast, more than 80,000 Jewish engineers work in this industry, many of whom are lesser-qualified than the Arab graduates. Within the Arab sector there is a wealth of latent expertise to be untapped<sup>8</sup>.

- Nechemia Peres, Managing General Partner and Co-Founder of Pitango and prominent Israeli businessman, explained to Ha'aretz in March 2010 that the country's rapid economic growth over the last two decades was primarily due to an influx of Russian immigrants. The next breakthrough, he predicts, will come from the Arab population already within Israel<sup>9</sup>. It is imperative that this sector is developed soon, as the Executive Chairman of the Center for Jewish-Arab Economic Development (CJAED), Eytan Biderman explained in an interview, "It is quintessential for the Israeli economy that Arabs will be integrated more successfully now, not in five years"<sup>10</sup>.
- In January 2010, President Shimon Peres held a tour of Nazareth for thirty of Israel's top business leaders in order to draw attention to the high-tech opportunities arising in the city's Arab sector. Participants included some of the biggest names in Israeli business; IDB Holdings Chairman Nochi Dankner, Israel Corp. CEO Nir Gilad and Microsoft Israel General Manager Danny Yamin. During the visit, Minority Affairs Minister Avishai Braverman explained that "Instead of outsourcing jobs to India, Israeli businesses should open their eyes to the army of skilled professionals here in their backyard". As a result of the tour, a number of business leaders made pledges to support the Arab sector, including senior figures from Osem, CA, IBM and the Fattal hotel chain, as well as prestigious Israeli entrepreneur Yossi Vardi<sup>11</sup>.
- In recent years, the international business community's perception of the Arab sector has undergone a remarkable transformation. It has become clear that the social conditions are ripe for economic investment. Nowhere else do you find an emerging market, a youthful population and undeveloped towns, all directly within an already developed and robust economy<sup>12</sup>.

## New Development Initiatives

In recent years an array of initiatives to boost the Arab sector has emerged from various parts of Israeli society. The government has introduced a number of new schemes aiming to improve the Arab labour market and its socioeconomic infrastructure. The private sector continues to create

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<sup>7</sup> Brodet, D. (June 2010) '18<sup>th</sup> Caesarea Economic Policy Planning Forum'; p2;  
<http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/events/TheAnnualEconomicForum/Pages/18thCaesareaForum-TheEmploymentofArabsinIsrael.aspx>

<sup>8</sup> Tsofen, 'Background'; [http://www.tsofen.org/?page\\_id=137&lang=en](http://www.tsofen.org/?page_id=137&lang=en) (last visited: 14/09/10)

<sup>9</sup> Arlosoroff, M. (03/04/10) 'The Arab you don't know may be about to change the market' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/the-arab-you-don-t-know-may-be-about-to-change-the-market-1.264120>

<sup>10</sup> Shemer, N. (23/07/09) 'Israel government wins praise for steps to boost Arab sector businesses' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/news/israel-government-wins-praise-for-steps-to-boost-arab-sector-businesses-1.280608>

<sup>11</sup> Friedman, R. (13/01/10) 'Your guide today is.... Shimon Peres' in the Jerusalem Post; [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_8048/is\\_20100113/ai\\_n48652814/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_8048/is_20100113/ai_n48652814/)

<sup>12</sup> Moscovitch, B. (26/07/10) 'Israel Initiates Investment Program to Bolster Arab Businesses' on The World Affairs Blog Network, Foreign Policy Association; <http://israel.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2009/07/26/israel-initiates-investment-program-to-bolster-arab-businesses/>

opportunities to harness Arab potential, whilst numerous NGOs are actively involved in helping these prospects to be realised.

- Sponsored by the government and run by Israel's leading venture capital group, Pitango, Al-Bawader is a new investment fund focused on advancing minority sectors. Its aim is to act as a bridge between entrepreneurs with good ideas and investors with business expertise. Al-Bawader seeks to invest primarily in opportunities within the Arab sector, particularly in manufacturing, service and technology companies. Nechemia Peres, who co-heads the fund, is confident that investment in the Arab sector will pay off; "We're already planning the sequel funds" he told Ha'aretz in March 2010.

