



THE DATA IS OUT

2022

OUT FOR CHANGE

Editor: **Zvika Deutsch**

With the participation of:
**Hila Barel, Shani Kaplan,
Moshe Shenfeld**

Out for Change, Jerusalem

Copy editing: Russell Dickstein
Graphic design: Elk Shira

Out for Change, Jerusalem

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Glossary of Terms

Haredi/ Haredim = ultra-Orthodox Jews

Yotze/Yotzim = former Haredim who have left Haredi society also known as "off the derech"

Mitztarfim = Jews who have are not from a Haredi home who have joined Haredi society

HFB = Haredi From Birth - Jews who were born and/or raised in a Haredi home

GHY = Graduates of Haredi Yeshivas

LFS = Labor force survey

CBS = Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

Foreword

Every year, approximately 3,500 men and women choose to leave the Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) society into which they were born, a figure that has accumulated into tens of thousands of people and will reach hundreds of thousands in the future.

The data presented in this annual report paints a complicated picture of the Yotzim - literally "those who leave" Haredi society (also known as "off the derech"). On the one hand, it shows the potential, hope and achievements inherent to this group, due to their fortitude, ambition, and energy; on the other hand, it reveals the barriers, difficulties and challenges that stand in their way.

From the data, we learn that the majority of Yotzim (over 50%) choose to leave Haredi society but not religion (46% define themselves as religious, 17% traditional-religious), that they are not satisfied with their economic situation but are full of optimism regarding their ability to improve their economic situation, and that according to self-reporting, despite the natural challenges inherent in leaving the community, the rate of emotional struggles they experience is similar to that of other groups in the Israeli Jewish population.

The data also shows that despite changes implemented over the years, much more needs to be done to maximize the potential of optimizing the integration of Yotzim into the army, higher education and job market.

With regards to employment, the findings indicate an urgent need for a dedicated program to integrate Yotzim into the workforce. Data shows that while the unemployment rate among Yotzim is relatively high, the majority of them are employed in low-skilled and low-wage professions, and the rate of Yotzim employed in high-tech is very low. This is despite the fact that the employment rate growth potential, as reflected in data on Yotzim jobseekers, is the largest among the groups.

Aside from the efforts, services, and budgets that the state invests in the integration of the Haredi population, emphasis must be placed on the Yotzim, a population with an extraordinary socio-cultural background and singular strengths and abilities, who want and deserve an opportunity to be fully integrated within Israeli society.

Dr. Shmulik Hess
Chairman, Out for Change

The research department of Out for Change was established to meet the need for a comprehensive and reliable database on Yotzim.

In this annual report, we wish to provide a current and comprehensive picture of the situation of Yotzim in Israel in 2022. The annual report includes up-to-date data, as well as expanded research and theory, and can be used as a primary comprehensive source of information on the movement to leave Haredi society.

The annual report is intended for a wide readership: researchers engaged in the study of socio-religious identities in Israel; policymakers who wish to learn about the characteristics of this group; social organizations wishing to refine the individual and community benefits offered to Yotzim; anyone interested in the singular fabric of Israeli society, in which Yotzim form an integral part; and finally, and perhaps most importantly, for the Yotzim themselves, who will surely recognize themselves and their own journey in the data and findings.

Dr. Hila Barel
Director of Research, Out for Change

1. Introduction

The annual report "The Data is Out" presents current and comprehensive data on characteristics of the former Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) population and employment among former Haredi ("off the derech") men. This is the first publication containing representative and comprehensive data on the characteristics of the former Haredi community. The data published to date, in the study of Regev and Gordon (2021), estimated the percentage of Yotzim and their numbers, as well as basic background characteristics. Beyond that, there has not been any publication or analysis of current representative data on factors such as employment or welfare.

The data presented in this report is based on two methods for identifying Yotzim.

The first - a new method for identifying Yotze men - uses the Labor Force Survey (LFS) published by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) (extended publication: Deutsch & Shenfeld, soon). The large scope of the survey allows for an in-depth analysis of the examined population, including trend analyses. This identification method is used in adjunct to an existing method (Regev & Gordon, 2021), by which Yotzim are identified using a combination of administrative and LFS data. The following chapter expands on the methods of identifying Yotzim.

Another research tool we used to analyze the characteristics of Yotzim is the CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020. Identifying Yotzim based on Social Survey data is not a novel approach, but until now the data was used to estimate numbers of Yotzim from Haredi society, and not as a tool for analyzing the characteristics of those Yotzim (see review in Chapter 2).

Most of the data in this annual report is presented comparatively, categorized by past and present way of life: Yotzim, mitztarfim (including people who had been secular, and religious persons who became Haredi), Haredi from birth (hereinafter: HFB), and non-Haredi Jews.

Part 1 of the report covers the methods used to identify Yotzim using CBS data.

Part 2 details the general characteristics of Yotzim: areas of residence, military service, educational data and marital status.

Part 3 presents comprehensive and representative data on employment among male Yotzim, including unemployment rates, occupations, and rates of those employed in high-tech.

Part 4 presents welfare indices among Yotzim: overall standard of living, overall satisfaction and satisfaction with economic situation, rates of loneliness and depression.

2. Methods used to identify Yotzim using CBS data

2.1 General introduction

Several approaches are used to identify Yotzim. What the methods all have in common, is the definition of a Yotze as someone who belonged to Haredi society in the past, but no longer does. The approaches differ from each other primarily in the way they define past affiliation with Haredi society, and in the way they use data to identify Haredi individuals. In order to identify a Yotze, all methods make a distinction between belonging to Haredi society in the past (hereafter "Past Haredi") and belonging to Haredi society in the present (hereafter "Present Haredi").¹ In this report we classify individuals into four distinct groups:

- Yotze - a Past Haredi who is not a Present Haredi
- Mitztarfim - a Present Haredi who was not a Past Haredi
- HFB - a Past and Present Haredi
- Non-HFB - not a Past or Present Haredi

Table 1 demonstrates the division into groups by past and present affiliation:

Table 1: Four primary groups - Raised Haredi and Present Haredi

		Past Haredi	
		No	Yes
Present Haredi	No	Non-HFB Jew	Yotze
	Yes	Mitztarfim	HFB

There are two approaches for defining a Past Haredi: the first identifies Yotzim as those who grew up in a Haredi home and are not presently Haredi, while the second identifies Yotzim as graduates of Haredi yeshivas (hereinafter: GHY) (during high-school age) who are not presently Haredi. These approaches are similar in method for identifying Yotzim in the data, but they differ essentially in how the Haredi past may influence the present. For example: when examining the impact of studying in Haredi educational institutions on employment characteristics among Yotzim, or their integration into the employment market, priority will be given to identifying Yotzim by their educational institutions. On the other hand, when examining the effects of social and societal norms, priority will be given to identifying Yotzim by the nature of the family in which they were raised, for the most part.

1. There is no unequivocal answer to the question "Who is a former Haredi?", just as there is no unequivocal answer to the question "Who is Haredi?". Since this report deals with policy and economics, we are employing definitions used in these fields, rather than the sociological definition for "former Haredi" and "Haredi".

The method used to identify current levels of religiosity is common to all approaches - self-reported data in the CBS surveys. The central distinction between the two methods is classifying current level of religiosity by the household (the approach used in the LFS, the Income and Expenditure Survey) as opposed to classifying based on the individual's self-classification (the approach used in the Social Survey and the Longitudinal Survey).²

"Past Haredi" can be identified using three primary sources:

1. Administrative data - primarily derived from reports by the educational institutions. In the next section we will expand on the method of Regev & Gordon, who defined a Haredi family as one whose children attend Haredi educational institutions. Using this data may be even more suitable to identifying Yotzim as graduates of Haredi educational institutions.
2. The Labor Force Survey - identifying self-reported GHYs.
3. The Social Survey - identifying Yotzim by their family's level of religiosity when 15 years old.

2.2 Overview of the main methods used to identify Yotzim

2.2.1 Social Survey data

In the Social Survey, interviewees are asked to define their level of religiosity using the following categories: Haredi, religious, traditional-religious, traditional not very religious, non-religious secular. Additionally, they are asked about the level of religiosity of the home in which they grew up at age 15, using the same categories. This classification is individual, as opposed to the LFS's classification by household, and was used by Sarel & Gilboa (2017) and Shenfeld (2020) and was also mentioned by Weinreb & Blass (2018) for the purpose of evaluating leaving rates.

2.2.2 The Regev and Gordon method

Regev & Gordon defined "Past Haredi" as someone who was HFB, while a "Haredi family" was defined as a family where the majority of children were sent to Haredi educational institutions.³ Haredi educational institutions were identified using a singular iterative algorithm, which initially identified educational institutions that could be identified as Haredi with certainty, and in the following stages, in an iterative process, educational institutions whose Haredi status was uncertain, by estimating the proportion of students that could be confirmed Haredi using auxiliary variables such as classification as "Haredi" in the LFS, age at time of marriage, and the institution's location. "Present Haredi" is identified based on the LFS: if the individual lives in a Haredi household, they are Present Haredi - and if the individual does not live in a Haredi household, they are not Present Haredi.

2. Among families with children of school age, a Present Haredi can be identified by the children's educational institutions. See, for example, Regev & Gordon (2021). This method may be suitable for studies focusing on families with school-age children, but not for studies looking at the population as a whole.

3. In families where exactly half the children attend Haredi educational institutions, the authors applied a rule: if at least half the children attended first grade at a Haredi institution, the family would be classified "Haredi"; if less than half, they would be classified "not Haredi"; and in the absence of this information, the family's data would be omitted from the database.

2.2.3 “Graduates of Haredi yeshivas” method using the Labor Force Survey (LFS)

Since 2016, Jewish men taking the LFS are asked whether they studied in any of the following yeshivas: yeshiva ketana, yeshiva tichonit, yeshiva gedolah, yeshiva gevoha, kollel, yeshivat hesder. Yeshiva ketana (minor yeshiva) - a Haredi educational institution for high school students, teaching only religious studies. Yeshiva tichonit (high school yeshiva) - for the most part, an institution of religious-national education (although a small number of them includes Haredi students). The educational institutions yeshiva gedolah (major yeshiva) and yeshiva gevoha (higher yeshiva), for students after high-school age, differ from each other by their prevailing nickname; yeshiva gedolah is a Haredi nickname, while yeshiva gevoha is a religious-national nickname. The working assumption is that those who reported that they studied in a yeshiva ketana, do not mean that they studied in a yeshiva tichonit, and those who studied in a yeshiva affiliated with the national-religious community - hesder for the most part - will not respond yeshiva gedolah only, but a combination of yeshiva and yeshivat Hesder.

Hence, those who reported that they graduated from a yeshiva ketana or a yeshiva gedolah, but not a yeshivat hesder, can be identified as a GHY. A limitation of this method: it does not identify graduates of a Haredi yeshiva tichonit who did not study in a yeshiva gedolah.

This identification method is conditional on an accurate response to the survey questions. We may assume that a negligible number of respondents who studied in a non-Haredi secondary yeshiva reported that they studied in a yeshiva ketana. It can also be assumed that a negligible number of respondents who studied at a religious-national yeshiva gevoha reported that they studied at a yeshiva gedolah and did not specify that it was a yeshivat hesder. Since these are data for employment indicators, inaccuracies in self-reporting do not affect the indicators substantially. Calculation of the employment indicators in expanded definitions of yeshiva graduates will appear in a soon-to-be published study.

2.3 Method summaries and limitations

The three methods detailed in the previous section are summarized in the following table:

		Regev & Gordon (2021)	Deutsch & Shenfeld (soon)	Shenfeld (2020), Sarel & Gilboa (2017), Weinreb & Blass (2018)
Past Haredi	Definition	HFB	GHY	HFB
	Identification	Most of the family's children attended a Haredi educational institution *	Self-reported - Yeshiva	Self-reported - Family's level of religiosity at age 15
	Source	Administrative data	Labor Force Survey	Social Survey
Present Haredi	Definition	Belongs to a Haredi household	Belongs to a Haredi household	Religiosity self-classification
	Identification	Self-reported - Religiosity of household	Self-reported - Religiosity of household	Self-reported - Religiosity of the individual
	Source	Labor Force Survey	Labor Force Survey	Social Survey

* In families where exactly half the children attend Haredi educational institutions, the authors applied a rule: if at least half the children attended first grade at a Haredi institution, the family would be classified "Haredi"; if less than half, they would be classified "not Haredi"; and in the absence of this information, the family's data would be omitted from the database. Educational institutes were classified "Haredi" using the authors' own algorithm.

The Regev & Gordon method and the Deutsch & Shenfeld method identify "Present Haredi" using the LFS, and the responses given about the level of religiosity of the individual's household. This method has its limitations. Firstly, it does not identify Yotzim who live in their parents' household. Secondly, this data leaves out boarding school students, whose representation among Haredi men under the age of 25 is sizeable.⁴ The LFS therefore underrepresents the population of Haredi men under the age of 25. If young people from the age of 15 are factored in, the data may overrepresent Yotzim in these age groups.

The two approaches differ in their definition of "Past Haredi". Regev & Gordon use the definition "raised in a Haredi family" and classify "Haredi family" by the nature of the educational institutions in which the family's children were educated, while Deutsch & Shenfeld define "Past Haredi" as a GHY, relying on self-reported data from the LFS. Regev & Gordon's method is limited when estimating Yotzim the numbers among older adults, since administrative data of educational institutions is only available from 1991.

4. According to the LFS, on average for the years 2016-2019, the rate of men among Haredim in the age groups 15-17 and 18-24 was only 41%, compared to an expected 51% for these age groups (Fran & Klinger, 2018).

Deutsch & Shenfeld's method is also limited in its own way, inasmuch as Haredi yeshiva tichonit graduates who did not attend a yeshiva gedolah are not identified. Furthermore, as mentioned, this method is based on self-reporting, which is not always accurate.

Identifying Yotzim using the Social Survey - the oldest method. Here, "Past Haredi" is identified based on self-reporting, in answer to the question of religiosity of the family in which the individual grew up at age 15. "Present Haredi" is identified based on the religiosity of the individual and not of their household.

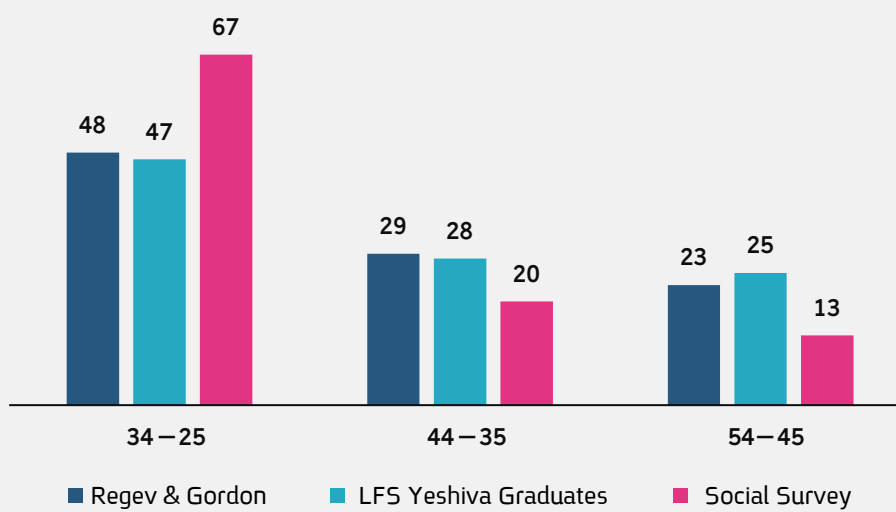
The limitation of the Social Survey lies in its relatively small scope, so the estimates of the numbers are high among Yotzim. Weinreb & Blass (2018) note a further limitation, whereby Haredim are underrepresented in the Social Survey in proportion to their numbers in the population, since non-response rates are higher among Haredim. It should be noted that their research discusses the Social Survey before changes were introduced in 2010 and 2013 - changes that are expected to minimize the problem⁵.

Another limitation emerges from evidence concerning inaccurate self-reporting of religiosity due to the "social desirability" bias (see Weinreb & Blass, 2018). Although this limitation is also common to data from the LFS, we assume that this bias manifests more prominently in the answer to the question of religiosity of the family at age 15. According to the research literature, the reliability of self-reporting on the family's level of religiosity depends on the level of religiosity of the country (Gebauer & Sedikides, 2010). Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the social desirability bias would have led to an underreporting of changes - meaning fewer Yotzim would report that they grew up in a Haredi home, and fewer mitztarfim would report that they grew up in a non-Haredi home.

Moreover, the Social Survey appears to underrepresent Yotze adults. The age distribution of Yotzim in the Social Survey does not correspond to the age distribution as found in the work of Regev & Gordon and Deutsch & Shenfeld. A possible explanation for the inconsistency: adult Yotzim tend not to answer accurately the question of the religiosity of the home in which they grew up, because over time it seems to them that their family of origin would not be considered Haredi today, and they interpret the question "Did you grow up in a Haredi home" according to contemporary Haredi norms. More in-depth studies are required to examine this matter.

5. Today Haredim are included in the variables used to create the sampling strata (based on administrative data) and these are expected to reduce their non-response. In addition, since today Haredim are included in the variables used to create the weighting coefficients, it is likely that their weighting is representative. To assess the non-response problem, we examined the ratio between the weighted population estimate and the number of observations in the survey - a value that represents the degree of representation of each observation. The analysis shows a great similarity between non-Haredi and Haredi Jews.

Chart 1: Distribution of age groups using the three methods (%)



3. The Yotzim's characteristics

In summary:

- The number of individuals leaving Haredi society in 2022 is estimated at approximately 3,500. According to the statistical forecast, within a decade this number will increase to 5,000 leavers per year. More than 16,000 have left in the past five years ("recent leavers") and within a decade their number is expected to increase to about 23,000 recent leavers.
- Around 80% of Yotzim identify as religious or traditional, but the different sources provide inconsistent data about the proportion of Yotzim who identify as religious. According to the Social Survey, 45% of Yotzim define themselves as religious, while according to the LFS, 52% of GHYs define themselves as such, and Regev and Gordon's figure is 64%.
- Only a small proportion of Haredim and Yotzim have a college degree: 15% (Yotzim) and 7% (Haredi graduates of Haredi yeshivas) of men and around 25% (Yotzim) and around 30% (present Haredim) among women.
- A large proportion of Yotze men served in the IDF (57% compared to 8% among HFB Haredi. The rate of Yotze women who served in the IDF is low. When grouping military service and civilian service together, the rate of Yotze women who did their service is 26% compared to 61% among Yotze men.
- The familial structure of Yotzim is similar to that of non-Haredi Jews: in the 25-54 age group, the rate of married Yotzim stands at 62%, slightly below the rate among non-Haredi Jews (66%).

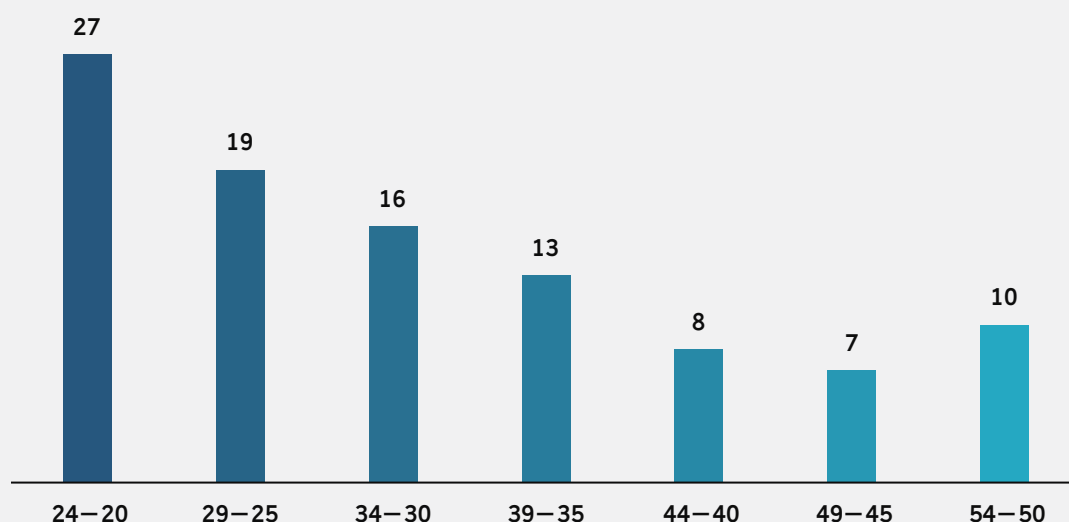
Most of the chapter's data is derived from the CBS Social Survey for the years 2017-2020. As per this survey, as mentioned, "Past Haredi" is identified by religiosity level of the family in which the individual grew up, at age 15. Alongside some of the analyzes we included a comparison with data derived from the LFS where Yotze is identified as a GHY (Deutsch & Shenfeld method). LFS data pertains to men only. For more on the methods, see Chapter 2.

3.1 Distribution of age groups among Yotzim

This section presents the age distribution of Yotzim, using data derived from the research of Regev & Gordon (2021), which differs from data obtained in the Social Survey (see Section 2.3).

The data shows that 46% of Yotzim fall into the 20-29 age group, 29% fall into the 30-39 age group and 25% fall into the 40-54 age group.

Chart 2: Distribution of age groups among persons aged 20-54
(source - Regev and Gordon 2021)



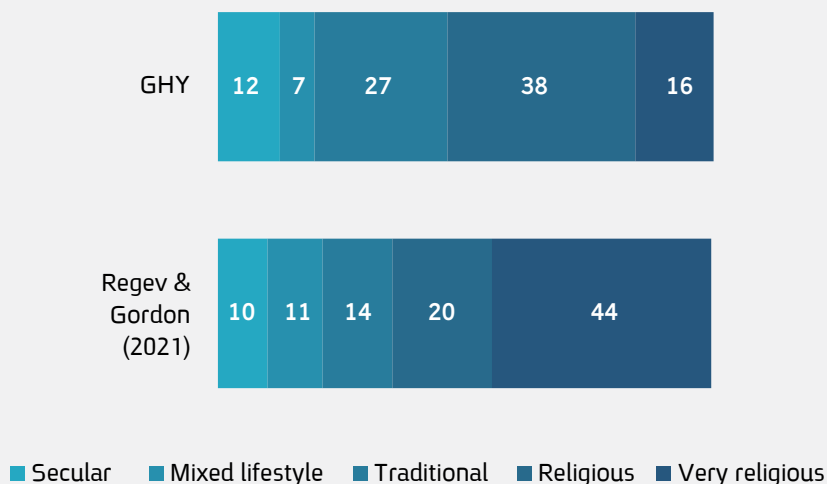
3.2 Religiosity levels among Yotzim

This Section presents the levels of religiosity according to the three methods: Regev and Gordon (derived from the 2017 LFS on men and women), Deutsch and Shenfeld (examining men who graduated from Haredi yeshivas on the basis of the 2017 LFS), and self-reported data in the Social Survey (average of the years 2017-2020).

We would like to stress that Regev and Gordon's analysis concerns men and women in the age group 20-60, while the analysis of GHYs addresses only men in the age group 25-59. Analysis of religiosity based on Social Survey data was grouped by gender (Chart 4 at the bottom of this chapter). Due to the categorization differences, not all the data derived from the Social Survey was compared to the data derived from the LFS.⁶

6. In the LFS the level of religiosity is classified by the household, while in the Social Survey the level of religiosity is classified by the individual. In addition, the categories used in the two surveys are different: in the LFS, a religious person may respond "religious" or "very religious"; and in the Social Survey, a traditional person may respond "traditional religious" or "traditional not very religious".

Chart 3: Distribution of level of religiosity - comparison of data from Regev and Gordon's research (men and women) and data about "GHYs" (men) from the 2017 LFS



According to Regev and Gordon, 64% of Yotzim self-classify as religious or very religious, and 20% as traditional. On the other hand, in the analysis of GHYs in the 2017 LFS it was found that 52% of Yotzim self-classified as religious or very religious, and 27% as traditional. In fact, both methods obtained a similar figure regarding the proportion of Yotzim who self-classify as very religious to traditional (79% in Regev and Gordon compared to 81% in the GHY method), and the difference between them is in the frequency of Yotzim who self-classify as "very religious": Regev and Gordon present a high proportion of these. In a comparative analysis of men versus women in the Social Survey, the distribution among the two groups were found to be similar. On average, 45% of those surveyed (men and women) self-classified as religious, 45% religious-traditional or not very religious-traditional, versus 21% who identified as secular.⁷ This data supports our hypothesis that the reason for the difference in the data between Regev and Gordon's approach and the GHY approach lies in the differing self-classification categories, and not in the age differences or the exclusion of women when identifying Yotzim by looking at GHYs.⁸

However, we wish to stress again that the sample size in the Social Survey is relatively small, with the chance of sampling errors increasing accordingly, especially in the comparison between men and women.

7. The figures do not add up to 100% due to number rounding.

8. It is possible that the difference was caused by the exclusion of 20-24-year-olds when identifying former Haredim by GHYs. In order to test the plausibility of this hypothesis, we performed an analysis of yeshiva graduates by age groups for the years 2016-2019 (see diagram at the bottom of the chapter). The data reveals similarity between the age subgroups in the 25-59 age group, except for a difference in the older age group, 45-59 years old. No meaningful difference was found in the age subgroups among 25-44 years old, so it is likely that the difference was not caused by the exclusion of the younger age group.

**Chart 4: Distribution of levels of religiosity among men and women aged 20-59
(Social Survey 2017-2020)**



Source: Data from the CBS Social Survey for the years 2017-2020, extrapolated by the Out for Change research department

3.3 The numbers of Yotzim

We use Regev and Gordon's assumptions to forecast the number of Haredim expected to leave Haredi society every year in the coming decade.⁹

According to the forecasts, approximately 3,500 people will leave Haredi society in 2022, followed by another 3,600 in 2023. Within a decade, the number of leavers per annum will reach 5,000. The number of new leavers - those who left Haredi society in the preceding five years - currently standing at 16,300 - is expected to reach 16,900 by 2023, and 23,000 within a decade.

Regev & Gordon grouped the data into five-year class intervals. In order to calculate leaving projections continuously for all years, we made adjustments.¹⁰ Our adjustments reduced the estimated number of leavers in the years 2018-2022, but the long-term effect was minor.¹¹

9. The researchers forecast that approximately 14% of every year-group will leave Haredi society: 4.5% at age 15, 8% of the remaining population at age 20, and the rest at age 25. In their forecasts, the researchers used 5-year class intervals.

10. We made the assumption that transitions are not factored into the estimated size of the population for 2017 - that is, the estimate includes the leavers, while Regev & Gordon make the assumption that the estimated population size for the year does not include the leavers (therefore, our working assumption reduces the Haredi year-group in the base year).

11. In the original calculation grouped into five-year class intervals - in 2018-2022, 16.9 thousand people left Haredi society, as opposed to 16.3 in the current calculation; in the years 2023-2027, 19.3 thousand will leave, compared to our forecast of 19.1 thousand leaving; and in the years 2028-2032 the difference between the forecasts narrowed: 23 thousand leavers in the original calculation, compared to 22.9 according to our calculations.

Chart 5: The number of leavers per year according to data and forecasts (in thousands)

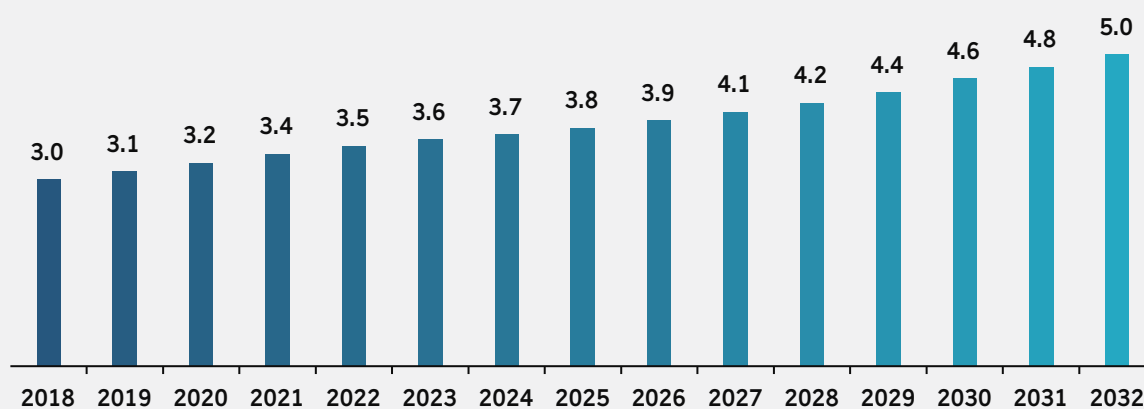
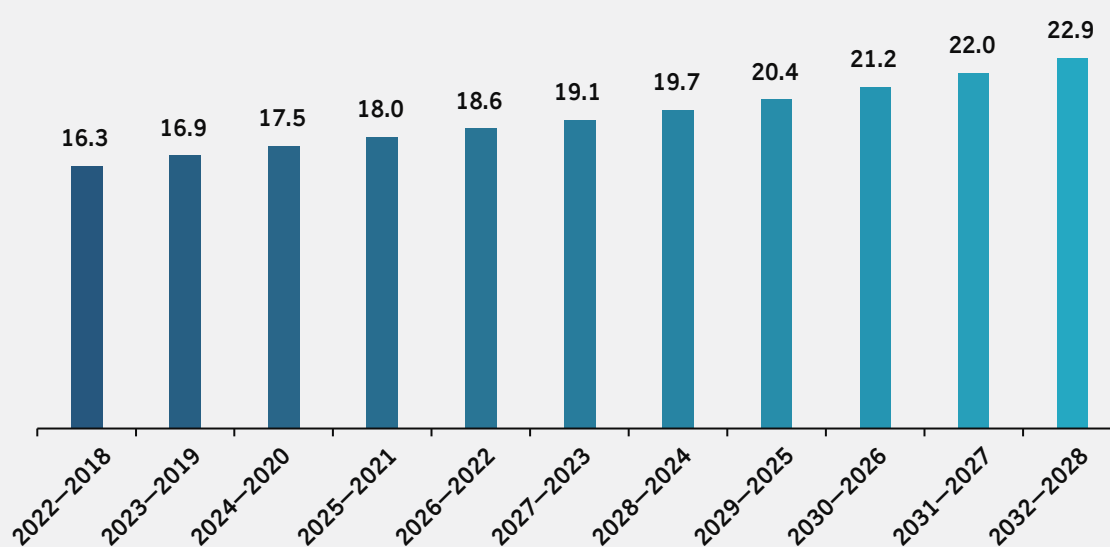


Chart 6: Forecasts of the number of new leavers - people who will have left Haredi society in the preceding five years (in thousands)