Al-Bawader has a particular focus on the export industry. Peres asserts that Israeli companies currently export to the whole world, but not to the nearby Arab market with its 400 million consumers. He believes that there are a number of opportunities in this region, particularly in the high-tech, media and medical sectors. Creating joint projects between Arabs and Jews, he asserts, will be an effective way of branching out and taking advantage of gaps in the Arab market that Israeli companies have previously found difficult to access<sup>13</sup>.

- Seventeen Arab companies are participating in a government-sponsored programme, launched in July 2010, to promote exports from the sector. The scheme, known as Tevel, is funded by the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor, the Authority for the Economic Development of Minority Sectors in the Prime Minister's Office and the Israel Export and International Cooperation Institute (IEICI), who have combined to raise a million shekel budget for the project. Avi Hefetz, Director of the IEICI, told a conference promoting the programme that the Institute has identified 120 Arab companies in Israel with export potential. However, its initial goal is to reach 30 of these, providing them with professional training, advice and ongoing support<sup>14</sup>.
- In March 2010, the government approved an NIS 800 million stimulus plan for the economic development of minority communities in Israel; this focuses on 13 towns which together are home to about one quarter of Israel's total minority population. The majority of the funding will go towards housing, whilst almost a half is to be injected into economic development, increased transportation and accessibility and professional guidance. NIS 15 million has been sidelined to encourage entrepreneurship alone<sup>15</sup>. On introducing the stimulus plan, Minority Affairs Minister Avishay Braverman explained that, "When [minorities] earn more, we all stand to benefit. It has nothing to do with politics, it's simply smart economics". Within five years, he claims, the scheme will produce more than NIS 3 billion in growth<sup>16</sup>.
- Israeli industrialist, Stef Wertheimer, has recently opened his sixth industrial park in Nazareth at a total cost of \$20 million. It will include a mixture of new and established export industries and will ultimately be home to between 20 and 25 export-oriented firms. Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained in June 2010 that the park is expected to provide between 500 and 1000 jobs in the next decade. A number of local businesses have expressed interest in relocating some or all of their operations to the new industrial park, including Alpha Omega, Nazareth Pharmaceuticals and Galil Software<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Arlosoroff, M. (03/04/10) 'The Arab you don't know may be about to change the market' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/the-arab-you-don-t-know-may-be-about-to-change-the-market-1.264120>

<sup>14</sup> Cohen, O. (20/07/10) 'First 17 companies sign up for gov't program to boost Arab firms' exports' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/first-17-companies-sign-up-for-gov-t-program-to-boost-arab-firms-exports-1.302913>

<sup>15</sup> Seif, A. Presentation to IATF Israel Study Trip (05/05/10) 'Panel of Experts on Economic Development – Models, Programs, Projects and Initiatives Leading to Change', <http://www.iataskforce.org/panel-experts-economic-development-%E2%80%93-ayman-seif-director-economic-development-authority-minority-sec>

<sup>16</sup> Friedman, R. (21/03/10) 'Equal opportunity for all Israelis' in The Jerusalem Post; <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Article.aspx?id=171464>

<sup>17</sup> Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (27/06/10) 'Groundbreaking in Nazareth for first major industrial park in Israeli Arab city'; [http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/IsraeliEconomy/Economic\\_News/Groundbreaking\\_Nazareth\\_industrial\\_park\\_Israeli\\_Arab\\_city\\_27-Jun-2010](http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/IsraeliEconomy/Economic_News/Groundbreaking_Nazareth_industrial_park_Israeli_Arab_city_27-Jun-2010)