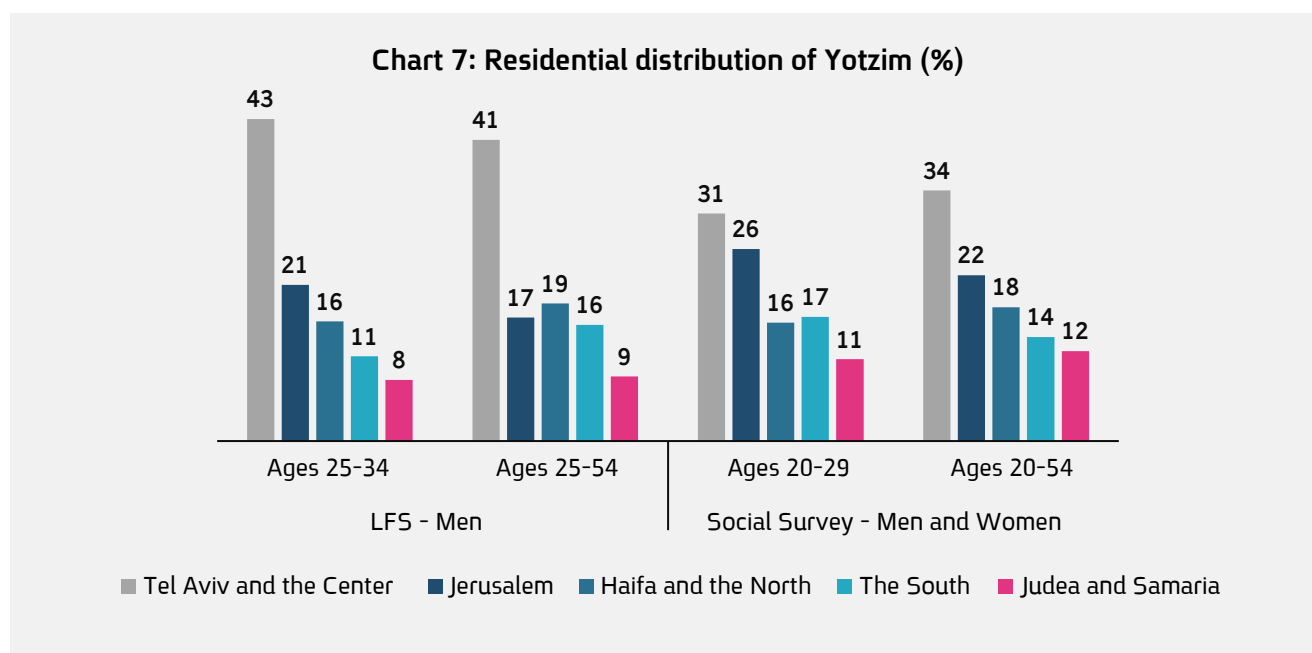
3.4 Areas of residence

The population of Yotzim aged 20-54 is dispersed throughout the country.

According to the Social Survey, 22% of Yotzim live in the Jerusalem District, 34% in the Tel Aviv and Central Districts, 18% of all Yotzim live in the Haifa and Northern Districts, 14% live in the Southern District and another 12% live in the Judea and Samaria Districts (Chart 7). The data includes men and women. An analysis performed for men and women separately did not yield any meaningful differences. The distri-

bution of residences is also similar among the 20-29 age group, the first years of leaving Haredi society. This figure is relevant to developing services for Yotzim at the beginning of their journey.

On the other hand, according to the LFS and analysis of the data on men aged 25-54, the proportion of Yotzim living in the Tel Aviv and Central districts is 41%, and in the Jerusalem district only 17%. The residential distribution among the younger age group (25-34 LFS) was found to be similar to the average among ages 25-54. The differences between the surveys can be attributed to their differing definitions of Yotzim, the differing age ranges, and sampling errors resulting from the relatively small number of observations in the Social Survey.



Source: Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 and LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

3.5 Higher education

A relatively low rate of Yotzim and Haredim have obtained an academic degree

Educational data is presented separately for men and women, because the education offered in the Haredi education system differs significantly by gender. We present the educational data on males from two resources: the first is the LFS that identifies a former Haredi as a GHY (Deutsch and Shenfeld method), and the second source is the Social Survey data where a former Haredi is identified by religiosity of the family home, at age 15.

The chart shows the distribution of the highest educational certificate, using the following categories:

- High-school completion diploma or lower (elementary school or no education)
- Matriculation certificate
- Other: other certificate including Post-secondary certificate
- Academic degree, including bachelor's, master's or doctorate

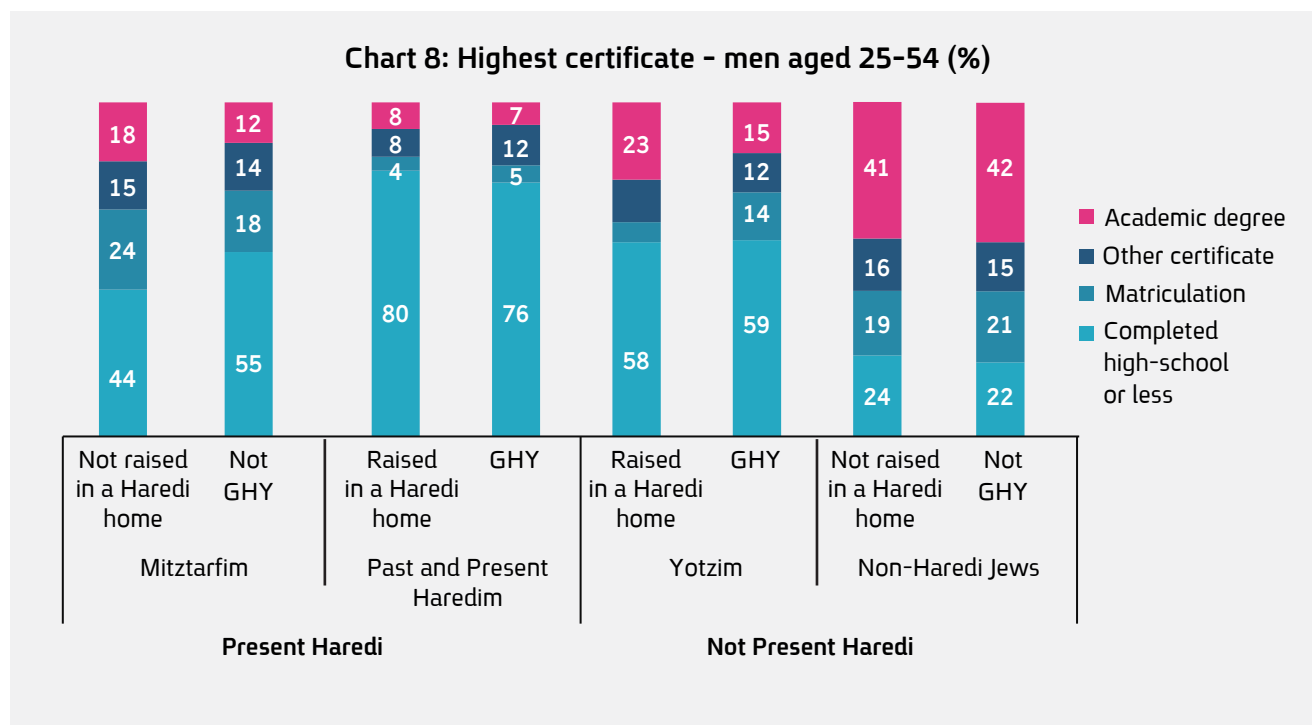
The data shows that the rate of Yotzim with academic degrees - both among women and among men - is very low compared to non-Haredi Jews and closer to the rate among Present Haredi and GHYs.

The percentage of former Haredi males with academic degrees stands at 15%, and the percentage of GHYs with academic degree currently stands at 7%. Compared to these two groups, the proportion among males who are not Present Haredi and were not Past Haredi, stands at 42%. Social Survey data paints a similar picture, but with a higher chance of sampling error.

It is important to emphasize: we cannot conclude from the data that Yotzim are more successful among those who apply to academic studies. The rate of Haredi men who apply for academic education is relatively low since certain groups avoid integrating into the labor market, and also due to ideological opposition to higher education. Therefore, this data should not be construed as representative of the level of success in academic studies.

Among women, there is a gap between the rate of academic degrees - where there are similar percentages among Yotze women (around 25%) and Haredi women raised in a Haredi home (30%) - and the rate of women who hold a certificate attesting to studies beyond high-school (academic and other), around 70% of Haredi women raised in a Haredi home and around 45% of former Haredi women. Some factors contributing to this gap may be a higher rate of leavers among women graduates of Haredi educational institutions where the students sit for matriculation exams (such as Chabad institutions), and a considerable percentage of former Haredi women who chose to leave Haredi educational institutions before completing studies that grant a vocational certificate.¹² In any case, these findings must be qualified - the number of observations of Yotze women between ages 25-54 is relatively low (49), and the chance of sampling errors in this group is relatively high.

It is likely that Haredi men and Yotze men share most of the barriers to acquiring higher education



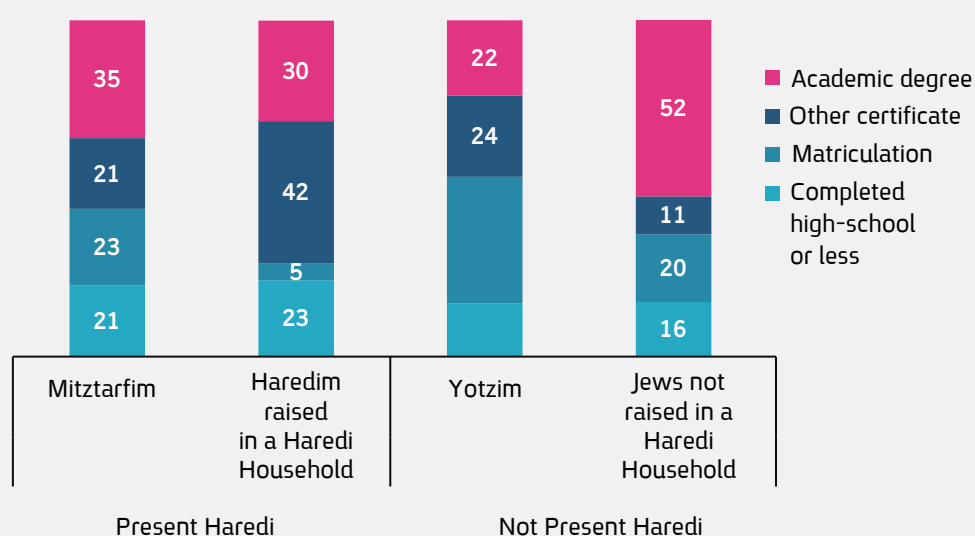
Source: Extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change

12. For the most part, certificates categorized as "other certificates" are vocational certificates given in a post-secondary school. Vocational certificate study tracks are common in Haredi girls' schools, in grades 13 and 14.

- Raised in a Haredi home: based on the Social Survey for the years 2017-2020 among those aged 25-54
- Graduates of a Haredi yeshiva: using the LFS for the years 2016-2019 among men born in Israel aged 25-54

In the categories where the chance of a sampling error is relatively high - see definition in the appendix - we used a graphic representation (and no numerical labels).

Chart 9: Highest certificate - women aged 25-54 (%)



Source: Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among women aged 25-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change

In the categories where the chance of a sampling error is relatively high - see definition in the appendix - we used a graphic representation (with no numerical labels).

Box 1: Integration of graduates of Haredi education into higher education and the job market

Only a low rate of graduates of Haredi education go on to pursue higher education. This is consistent with the extremely low workforce productivity of Haredim. Developing the human capital of graduates of Haredi education, including developing programs to integrate them into academia and vocational training, was recognized as a national interest in government decisions and in the Employment Committee report. In order to improve the skills of workers and increase their level of workforce productivity, the state supports programs to integrate Haredim into higher education. In the first years of the programs' operation, Yotzim did not get to benefit from them, despite also having low levels of education and despite facing barriers that are identical to those of the Haredim, as we will describe below.

The main barrier is a combination of educational deficits and unacquired study skills (Ministry of Labor and Welfare, 2020; Levy, 2021; Regev, 2016). Another major barrier is financial struggles. These strug

gles may delay registration for studies and even lead to attrition, because of the need to combine studies and work. The source of the financial struggles differs between Haredim and Yotzim, but the struggle is common to both populations. Among Haredim, the economic struggles result from starting a family at a young age and the need to earn a living at the same time as studying; while among Yotzim, the economic struggles result from an absence of family support (Horowitz, 2018; Levy, 2021).

These barriers are compounded by barriers that are common to all closed groups, such as: cultural differences, an absence of informal knowledge about the studies and the demands of the educational institutions (Horowitz, 2018; Levy, 2021). These barriers are common to Yotzim and Haredim. Other barriers are more common to Haredim. For example: a preference for segregated study, or a lack of societal support for academic studies (Horowitz, 2018; Rubin, 2020). On the other hand, among Yotzim, separation from their family may intensify the financial obstacle. Another struggle commonly faced by Yotzim, is the time and emotional resources spent on acclimatizing to a society with unfamiliar cultural norms, while undergoing shifts in identity (Horowitz, 2018). These barriers persist over the course of the studies and are not limited to the beginning stages of academic study; this is reflected in high dropout rates, as is the case among graduates of Haredi education (Regev, 2016).

The dedicated programs for Haredim in academic studies started operating in the late 1990s, promoted by the Planning and Budgeting Committee of the Council for Higher Education (Malach et al 2016 ,.). The scope of support has expanded over the years, and by 2017, dedicated tracks for Haredim were operating in 19 colleges and universities. The participants in these tracks received concessions to their Haredi lifestyle, including an implemented dress code, and various benefits such as eased admission criteria, tutoring, adapted study programs and state-funded scholarships (Horowitz, 2018; Shenfeld, 2020). These tracks actually excluded Yotzim, requiring them to "dress up" as Haredim in order to enjoy the benefits.

Unlike other examples, the criteria of the Planning and Budgeting Committee never discriminated against Yotzim, but on the ground this had no effect. During the period in question, there were no programs for Yotzim, with the exception of a pioneering program for Yotzim students at the Hebrew University. The program was started with the involvement of Out for Change. In 2015 it was implemented in the pre-academic preparation program ("mechina") , and in 2016 in the degree courses as well (Shenfeld, 2020).

In 2017, the Council for Higher Education approved a five-year plan to expand access to higher education for graduates of Haredi education. The program allocated a budget for scholarships and other assistance such as additional lessons, personal tutoring, psychological support, and diagnostic testing for learning disabilities (Zilbershatz, 2017). The essential change: for the first time, the program included an explicit clause prohibiting discrimination against Yotzim. This was achieved as an outcome of the long-term activity of Out for Change, which campaigned for Yotzim to enjoy equal benefits to their Haredi cousins (public hearing - five-year program for Haredim - Part 3, 2016). The much-needed change began to percolate in recent years, with dedicated tracks for Yotzim opening in additional academic institutions, both for students in the pre-academic preparation programs and those studying for a degree (Shenfeld, 2020).

While the directive of the Council for Higher Education to include Yotzim in the budgets resulted in new dedicated programs, the implementation of the Council for Higher Education's directive to avoid discrimination against Yotzim in its scholarship programs encountered difficulties. The Council for Higher Education's scholarship program was operated by the Haredi Kemach Foundation (Avgar, 2018), which chose to direct the scholarship budgets to Present Haredim only.¹³ After an exchange on the matter between the Kemach Foundation and the Council for Higher Education, it was maintained that Yotzim are also entitled to Council for Higher Education scholarships through the Kemach Foundation (Avgar, 2018), however it is not known whether and to what extent this directive was implemented. In 2021, the operation of the Council for Higher Education's scholarship program was transferred to the Aluma Association (Council for Higher Education notice, 2021). Between the years 2008-2017, in addition to the scholarships provided by the Council for Higher Education, the Ministry of Education operated a scholarship program for Haredi students (Avgar, 2018), and other scholarships were awarded to Haredi students by private bodies, such as the Yedidut Toronto scholarship program (Haredim in Academia, Yedidut Toronto website). Yotze students with a secular lifestyle could benefit from the scholarship program of the Hillel Association (Education, Hillel website, individuals leaving the faith).

In 2021, the Council for Higher Education published a tender for a program that was to offer counseling and support to students who graduated from Haredi education. The tender contained an explicit reference to Yotzim. The services offered in the program: academic counseling and expectation-management before studies commence, support throughout the studies, assistance finding employment. All of the above was available in addition to the scholarships provided by the Council for Higher Education, and the budgeted aid packages available from the academic institutions (Council for Higher Education tender, 2021).

Today, despite high employment rates among Yotzim, a high proportion of them are in low-quality employment. This indicates a low productivity rate derived from a lack of marketable skills. However, the changes that have taken place in recent years encourage optimism that the population of Yotzim - which had previously been neglected, as aforesaid - will be helped by the numerous new services and resources, helping to develop marketable skills among Yotzim, through the acquisition of higher education, and integration into high-quality employment.

13. The Council for Higher Education's scholarship program has been operating since 2012. The program replaced the "Haredim for the future" scholarships provided by the Ministry of Economy and Industry (Avgar, 2018).

3.6 Israel Defense Forces (IDF) service and civilianservice

61% of Yotze men and 26% of Yotze women served in the IDF or in civilian service.

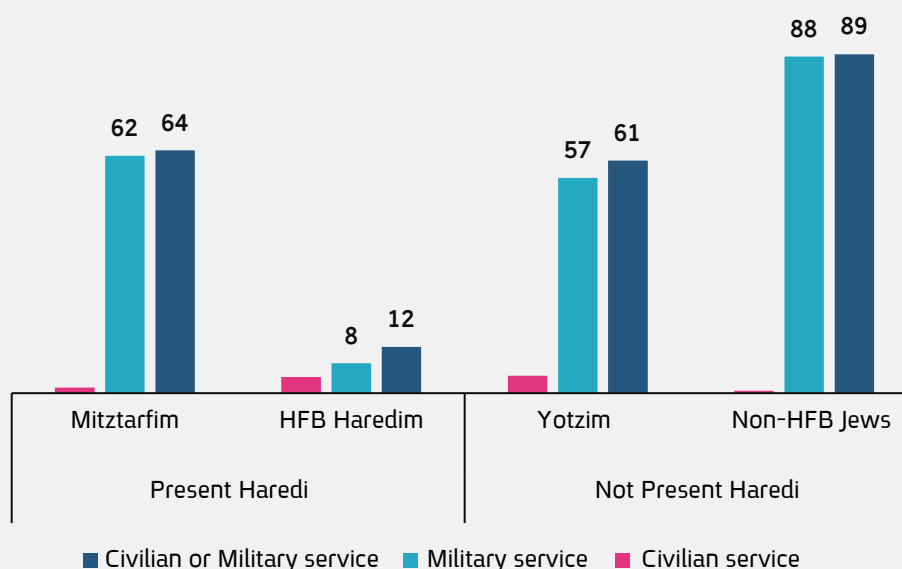
57% of Yotze men served in the IDF - compared to 8% among Haredi men.

Past data suggests that a high proportion of Yotzim serve in the IDF: out of nearly 2,000 GHYs serving in the IDF, around 50% served in general IDF units and not in dedicated tracks for Haredim (Eliyahu, 2020).¹⁴ It is likely that the vast majority of these conscripts did not maintain a Haredi lifestyle. Here, representative data on the proportion of Yotzim serving in the IDF is revealed for the first time.

This new data, extrapolated from the CBS Social Survey, shows that a relatively high proportion of *Yotze* men enlisted in the IDF, 57%, compared to 87% of non-Haredi Jews and only 8% of Haredi men raised in a Haredi home. As expected, the proportion of *mitztarfim* who served in the IDF is also high, at 62%. The rate of *Yotze* women serving in the IDF was relatively low, and when weighted with civilian service, the rate of *Yotze* women who carried out their service was 26%.¹⁵

These figures are higher than previous assessments, according to which only 40% of *Yotze* men chose to serve in the IDF (Horowitz, 2018).

Chart 10: Military or civilian service among men (%)



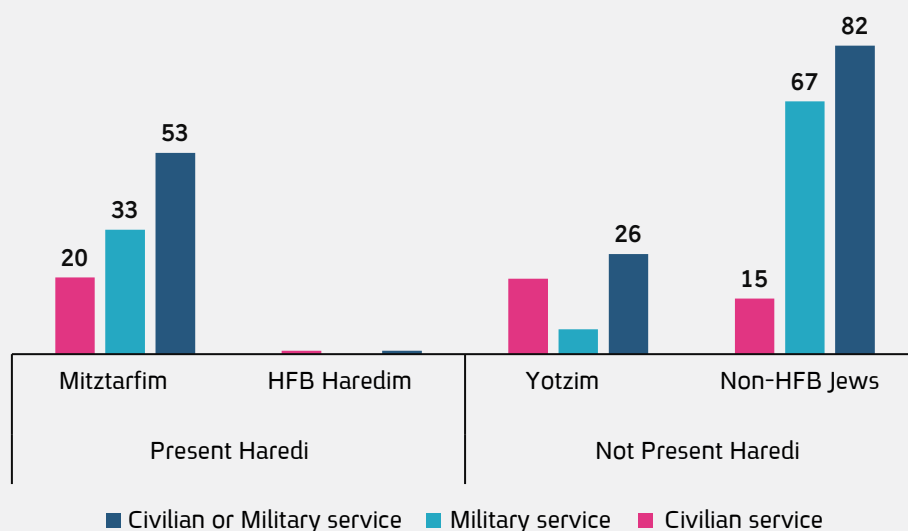
Source: Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among male Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

In categories where the chance of a sampling error is relatively high - see definition in the appendix - we used a graphic representation (with no figures).

14. Under the Equal Burden Law (IDF 2014), Haredi recruits are defined as graduates of Haredi educational institutions who meet certain conditions regarding length of study and institutional character - disregarding the level of religiosity of the recruit. This means, therefore, that Yotzim are included in the count of Haredi conscripts. For more on this, see the "Numa Report" (IDF 2020 a).

15. The chance of sampling error in the proportion of men who did civilian service and the proportion of women who did military service is high relative to the values of these variables. Therefore, the columns show data exclusively for men who did military service and women who did military or civilian service.

Chart 11: Military or civilian service - women (%)

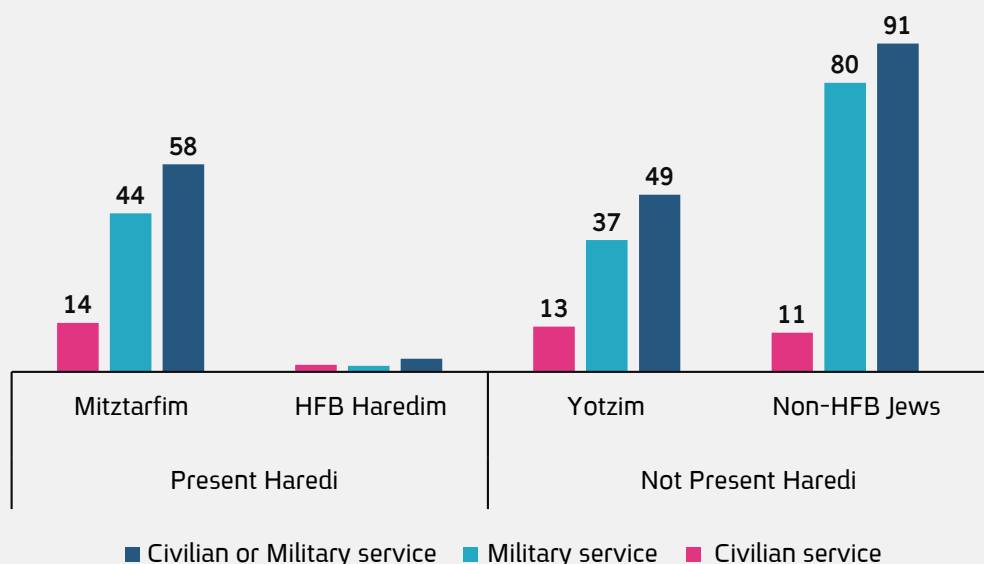


Source: Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among female Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

In categories where the chance of a sampling error is relatively high - see definition in the appendix - we used a graphic representation (with no figures).

Among young Yotzim, aged 20-29, the proportion of people doing service is higher; 49% served in the IDF or did civilian service.

Chart 12: Military or civilian service among persons aged 20-29 (%)



Source: Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

Ages 20-29 - the data shown pertains to men and women.

In the categories where the chance of a sampling error is relatively high - see definition in the appendix - we used a graphic representation (with no figures).

Box 2: Yotzim in the IDF - a historical perspective, barriers, and achievements

Even though under the Equal Burden Law, Yotzim who enlist are classified as Haredim (see Numa report - IDF, 2020 a), and Yotzim appear to constitute around half of those classified as Haredi recruits (Eliyahu, 2020) - Yotzim did not enjoy the special benefits awarded to Haredi soldiers until recently.

In order to encourage Haredi recruitment, the IDF granted a variety of benefits to soldiers serving in the dedicated tracks for Haredim, including placement in coveted positions taking into account personal qualities and not military classification scores, initial psychotechnic grading, and educational and cultural gaps. Graduates of Haredi education who at the time of recruitment were not Haredi did not enjoy these benefits (Almsi, 2018; Fidelman, 2014). For years, Yotzim were not recognized as a distinct population and no dedicated programs were put in place to integrate them into the military (Almsi, 2018).

Ending discrimination in the army was one of the foremost goals of Out for Change. Over the years, Out for Change operated alongside the army, and was partner to a series of decisions that gradually improved the status of Yotzim. In 2013, for the first time, the IDF published a procedure recognizing Yotzim as Haredi. This procedure included a variety of benefits to which both Haredim and Yotzim are entitled. It has been argued that the procedure was only partially implemented and that it dissipated over time. It is only since 2018, following several years of policy work led by Out for Change, that the procedures were refined, and it became possible for all graduates of Haredi education - regardless of their level of religiosity and regardless of the type of unit in which they serve - to benefit from educational courses during the last four months of their service, as offered by the Haredi Military Administration (Almes, 2018).

But implementation challenges arose in this procedure too. For example: many Yotzim (and Haredim who served in the non-Haredi units) could not take part in the high-school diploma courses since they were officially classified as graduates of 12 years of schooling. Furthermore, the procedures were only partially implemented, and the unit had to agree to release the soldier, as opposed to what happens in the Haredi units, where the courses are structured as part of the program; the courses available were of a lower standard than the courses offered in the Haredi tracks (which included pre-academic preparation courses, completion and improvement of matriculation exams, diploma studies in practical engineering and other vocational studies) (Eliyahu, 2020).

In 2021, the IDF published a new procedure, according to which all soldiers who graduated from Haredi education - including Yotzim who serve in the general units - must be granted the same rights as those offered to Haredi recruits. This policy was defined as bridging the gaps "that have existed over the years between the policies applied in the designated Haredi units, and those applied to graduates of Haredi education who do not serve in those units."

The policy granted rights before enlistment: postponed recruitment in order to improve quality markers (military classification scores and initial psychotechnical grading) by completing matriculation exams, acquiring a trade, etc.; supplemental education (pre-academic preparation courses or obtaining a degree

prior to conscription) at the recruitment stage and not following service; consideration for all positions, on the basis of personal interviews (and not solely on the basis of quality markers). Additionally, the reform addressed rights awarded during service: exceptional recognition of a "lone soldier" - examination of eligibility in cases where the soldier lacks a supportive family network, even if there is some contact with the family; easing the selection criteria for officer training - evaluation based on the recommendations of commanders and based on officer-training entrance exams - and not on the basis of quality markers.

The reform also granted rights following the end of the service: participation in programs preparing for life after the army - making up schooling/obtaining a high-school graduation diploma/preparing for matriculation during the final eight months of service; obtaining a professional qualification for the labor market; workshops preparing for civilian life; benefits granted by the Foundation and Unit for Discharged Soldiers in the Ministry of Defense.

In practice, graduates of Haredi education were not automatically categorized as such in the army's systems, and only conscripts and soldiers who had been assisted by various associations and applied to be recognized as graduates of Haredi education received recognition and rights. Furthermore, soldiers had to choose whether to study for a high-school graduation certificate, or to attend study programs during the final year of their military service. Female soldiers encountered a further obstacle: according to the policy, the Haredi military directorate remained in charge of the final-year study programs, and it was argued that due to technical constraints connected to the directorate's systems, former Haredi female soldiers struggled to exercise their right to final-year studies.

In July 2022, a policy was published that expanded and streamlined the previous policy (which went into effect in January 2021). According to the new policy, every conscript who studied at a Haredi institution from 8th grade onwards will be automatically recognized when they show up following their first summons. Additionally, it is possible to enter this designation manually on behalf of graduates of Haredi educational institutions that are not recognized as such in Ministry of Education records (primarily in cases of educational institutions associated with groups that refuse state funds and are therefore not recognized at all and their graduates are not covered by the Minister of Defense directive - see "Numa Report" (IDF, 2020 a). The same applies to educational institutions that are defined as "religious" in the records but in practice are Haredi, such as Chabad institutions. The designation of who the reform applies to was also updated - an "expanded definition" - to anyone who studied for any period of time in a Haredi educational institution, from 8th grade on (the policy had previously applied to those who studied at these institutions for at least two years following 8th grade) and the procedures were clarified so that the policy applies to both men and women.

The policy specifies many concessions that are to be made when assessing graduates of Haredi education for roles in the general units, including: repeated participation in the Selection Evaluation and Compatibility Day, in order to improve results; placement in selective units (aviation, navy, cyber, etc.) on the

basis of a personal interview and not on the basis of quality markers and more. It was also established that the final-year courses would be available in addition courses for obtaining a high-school diploma. The parties responsible for ensuring that soldiers serving in the general units head off for the final-year courses were also determined: the military Haredi directorate would be responsible for implementation among all male graduates of Haredi education, including Yotzim; and the Sha'ar La'atid directorate would be responsible for implementation among women.

The new policy, which is based on previous decisions and changes, aims to rectify years of injustice, and to match the rights of Yotzim and Haredim serving in the general units with those of Yotzim who serve in the Haredi units, as well as to allow female graduates of Haredi education to serve in the IDF with the help of the necessary concessions.

Looking ahead, we must ensure that these welcome changes are incorporated into the army's systems successfully, and that all the relevant parties in the IDF are made aware of the benefits granted to Yotzim and Haredim serving in the general units. Full implementation of the new policy will help Yotzim fully integrate into the IDF and will also help them in civilian life that awaits them following their service.