- Due to the transformation and growth of the Arab market, the Tel-Aviv Stock Exchange has outlined plans to trade more of Israel's Arab companies. As Esther Levanon, CEO of TASE, told The Media Line in June 2010, "We started looking into Arab companies in Israel. Arab companies in Israel do not have a stock exchange to invest in, nor to place an IPO [Initial Public Offering, the introduction of a company to the stock exchange]. We think that they should look at the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange and that we should look at them". Dr Roby Nathanson, Director General of the Macro Center for Political Economics in Israel believes that "Many segments of the Israeli business community would encourage businesses run by Israeli Arabs on the stock exchange"<sup>18</sup>.
- Tsofen is a not-for-profit organisation that aims to integrate Israel's Arab population into the high-tech industry, via cultural and hands-on as well as academic training. Formally established in 2008, its primary aim is to secure employment for another 1000 Arabs in this field so that they eventually constitute 1% of all software engineers in Israel. Tsofen believes that this development would cause market forces to kick into gear, and the high-tech industry to branch out of traditional high-tech centres and into areas such as Nazareth and the Galilee which are more accessible to Arab communities<sup>19</sup>. The Amdocs development centre in Sderot demonstrates the success that can be gleaned from these ventures; originally planned to employ 50 to 60 people, it now houses 500 employees. In January 2010, Tsofen declared that 85% of graduates of its training courses have gone on to find employment in the high-tech industry<sup>20</sup>.

### **Success Stories**

Israel's Arab population has traditionally been employed in manual industries such as construction, agriculture, furniture and textiles. Finding an Arab heading a successful business (such as Tamim Yasin, the owner of Obec Gas, a gas-delivery company which dominates 50% of the Arab market<sup>21</sup>) was somewhat of an anomaly. However, in recent years Arab citizens of Israel have begun to develop the skills needed to look for jobs in the IT, high-tech, biotechnology and R&D sectors, all key to Israel's economy.

#### **• IT**

**Babcom IT:** Based in Stefan Wertheimer's Tefen Industrial Park in Galilee, Babcom IT specialises in outsourcing; finding Israel's Arabs jobs with major US companies such as Texas Instruments and the chip producer DSPG. It currently focuses on staffing call centres but is aiming to branch out into other service areas. Co-founded by Arab businessman Imad Telhami and his ex-colleague Dov Lautman in 2008, Babcom currently employs about 300 people, most of whom are minorities and Arab women<sup>22</sup>. The company does, however, have plans for expansion. Having managed 15000 people, and outsourced another 20000 employees worldwide, Telhami knows how to scale up to the level of services necessary of Fortune 500 companies<sup>23</sup>.

#### **• High-Tech**

**Galil Software:** Galil Software is an outsourcing company founded in 2007 by a group of Israeli investors. Inas Said, the Arab CEO of the company was appointed due to his 15 years

<sup>18</sup> The Media Line (10/06/10) 'TASE to add Israeli Arab companies' in The Jerusalem Post; <http://www.jpost.com/Business/BusinessNews/Article.aspx?id=178115>

<sup>19</sup> Tsofen, 'Background' (last visited: 15/09/10); [http://www.tsofen.org/?page\\_id=137&lang=en](http://www.tsofen.org/?page_id=137&lang=en)

<sup>20</sup> Ashkenazi, E. (21/01/10) 'Nonprofit breaks Arab workers into mainstream high-tech Israel' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/nonprofit-breaks-arab-workers-into-mainstream-high-tech-israel-1.261787>

<sup>21</sup> Perman, S. (15/08/10) 'In Israel, Commerce amid Conflict' in TIME; [http://news.yahoo.com/s/time/20100815/wl\\_time/09171200863400](http://news.yahoo.com/s/time/20100815/wl_time/09171200863400)

<sup>22</sup> Kloosterman, K. (27/05/10) 'A unique Arab enterprise in Israel's high-tech community' on Common Ground News Service; <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=27874&lan=en&sid=0&sp=0>

<sup>23</sup> Kloosterman, K. (25/03/10) 'Toppling Israel's Tower of Babel' on Israel21c; <http://www.israel21c.org/201003257820/social-action/toppling-israels-tower-of-babel>

of experience developing leading US and European companies such as Nokia and Erikson<sup>24</sup>. Operating out of Nazareth, Galil Software employs about 125 engineers, 90% of whom are Arabs outsourced to companies based in Israel such as HP, Amdocs and General Electric<sup>25</sup>. Said told the Al Arabiya News Channel in June 2009 that by tapping into the Arab workforce in Israel, companies save up to 30% of the internal costs required to support offshore outsourcing activities. Keeping employees local removes the risks involved in controlling remotely, as well as inconvenient cultural and time zone differences. The close proximity of Arab workers means that businesses get maximum results but are able to save on costs<sup>26</sup>.