Table T-1-2: Summary of changes

Policy	Changes	Unaddressed issues
2013 procedure (IDF 2013)	First IDF procedure recognizing Yotzim as graduates of Haredi education.	Partial implementation, dissipated over time.
Equal Burden Law (2014)	A Haredi was defined by the nature of the educational institution where he studied, regardless of his current level of religiosity.	
2018 procedure (IDF 2018)	The opportunity to supplement education at the end of the military service is opened to all graduates of Haredi education serving in the general units, including Yotzim.	Study options for Yotzim were few compared to Present Haredim. No concessions for Yotzim during the selection and placement stage.
2021 procedure (IDF 2021 b)	The IDF recognizes a soldier who is a graduate of Haredi education irrespective of their current level of religiosity or whether they serve in a designated Haredi unit. Bringing the concessions offered to soldiers serving in the general units up to the standard of those offered to soldiers serving in the designated units for Haredim: adapted screening procedures, offering the possibility of officer training, completing education, etc.	Graduates of Haredi education who serve in the general units - current soldiers or upcoming conscripts - were required to apply to the relevant associations for recognition and assistance and were forced to choose between obtaining a high-school graduation certificate or attending final-year courses. Female soldiers who graduated from Haredi educational institutions struggled to exercise their right to attend final-year courses.
Procedure for recognizing graduates of Haredi education as lone soldiers (IDF 2021)	Recognition even if the soldier has some contact with the family.	
2022 Procedure (IDF 2022)	Graduates of Haredi education are automatically identified at the initial stage of the first draft order. The possibility of obtaining a high-school graduation certificate as well as attending final-year courses is introduced. The opportunity offered to female graduates of Haredi education to attend final-year courses is formally arranged.	

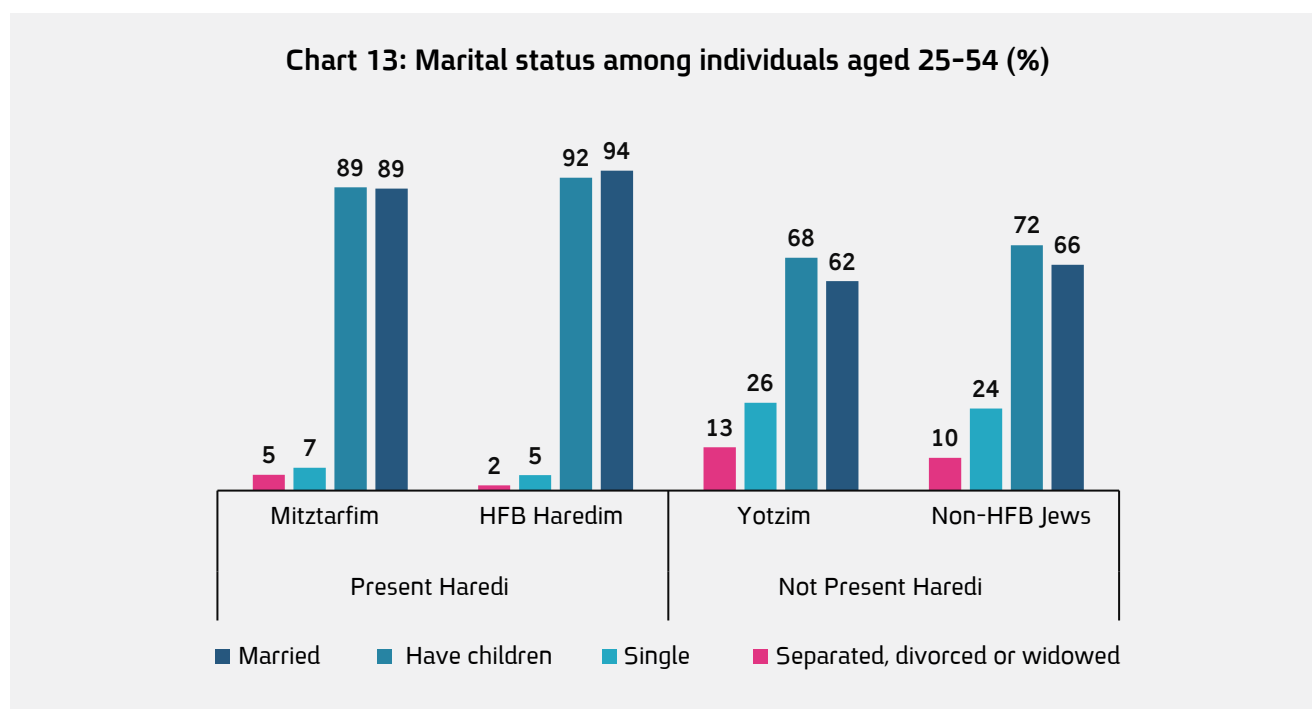
3.7 Marital Status

The family lives of Yotzim are similar to those of non-Haredi Jews from a non-Haredi home (Chart 13).

On average for the years 2017-2020, 62% of *Yotzim* aged 25-54 were married, compared to 66% among Jews from a non-Haredi home, 94% among Haredim from a Haredi home and 89% among *mitztarfim*. Around a quarter of Yotzim were single, which is similar to the rate among non-Haredi Jews from a non-Haredi home, and a significantly higher rate than the proportion of singles among Haredim, most of whom are married, as mentioned. Even the divorce rate among Yotzim does not vary significantly from the divorce rate among non-Haredi Jews.¹⁶

The rate of divorced/separated/widowed Yotzim stands at 13%. Please note: there is a relatively high chance of sampling error in connection with this figure.

The family lives of Yotzim are similar to those of non-Haredi Jews

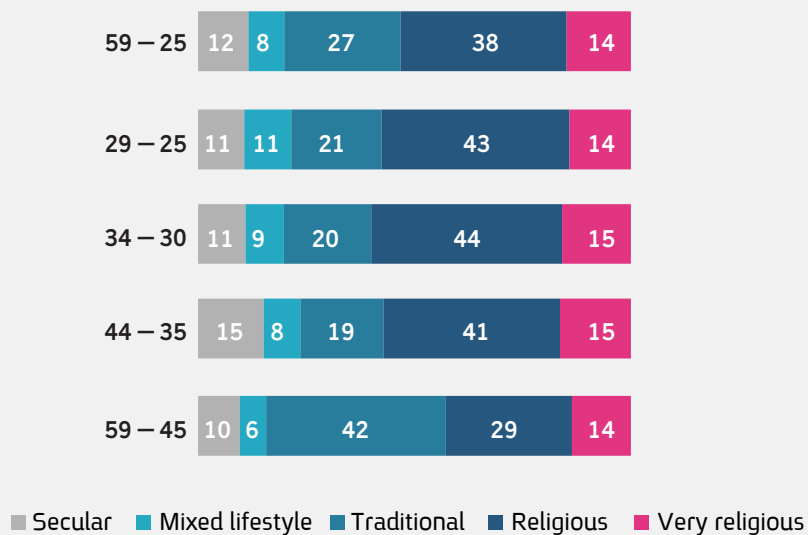


Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

¹⁶ It should be noted that there is a relatively high proportion of young people among Yotzim, so if we were to weight the proportion of married people with the age distribution of non-Haredi Jews, it is likely that the proportion of married people among Yotzim would increase.

3.8 Supplementary data

Chart 14: Religiosity levels among Yotzim using the Deutsch and Shenfeld method (GHYs who are not Present Haredi) by age group (LFS 2016–2019)



4. Employment among men

Summary:

- The labor force participation of Yotzim is similar to that of non-Haredi Jews, but in terms of employment characteristics they are closer to Haredi GHYs.
- In the years 2016-2019, the employment rate among Yotzim increased from 79% to 83%, and the average for those years was 81%. The employment rate among non-Haredim was 90% in all those years. Among Haredi GHYs, the employment rate ranged between 48%-49%, and was 60% among mitztarfim men.
- The participation of Yotzim in the labor force is high, but far from being fully realized. The gap between labor supply and employment in practice is the largest among Yotzim, and therefore the potential for improvement among them is higher compared to among Haredim and non-Haredi Jews.
- Most Yotzim are employed in low-skilled professions, where the average wage is low.
- Amongst all those employed, the proportion of Yotzim employed in high-tech is similar to the proportion of Haredim who are GHYs.

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, for the first time in the research literature, representative data is presented about employment among *Yotze* men and the unemployment rates among them, as well as an analysis of their standards of employment, including the proportion of men employed in high-tech.¹⁷ The Yotzim discussed in this chapter are identified using the Deutsch and Shenfeld method, which identifies Yotzim as GHYs who do not currently belong to a Haredi household. For details on this method, see Chapter 2.

The source of the information in this chapter is the CBS's LFS¹⁸ for the years 2016-2021, which surveys a large population, enabling sub-segmentation and monitoring of employment trends. The analyses in the chapter apply to Jewish men, born in Israel, aged 25-54.

The data shows that the participation of Yotzim in the labor force (actual employment and jobseekers) is similar to that among non-Haredi Jews, but their professions differ considerably; Yotzim are employed in occupations with low workforce productivity, which require low levels of skill and are characterized by low wages, even compared to Haredim who are GHYs. The proportion of employees in high-tech professions and occupations requiring higher education, who are GHYs - whether Past Haredim or Present Haredim - is very low.

17. The chapter is an excerpt from a paper that will be published soon.

18. The LFS includes repeated responses and new responses. The basis of the analysis is a rolling average of two consecutive years. Minimum individual observations in two consecutive years: 350 in the pre-COVID years and 313 in the COVID years.

The data also shows that the unemployment rate (people actively seeking employment) among Yotzim is high - both in relation to their share in the labor force and in relation to the entire population. The high rate of jobseekers indicates the potential to increase the employment rate, which already is very high compared to the employment rate among Present Haredim.

4.2 Employment indices

4.2.1 Employment rate

The employment rate among Yotzim was 81% - compared to 90% among non-Haredi Jews and 48% among Haredi GHYs

Employment rates are shown for two employment definitions:

- **Employed:** all the employed persons working in the week preceding the survey, including those who were temporarily absent from the workplace (due to vacation or leave of absence).
- **Employed in practice:** all employed persons who worked at least one hour in the week preceding the survey. Persons temporarily absent from the workplace are considered non-employed.

In the years 2016-2019, the employment rate among Yotzim increased from 79% to 83%. The average for those years was 81% (average data in table N-3 in the appendix). The employment rate among non-Haredi Jews stood at 90% throughout the entire period, among Haredi GHYs the employment rate ranged between 48% and 49% and was 60% among *mitztarfim* (Chart 15).

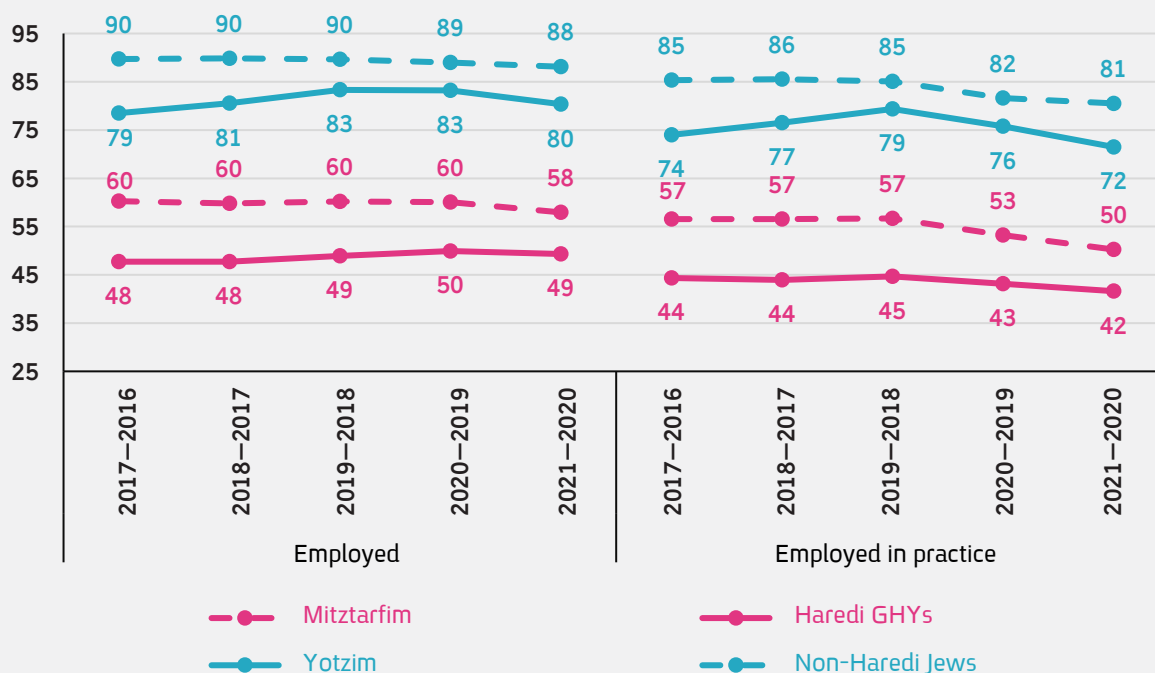
As mentioned, the data also includes employed persons who were on vacation or on leave. On the most part, such data paints a positive picture of the employment rate, since even those temporarily absent from their workplace had job security and a workplace to return to. In the COVID years (2020-2021) this changed: many employed people were put on unpaid leave and the state of the labor market changed. Therefore, treating those absent temporarily as employed could not produce a true picture of the employment rate and trends. In order to identify the actual employment rate during the COVID years and how it affected trends of integration into the employment market, we added as a comparative indicator, the rate of persons employed in practice versus the standard employment rate.¹⁹

According to the data, the COVID period was characterized by an overall drop in the rate of employed in practice, and the sharpest drop was recorded among Yotzim. In 2019, the rate of Yotzim employed in practice increased from 74% in 2016 to 79%, while in the COVID years the rate dropped to 72%. This figure weights a decrease of three percentage points in the standard employment rate and an increase of five percentage points in the rate of temporarily absent from the workplace.

19. The Bank of Israel also presented a similar distribution; in the annual report for 2021 (Bank of Israel 2022), employment data was presented with and without featuring temporary absences from the workplace.

The COVID years saw a decrease in the employment rate among Yotzim

Chart 15: Employment rate - all employed persons, and persons employed in practice



Source: LFS data for the years 2016-2021, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25-54.

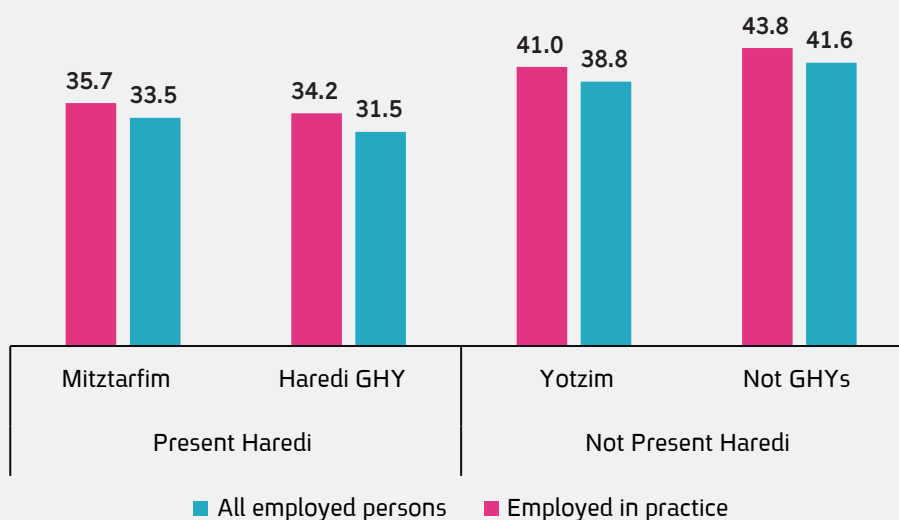
4.2.2 Average working hours

Two measures of the weekly working hours are presented (in accordance with the two employment definitions presented in the previous section):

- **Average working hours among all employed persons.** This figure also includes employed persons absent from their workplace in the week preceding the survey, and for whom zero working hours were entered.
- **Average working hours of persons employed in practice.** This figure includes employed persons who worked at least one hour in the week preceding the survey.