**MITSoft:** MITSoft is a joint venture between the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who play a leading role in outsourcing to the high-tech industry in Israel, and Tsafen, who promote the employment of Arab workers in this field. Like Galil Software, MITSoft is exploiting the demand for corporate outsourcing within Israel, offering high-tech teams of qualified engineers, consisting mainly of Arabs, to work in its Nazareth offices<sup>27</sup>.

## • Biotechnology

**Alpha Omega Engineering:** Alpha Omega Engineering is a biotech company based in Nazareth, specialising in biomedical research and clinical equipment used worldwide in various neurological fields. It aims to shorten brain surgery procedures from eight hours to only half an hour. Founded by Imad Younis with financial advice from the CJAED in 1993, the company now has offices in the USA and Germany, and has its products used by over 200 research labs in 70 well-known universities worldwide<sup>28</sup>.

**New Generation Technologies:** Established in 2002 after an extensive campaign by CJAED, New Generation Technologies (NGT) in Nazareth is an incubator created specifically to target Arab entrepreneurs and encourage co-existence between Jews and Arabs. Founded by one Jewish and five Arab businessmen, NGT is supported by Israel's Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor<sup>29</sup>. It currently invests in and facilitates 18 diverse early-stage start-ups, primarily in medicine and pharmacology; Nutrinia are working to make artificial baby milk more natural, Carticure focus on repairing cartilage by creating new cells in problematic joints, and VPSign is creating a system to sign electronic documents<sup>30</sup>. Essentially, NGT intends to facilitate the transformation of ideas into profitable companies. Competition for investment is tough, as Time magazine reported in August 2010, about 95% of the pool of Arab entrepreneurs in Israel has applied directly to the incubator. However, only three new start-ups are scheduled to join in the next six months<sup>31</sup>.

## • Research and Development

**Hossam Haick:** The Arab sector has a promising future in research and development, presenting a number of opportunities for investment. Dr Hossam Haick, a Christian Arab born in Nazareth, is amongst those leading the way in Arab R&D. His 'electronic nose' for detecting the early signs of cancer has earned him recognition as a leading international young scientist by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and by the French government.

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<sup>24</sup> Sandler, N. (26/05/09) 'A high-tech job boost for Israel's Arabs' on Bloomberg Businessweek;

[http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/may2009/gb20090526\\_077760.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/may2009/gb20090526_077760.htm)

<sup>25</sup> O'Sullivan, A. (10/08/10) 'Arab high-tech entrepreneurs changing the face of Nazareth' for Media Line, published on Green Prophet; <http://www.greenprophet.com/2010/08/arab-israeli-engineers-nazareth>

<sup>26</sup> Awad, M. (09/06/10) 'Israeli startup gives Arab engineers a job boost' on Al Arabiya News Channel; <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2009/06/09/75421.html>

<sup>27</sup> 'About MITSoft' (last visited: 14/09/10)

[http://translate.google.co.uk/translate?hl=en&sl=iw&u=http://www.mitsoft.co.il/%25D7%2590%25D7%2595%25D7%2593%25D7%2595%25D7%25AA\\_MITSoft&ei=Q5uPTJH4GMmX4gbjt\\_zEDg&sa=X&oi=translate&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAkQ7gEwAA&prev=/search%3Fq%3DMITsoft%26hl%3Den](http://translate.google.co.uk/translate?hl=en&sl=iw&u=http://www.mitsoft.co.il/%25D7%2590%25D7%2595%25D7%2593%25D7%2595%25D7%25AA_MITSoft&ei=Q5uPTJH4GMmX4gbjt_zEDg&sa=X&oi=translate&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CAkQ7gEwAA&prev=/search%3Fq%3DMITsoft%26hl%3Den)

<sup>28</sup> Kloosterman, K. (02/12/02) 'Alpha Omega makes tools for treating neurological disorders' on Israel21c; <http://www.israel21c.org/culture/alpha-omega-makes-tools-for-treating-neurological-disorders>

<sup>29</sup> Israel21c (08/06/03) 'Building a better future together'; <http://www.israel21c.org/technology/building-a-better-future-together>

<sup>30</sup> NGT 'Portfolio' (last viewed: 15/09/10) <http://www.ngtnazareth.com/index.php?/Portfolio/portfolio/>

<sup>31</sup> Perman, S. (15/08/10) 'In Israel, Commerce amid Conflict' in TIME;

[http://news.yahoo.com/s/time/20100815/wl\\_time/09171200863400](http://news.yahoo.com/s/time/20100815/wl_time/09171200863400)

Despite receiving offers from universities across the globe, Haick chose to base his project at the Technion in Haifa in order to utilise Israel's wealth of technological talent; he currently employs 27 Israeli, Arab and international researchers across seven labs. Haick's project has proved to be hugely successful. Over the last three years he won a share of a 5.3 million euro grant from the EU, registered 17 patents and succeeded in diagnosing five types of cancer by breath test. The researcher has chosen to avoid the business side of his endeavour, stating "I will give them the technology, and they will make a business out of it"<sup>32</sup>.

### **Arab Markets and Consumer Trends**

- At the same time as corporate Israel has begun to discover the entrepreneurial and high-tech skills of its Arab population, it is also beginning to realise the sector's hidden consumer potential. It is estimated that the purchasing power of Israel's Arabs is roughly equivalent to that of all of Jordan, which has a population of 6 million people. The majority of companies in Israel have not ventured into the Arab market. However, the communications industry has taken advantage of this sector with great success; Israel's Arabs are now amongst the biggest consumers of communications technology worldwide. This is largely due to the strong business sense of cellular communications companies in Israel who realised the potential of this market, stepping up activity, opening shops and employing locals in Arab towns. Such initiatives highlight the latent commercial opportunities that can be untapped through strategic investment into Israel's Arab market. Sami Shaheen, president of the Chamber of Commerce in Nazareth and the Galilee, told Ha'aretz in March 2010 that a commercial culture is growing amongst the Arab sector in Israel with shopping malls and supermarkets growing in popularity<sup>33</sup>.
- Publicis Sectors, a PR firm that specialises in marketing and promotion to the Arab, Russian and ultra-Orthodox sectors, have explained that social changes are responsible for a transformation in the consumer behaviour of Israel's Arab population. As it becomes increasingly westernised and family dynamics continue to transform, demand has surged for products such as fashion-wear, ready meals and fast food. There has also been a boom in demand for Arabic and Hebrew bilingual packaging, international cuisine, westernised banking services, cars and both domestic and foreign holidays. On the Muslim holiday of Id al-Adha in February 2004, Arabs comprised 22,000 of the 52,000 guests in Eilat hotels<sup>34</sup>.

### **Conclusion**

The future of Israel's economy is dependent on the integration of the Arab population. If Israel hopes to maintain its economic growth, incorporating its Arab citizens is an urgent matter of necessity rather than choice.

Fortunately, the Arab sector is gaining momentum. A new generation of skilled personnel has entered the market and recent years have seen the emergence of several exciting new Arab start-ups. Arab citizens have been responsible for medical and pharmaceutical breakthroughs and for finding new and innovative recruitment solutions. Arab businesses are being encouraged to get involved in the Israeli export industry and trade on the Tel-Aviv stock market. At the same time, infrastructure in Arab areas is undergoing development, which will help the Arab population break into sectors – such as High-Tech – that they have traditionally been excluded from.

Companies that choose to integrate Arab workers and sell to the Arab market will be richly rewarded. More and more businesses are seeking to capitalise on prospects in the Arab sector and are pledging their support. However, as it stands, Arab start-ups continue to lack incubation facilities that are essential for project development, as well as the business expertise that they need to reach their full potential.

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<sup>32</sup> Grimland, G. (02/07/10) 'The Israeli scientist who is sniffing out cancer'; <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/week-s-end/the-israeli-scientist-who-is-sniffing-out-cancer-1.299656>

<sup>33</sup> Zarkawy, N. (11/03/10) 'Israel starts tapping into hidden business potential of Arab market' in Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/israel-starts-tapping-into-hidden-business-potential-of-arab-market-1.264632>

<sup>34</sup> Lutsky, D. (25/05/04) 'Hummus? Ready-made. Coffee? Fresh.' In Ha'aretz; <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/business/hummus-ready-made-coffee-fresh-1.123452>