The average work hours of Yotzim are slightly lower than that of non-Haredi Jews and meaningfully higher than the average among Haredim - both GHYs and *mitztarfim*.

Chart 16: Average weekly working hours



Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25-54, who were employed during those years.

4.2.3 Unemployment rate and the potential to improve the employment rate

"Unemployed" are persons who were not employed when the survey was conducted but were actively looking for work. Members of this group wish to integrate into the labor market and are ready to invest in doing so.

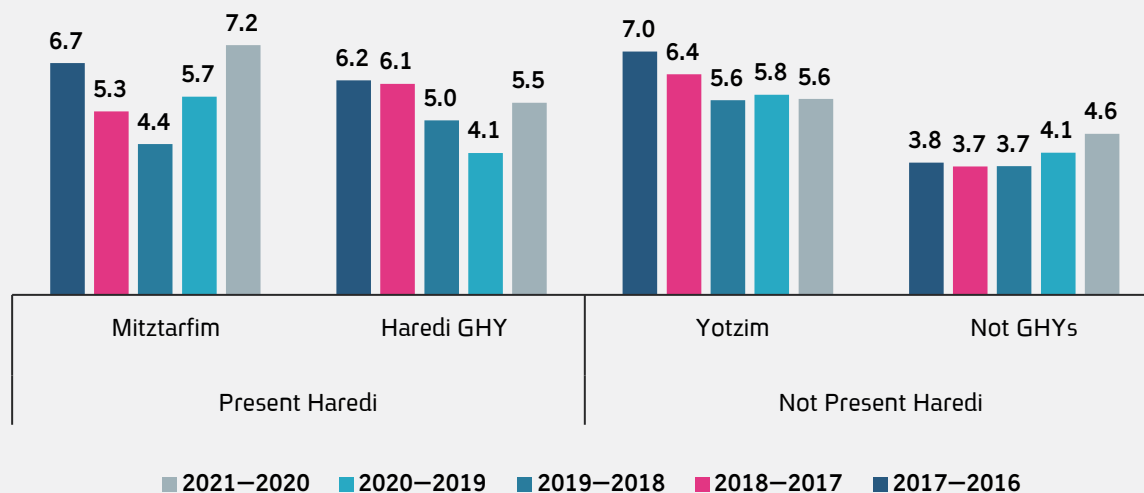
The primary finding that emerges from analysis of the data in this chapter demonstrates the potential for improving the employment rate among Yotzim. Although around 80% are employed, the unemployment rate among them is the highest in proportion to their numbers in the population.

A high rate of jobseekers among Yotzim

We present two measures of the unemployment rate:

- **Unemployment rate out of the workforce** (the workforce is the sum of persons in employment and jobseekers): shows the proportion of people actively seeking work in the 4 weeks preceding the survey. This is the standard definition of unemployment rates.
- **The proportion of persons who are unemployed or despairing of looking for work out of the total population.** This measure also includes jobseekers who are "despairing of looking for work", who are: unemployed, able and willing to work, who actively sought work in the preceding year, but did not look for work in the four weeks preceding the survey because they thought they would not find a suitable position. Unlike the unemployment rate, which is a percentage of the labor force only, in this measure the rate is relative to the entire population.

Chart 17: The proportion of unemployed persons and jobseekers in the workforce (%)



Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2021, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25-54.

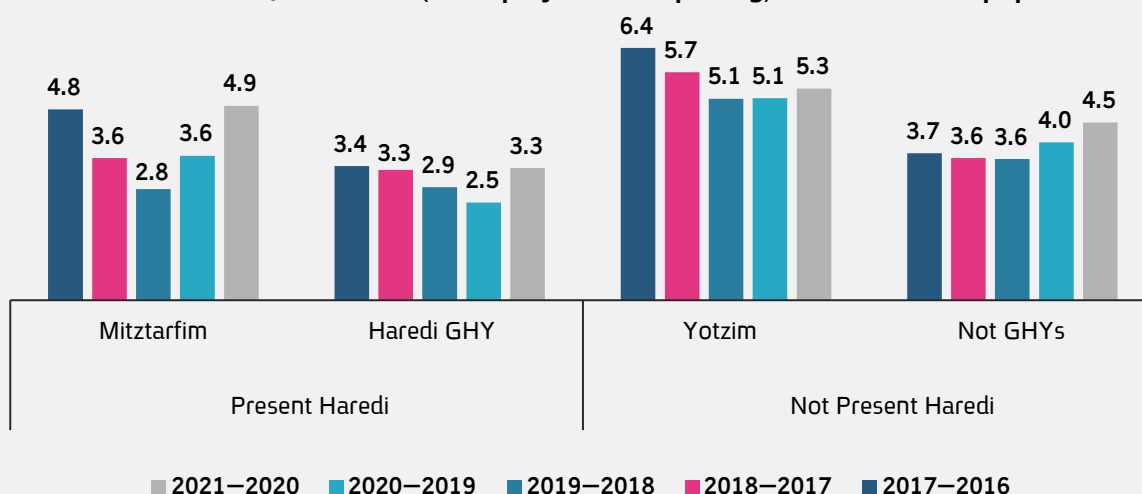
The average unemployment rate among Yotzim for the years 2016-2019 (Table N-3 in the appendix), was 6.3%. This rate is the highest among the groups: 3.8% among non-Haredi Jews, and 5.5% to 5.6% among Haredim. Between 2016 and 2019, the unemployment rate among Yotzim fell - in line with a national trend of falling unemployment rates. The falling rates of unemployment were halted during the COVID years (2020-2021).²⁰

In order to assess the potential for increasing the employment rate, we looked at the rate of jobseekers (persons unemployed under the definition given in the previous section) and those despairing of looking for work, out of the entire population, and not just out of the workforce. The data shows that the greatest potential for improving employment rates lies among Yotzim: the rate of jobseekers among them was 5.7%, compared to 3.1 to 3.8 percent as found among the other groups.

We would like to stress: although the employment rate among Yotzim is high - approximately 80% - the potential to increase the employment rate indicates the willingness of the Yotzim population to further its integration into the labor market and to exhaust the employment options available to it. This conclusion is self-evident when comparing the Yotzim population to the population of Haredi GHYs, amongst whom the rate of employment and jobseekers were lowest, resulting in the lowest labor supply.

20. Due to the size of the survey sample, the findings indicating changing unemployment rates should be treated with caution.

Chart 18: Rate of jobseekers (unemployed or despairing) out of the total population

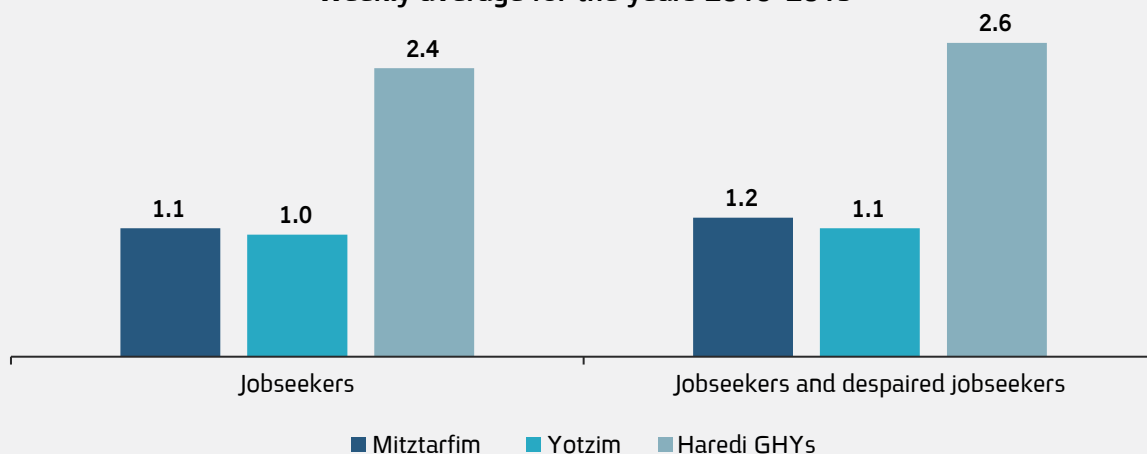


Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016–2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25–54.

The relative rate of jobseekers among Yotzim is twice the rate of jobseekers among Haredi GHYs

The relative unemployment rate (jobseekers) among Yotzim is twice that of Haredi GHYs - while the ratio of Yotzim to Haredi GHYs is 1:5–6, the ratio of unemployed persons is 5.2:1, on a weekly average; about 1,000 unemployed Yotzim, compared to 2,400 unemployed Haredi GHYs; and approximately 1,100 job-seeking or despairing Yotzim, compared to 2,600 among Haredi GHYs.

Chart 19: Total jobseekers or despairing jobseekers - in thousands - weekly average for the years 2016–2019

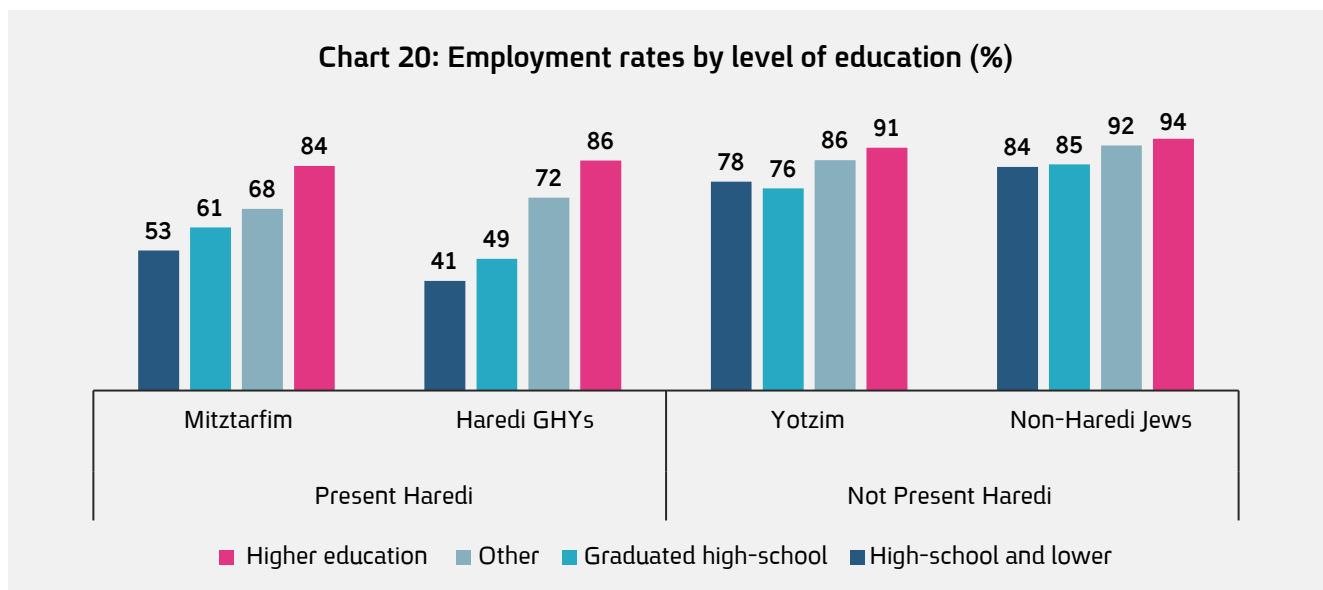


Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016–2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25–54.

4.2.4 Employment rates by education level

The employment rate among people with a higher education is highest amongst all employed groups. Comparing the groups, small differences were found in the employment rates among people with a higher education, and meaningful differences in employment rates among people with lower levels of education.

From this data it cannot be concluded whether it was the higher education itself that increased the employment rate, or whether the elevated employment rate among those applying for higher education indicates a previous desire of the applicants to work.



Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel, aged 25-54.

Box 3: The impact of Yotzim and mitztarfim on Haredi employment estimates

There are two main approaches to identifying Haredim - the first identifies Haredim according to self-classification in the CBS LFS and Social Surveys. The second classifies Haredim according to administrative data - mainly the nature of the educational institutions that the individual and their family members attended. The nature of the individual's educational institutions indicates a Haredi past, while the nature of their children's educational institutions is an indication of a Haredi present.

Portnoy's method (2007) is common in the second approach.

Another method for implementing the second approach identifies Haredi men according to an administrative record of GHYs up to the age of 19 (Zussman and Zupnik, 2021). Their method, which is similar to the method used in this paper, identifies GHYs by people who studied in a yeshiva ketana or gedolah but

not in Hesder yeshivas.²¹ Zupnik (2022) compared the employment rate derived from these two methods, and the employment rate using Haredi self-classification in the LFS. This paper presents an opportunity to compare these methods, as well as to analyze the potential impact of disregarding Yotzim, on estimates of the employment rate among all GHYs.

In a comparison, Zupnik found that in the LFS, the employment rate was 44%, compared to 48% using the Zussman and Zupnik method, and 50% using Portnoy's method. Zupnik speculated that it was biases in responses to the LFS that yielded the low rates in this survey, and did not note the possibility of an actual gap between the employment rate among young men who are Present Haredim - a group that includes Haredi GHYs and mitztarfim, and the employment rate among GHYs - a group that includes Yotzim and Present Haredim.

We present an equivalent analysis of the LFS data (Table T-1-3). Similar to Zupnik, the age range is 25-34. Unlike Zupnik, we included only men born in Israel. Since the number of observations of Yotzim and mitztarfim in the examined age group is low, we refer to the average rate obtained between 2016-2019, in contrast to Zupnik's annual breakdown.²²

The striking finding is that the employment rates among Haredim and GHYs are the same as the rates presented by Zupnik: 44% and 48%, respectively. On the other hand, the figures presented for the employment rates among subgroups of Haredim and among subgroups of GHYs, are different. A 48% employment rate among GHYs is a figure obtained by weighing a 42% employment rate among GHYs and 80% among Yotzim. Similarly, the figure he presented, a 44% employment rate among Haredim, was obtained by weighing 53% among mitztarfim and 42% among Haredim who graduated from yeshiva. From this it can be concluded that when eliminating Yotzim, the employment rate among GHYs aged between 25-34 is very low. Thus, it can be concluded that Yotzim elevate the employment rate among GHYs in the administrative data as well.

The employment rates among young Haredim who graduated from Haredi yeshivas is significantly lower than the employment rate among all young people who graduated from Haredi yeshivas.

21. Zussman and Zupnik used the yeshiva and kollel register until 2019, after omitting graduates of the Hesder yeshiva. It is true that their calculations include "kollel" students, but since the data pertains to students up to the age of 19, it must be assumed that the percentage of young people who joined the kollel without first studying in a yeshiva ketana or gedolah is very low, since the number of *mitztarfim* at that age is very low (Regev and Gordon 2021).

22. Zupnik's data for the years 2016-2019 showed stable employment rates, with moderate increases. Therefore, discussing the average of those years is not expected to compromise the comparison with 2019.

Table T-3-1: Employment rates among men aged 25-34 in 2016-2019, among Haredim and GHYs

	Jews who are not Present Haredim	Present Haredim	Total
Not GHYs	86	53	85
GHYs	80	42	48
Total	86	44	79

Source: CBS LFS data, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jews born in Israel only.

Note: Excerpt of a paper on employment among Yotze men that will be published soon.

4.3 Occupational data

4.3.1 Occupations

The occupational analysis in this section is classified by occupation and industry.²³ The data and its analysis paint a clear picture, according to which Yotze men are employed in occupations characterized by low wages, requiring low skill levels and with low productivity. The rates of employment in high-tech are very low, both among Yotzim and among Haredi GHYs.

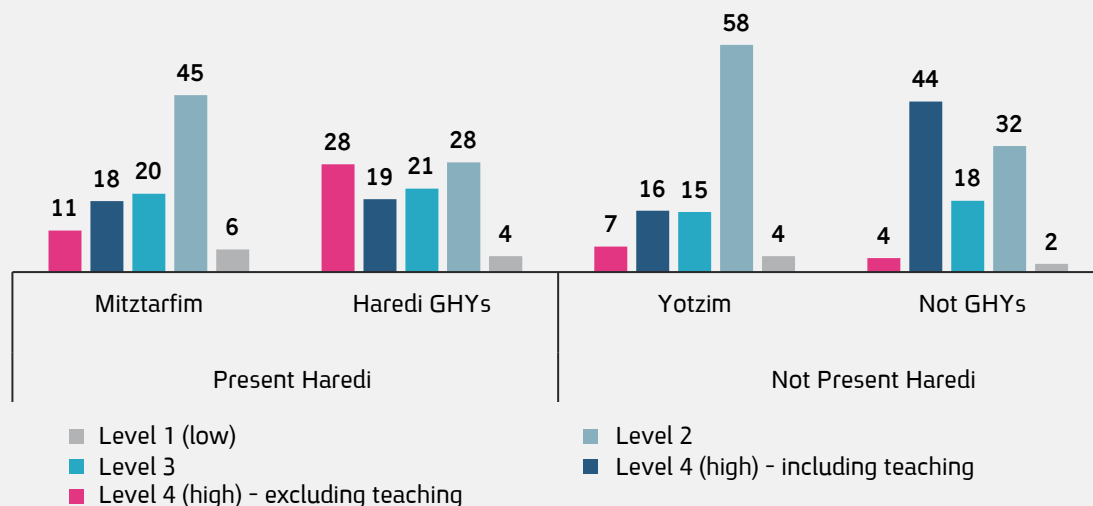
Yotzim are employed in professions characterized by low wages and low workforce productivity

Diagram 21 shows occupations divided into four levels of skill required on the job (for a description of the classification method, see the appendix). In this diagram, the high skill level is split into two columns, highly skilled including teaching and highly skilled in a profession other than teaching, this is because 27% of working Haredim work in teaching. The data shows that 62% of Yotzim are employed in professions classified in the bottom two skill-levels, compared to 32% of Haredi GHYs and 34% of non-Haredi Jews. The rate of Yotzim employed in highly skilled professions and not teaching is 16%, similar to 18% among Haredi GHYs, which is very low compared to non-Haredi Jews, among whom the proportion of employed in these professions is 44%.

62% of Yotzim and 51% of mitztarfim are employed in low-skill occupations, in contrast to 32% among Haredi GHYs and 34% among non-Haredi Jews

23. "Occupation" - refers to the employee's role in the business, "Industry" - refers to the business field

Chart 21: Distribution of skill levels required of employees (%)



Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel aged 25-54, who were employed and reported an occupation.

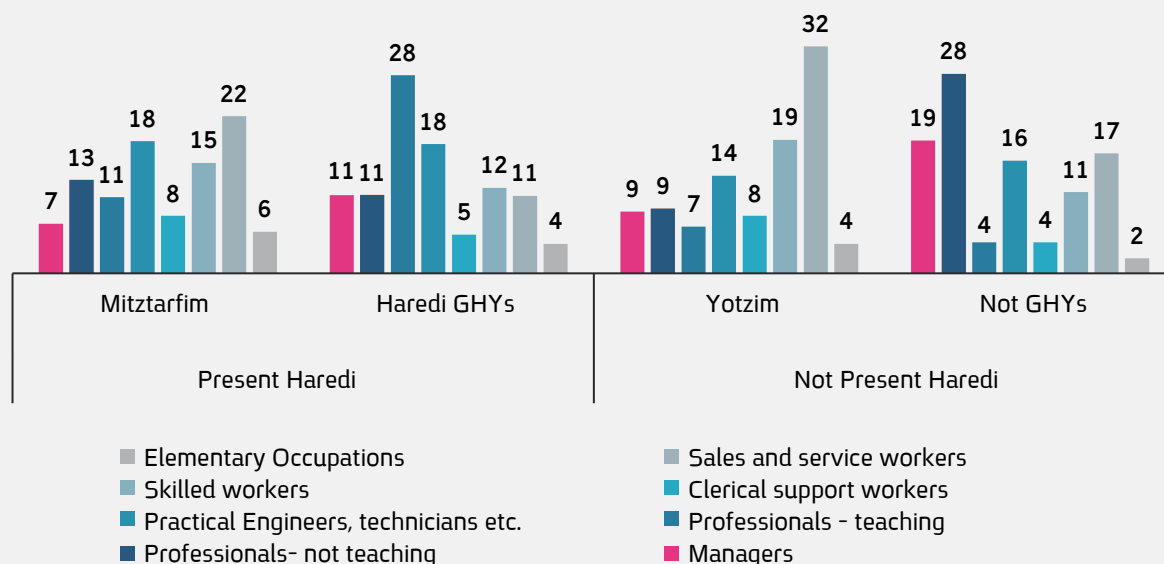
Chart 22 shows the distribution of seven main occupations - professional occupations are split into two groups: non-teacher professional and teacher professional (the 8 columns add up to 100%).

The occupations are arranged by average salary (for men) - sorted from left to right. For example, the average salary of managers is the highest, and therefore these occupations are displayed in the leftmost columns, while unskilled occupations, whose average salary is the lowest, are displayed in the rightmost columns (for the average wages of occupations, see diagram 32 in the appendix). This presentation illustrates that a high proportion of Yotzim earn low wages. For example, only 38% of Yotzim are in occupations where the average salary in 2019 was more than 10,000 ILS, compared to 66% and 68% among Haredi GHYs and non-Haredi Jews, respectively.

In contrast, the proportion of non-teachers working in an academic occupation among Yotzim (9%) is similar to that among Haredi GHYs (11%), and lower than among non-Haredi Jews (28%). In the teaching professions, the picture changes: among Haredi GHYs, the proportion employed in such occupations is the highest (28%), compared to non-Haredi Jews (7%) and Yotzim (4%). Among Yotzim, the dominant professions are commerce (32%) and general trades (for example, drivers and construction occupations. For a breakdown of the Yotzim occupations, see Table N1 in the appendix).

This data demonstrates the characteristic professions of each group: among Yotzim, a relatively high percentage are employed in manual labor and in professions that do not require a higher education; among Haredim, teaching is the dominant profession - and the characteristic professions of both groups are distinct from those of non-Haredi Jews.

Chart 22: Occupation by population group (%)

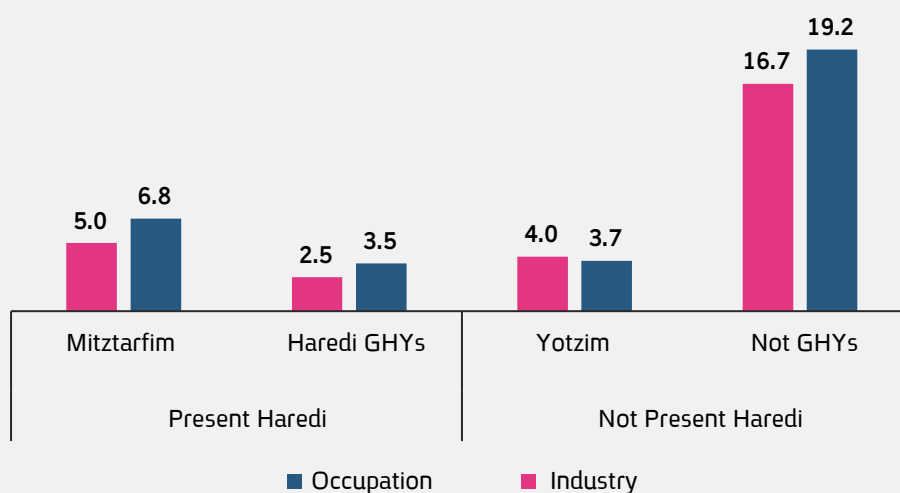


Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel aged 25-54, who were employed and reported an occupation.

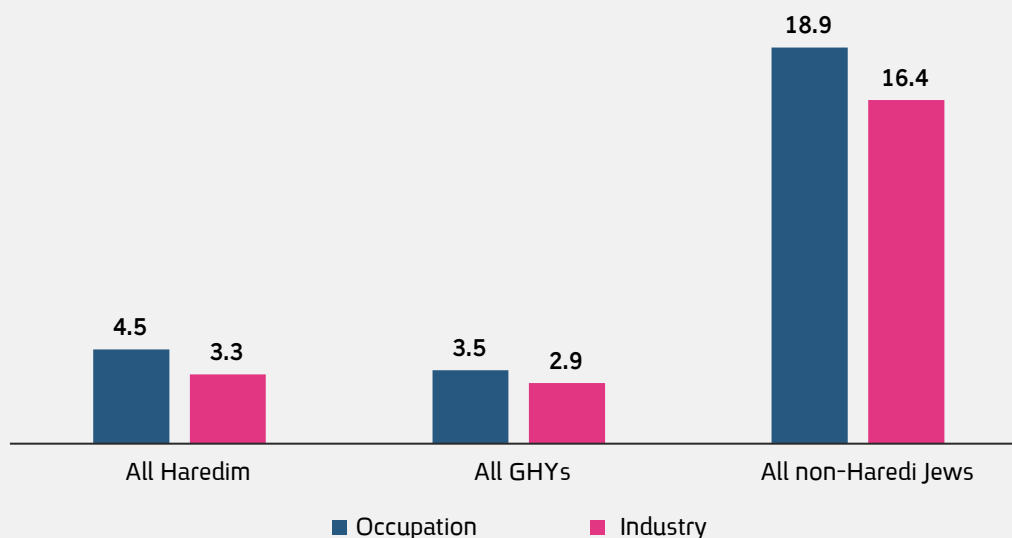
4.3.2 Employment in high-tech

The rate of Yotzim employed in high-tech is low compared to non-Haredi Jews and similar to the rate among Haredim. In the years 2016-2019, less than 4% were employed in high-tech, both among Haredi GHYs and among Yotzim.²⁴ 3.7% of Yotzim and 3.5% of Haredi GHYs were employed in the high-tech occupations, compared to 19.2% among non-Haredi Jews. Similarly, 4% of Yotzim and 2.5% of Haredi GHYs were employed in businesses in the tech industries, compared to 16.7% among non-Haredi Jews. Among mitztarfim, the percentage of those employed in high-tech was higher: 6.8% in high-tech occupations and 5% in the high-tech industries. This figure skews slightly upwards the proportion of all Haredim employed in high-tech. The reason for the similar rates of employment in high-tech among Yotzim and Haredi GHYs, compared to the higher proportion among persons who entered Haredi society, can be attributed to the lack of education in core subjects; a common educational gap among GHYs.

24. This section shows the average for the years 2016-2019. We did not present data for the COVID years, as during this period the tech industry was not affected, while other industries were affected. It can be assumed that the increased proportion of people employed in tech during the COVID years is related to some extent to decreased employment in other industries.

Chart 23: Proportion of employed in high-tech (%)

Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel aged 25-54, who were employed and reported an industry and an occupation - respectively for industry and occupation.

Chart 24: The proportion of those employed in high-tech, among all Haredim and all GHYs (%)

Source: CBS LFS data for the years 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Jewish men born in Israel aged 25-54, who were employed and reported an industry and an occupation - respectively for industry and occupation.

5. Welfare indices

Summary

- The majority of Yotzim are not satisfied with their economic situation - a high proportion of them report feeling poor - but they are optimistic about their ability to improve their economic situation in the future.
- The rate of those who report feelings of loneliness and depression among Yotzim is similar to that among non-Haredi Jews. This finding contradicts the commonly held perception (and certain studies) that suggest a high prevalence of depression reported among Yotzim. It is likely that those studies were based on surveys that included an overrepresentation of people who applied to organizations that help Yotzim. The people who apply to the aid organizations are, for the most part, new leavers, a population that naturally includes a certain proportion of people who are dealing with a higher intensity of emotional challenges.

5.1 Overall standard of living

The rate of homeowners among Yotzim is lower than homeowner rates among non-Haredim and among Haredim

In the years 2017-2020, around 58% of Yotzim reported owning an apartment, compared to 68% of non-Haredi Jews, 73% of Haredim and 59% of mitztarfim. In other words, the rate of homeowners among Yotzim is the lowest.²⁵

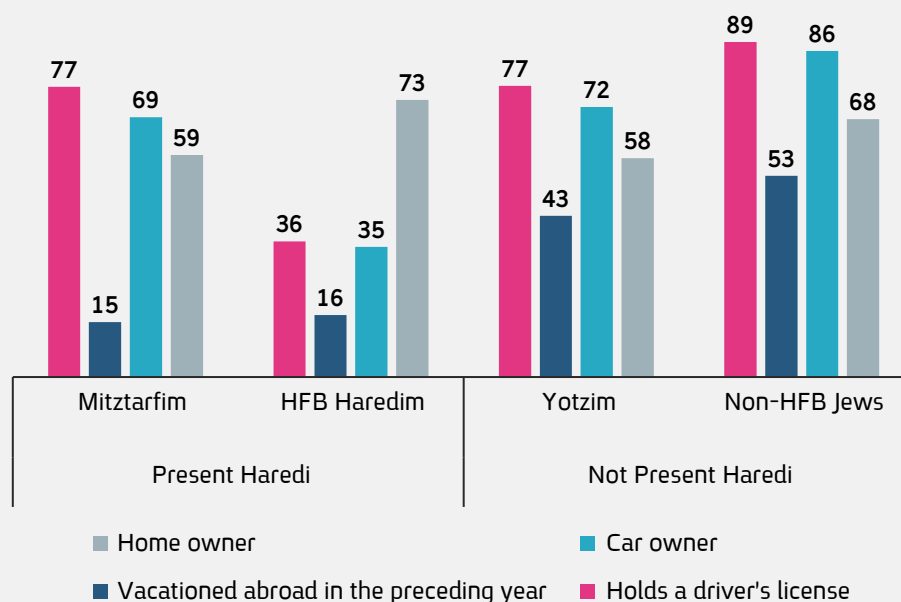
43% of Yotzim reported that they traveled overseas in the preceding year, compared to 53% among non-Haredi Jews, and around 15% among Haredim.

72% of Yotzim reported that they own a car, a rate similar to car ownership among mitztarfim, 69%, and lower than the rate among non-Haredi Jews, 86%. The rate of car ownership among these three populations is significantly higher than the rate among Haredim, which is only 35%.

The rate of Yotzim with a driver's license is slightly lower than that of the general population, and much higher than that among Haredim, some of whom, mainly women, avoid driving lessons for ideological reasons.

²⁵ In theory, it can be argued that the findings are biased, because the proportion of homeowners among young people is lower overall, and the relative proportion of young people in the Yotzim population is high. However, analysis among people aged 30-59 brought up similar findings, so the age criterion does not appear to have a substantial effect on the findings.

Chart 25: Standard of living (%)



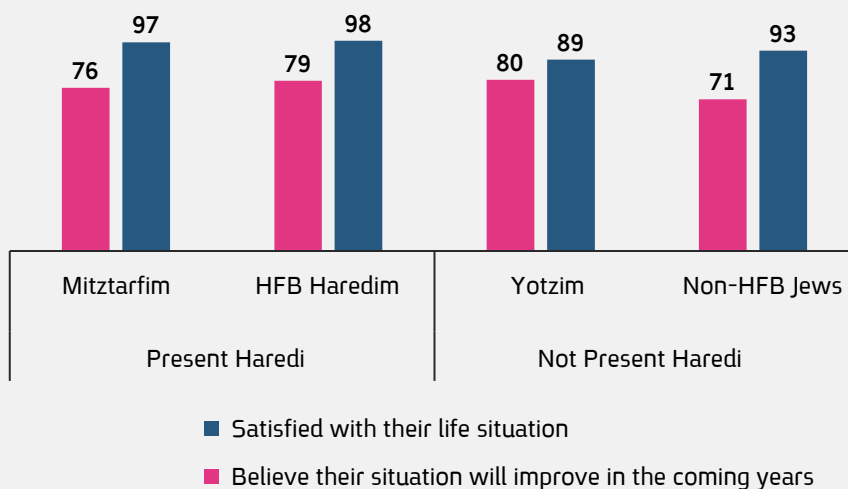
Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017–2020 among Jews aged 20–54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

5.2 Overall satisfaction and satisfaction with economic situation

The overall level of satisfaction among Yotzim is similar to that among non-Haredi Jews. 89% of Yotzim reported that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their overall situation, and 93% of non-Haredi Jews reported the same. 80% of Yotzim reported that they believe their overall situation will improve in the future, as did 71% of the non-Haredi Jewish respondents. Among Haredim, the satisfaction rate is close to 100%.²⁶

26. The differences between Haredi and non-Haredi Jews can be explained as a cultural issue of social desirability. This bias has been discussed in classic studies in the field (Marlowe & Crowne, 1960; Edwards, 1953), according to which to the extent that a certain behavior is considered socially desirable, interviewees will tend to attribute it to themselves. In the Haredi context, respondents tended to present a positive portrait of their "special world" and tended not to report depression or abuse (Rier et al., 2008).

Chart 26: Overall life satisfaction (%)

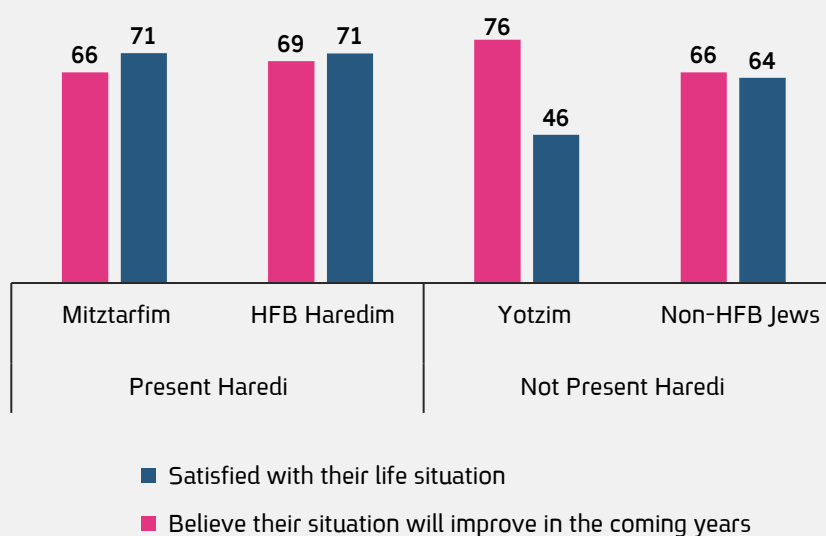


Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

The satisfaction of Yotzim with their economic situation is substantially lower than that among the other population groups. Only 46% of Yotzim reported being satisfied with their economic situation, compared to 64% among Jews not raised in a Haredi home, and 71% of Haredim. However, Yotzim are more optimistic. 76% of them think that their economic situation will improve in the future, compared to 61% of Jews not raised in a Haredi home, and 66% to 69% among the Haredi respondents.

Most Yotzim are not satisfied with their economic situation but are optimistic regarding their ability to improve their economic situation in the future

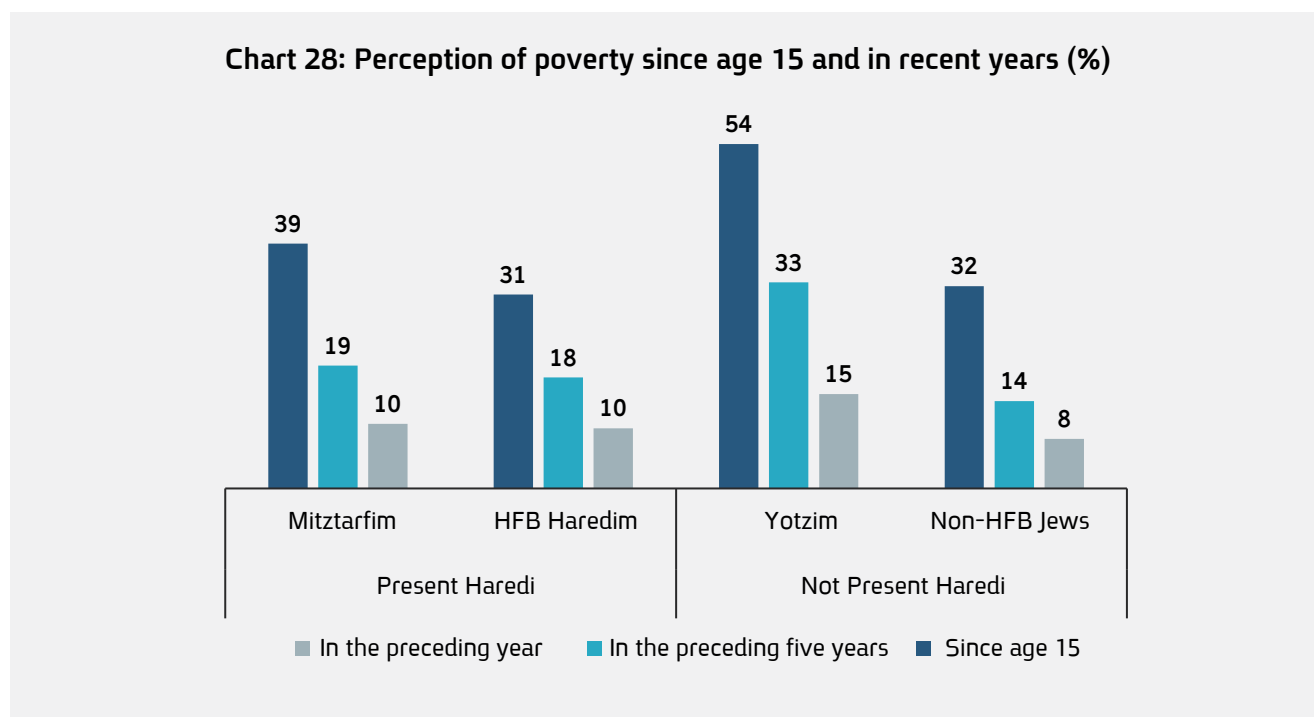
Chart 27: Satisfaction with economic situation (%)



Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

The rate of people who report a perception of poverty is higher among Yotzim than among Haredim and non-Haredi Jews

The gap found between overall satisfaction levels among Yotzim and their satisfaction with their economic situation, supports the argument that Yotzim face financial difficulties. 53% of Yotzim perceived themselves as poor in their adult lives (age 15 and older), compared to 31% of Jews not raised in a Haredi home, 32% of Haredim raised in a Haredi home, and 39% of mitztarfim. This figure, in and of itself, cannot tell us the rate of Yotzim with a perception of poverty today, since presumably some of the perception of poverty is derived from feelings they had before leaving Haredi society. However, the proportion of Yotzim who reported a perception of poverty in the preceding year and in the preceding five years was also high compared to the other groups.



Source: CBS Social Survey data among Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

Each respondent was asked "from age 15 until now, were there periods in which you felt poor?" (often to never). Except for those who answered "never," each respondent was asked when they last thought of themselves as poor. The graph shows the cumulative rates: the group that reported feeling poor since age 15 includes the group that reported feeling poor in the preceding five years, the group that reported feeling poor in the preceding five years includes the group that reported such feelings in the preceding year.

5.3 Feelings of loneliness and depression

Yotzim - a welfare population or proactive population?

The rate of those reporting feelings of loneliness and depression among Yotzim are similar to the rates among non-Haredi Jews, a finding that contradicts the popular notion that Yotzim are prone to depression.

For the first time: representative data on the prevalence of emotional struggles among Yotzim.

Previous studies reported a high prevalence of emotional distress and depression among Yotzim (e.g., Lesri, 2020). The data presented in these studies was based on non-representative surveys, such as questionnaires distributed among those applying to organizations that support Yotzim, or studies promoted by the distribution tools of those organizations. It is likely that people who turn to these organizations and accept help from them are in the first stages of leaving Haredi society, and some of them face a high intensity of emotional difficulties. In the Social Survey, the respondents are asked whether they felt stressed, depressed or lonely in the preceding twelve months, and whether they had difficulty sleeping due to anxiety. The possible answers to these questions were: often, sometimes-occasionally, rarely, never (the wording of the questions appears in the appendix). Diagram 29 shows the proportion of respondents from the four population groups who answered "often" and "sometimes-occasionally".

There is a great deal of similarity between the self-reporting among Yotzim and among Jews not raised in a Haredi home. For example, 23% of Yotzim and 24% of Jews not raised in a Haredi home reported that in the preceding year they sometimes felt depressed; 70% and 69%, respectively, reported that they sometimes felt stressed; and 42% and 41%, respectively, reported that they experienced difficulty falling asleep due to worrying. 20% of Yotzim and 18% of Jews not raised in a Haredi home reported that they sometimes feel lonely. Even to the question: In the preceding year, did they feel that they could deal with their problems on their own - the proportion of Yotzim who answered in the affirmative was similar to the proportion of affirmative responses among the other groups (95%-97%).

In previous studies, it was hypothesized that emotional struggles among Yotzim are intensified in the years soon after leaving Haredi society (Lasri, 2020). In most cases, this period takes place when the leavers are in their twenties. As a result, the prevalence of these feelings was examined among young people aged 20-29 and among those aged 30-54 (Chart 30). The data shows that there is no significant difference between the two age groups, the rate of self-reported loneliness among young people is six percentage points higher than among the older population. Because of this, and in the absence of a wider representative sample, it cannot be demonstrated that loneliness is more prevalent among young Yotzim than among Yotzim who left Haredi society a longer time ago.

In our comparison between men and women, it emerged that the proportion of women who reported emotional struggles is higher than the proportion of men who reported such struggles. The finding is the

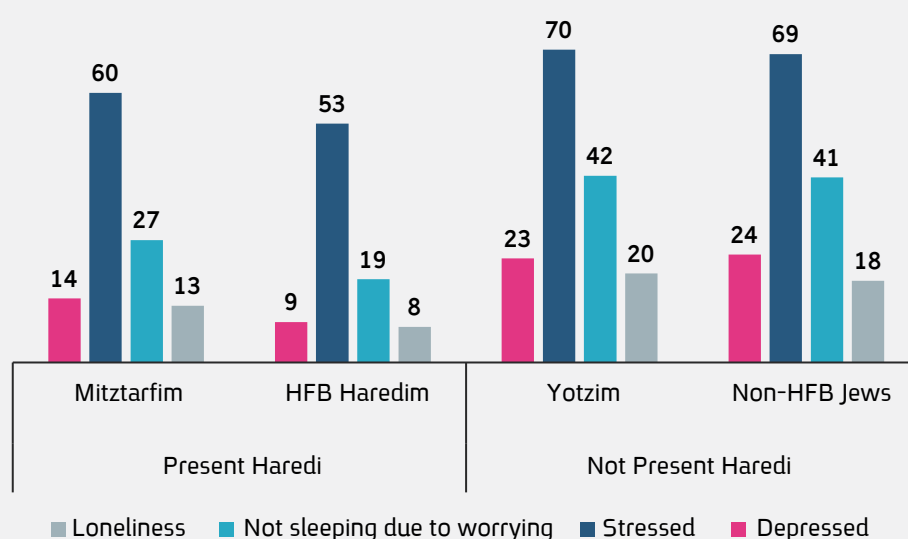
same among the population of Yotzim and among the population of Jews not raised in a Haredi home. If so, there is no difference between the two groups in the gender distribution either.

As mentioned, this data stands in contrast to the findings in many studies that have demonstrated that Yotzim experience higher rates of depression. It should be noted that data related to emotional experiences may be biased due to social desirability (a bias that takes into account that some respondents answer as they think they are expected to answer) or due to other biases, such as comprehending and interpreting the question according to social norms. In our hypothesis, the effect of these biases - if they do exist - is no greater in the CBS surveys compared to other surveys whose findings indicated an increased rate of depression among Yotzim. In conclusion: it can be cautiously assessed that the studies that found a high incidence of depression among Yotzim do not represent the average in this entire population.

Alongside this cautious assessment, we add our hypothesis that the early period after leaving Haredi society involves emotional struggles, and that for a small minority, masked by the general averages, these struggles persist for a long time.

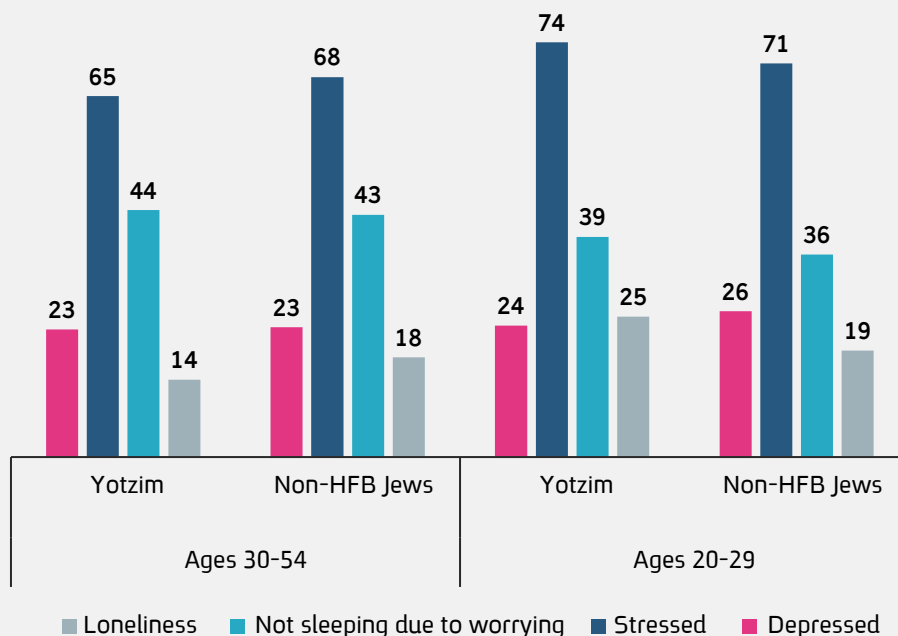
In addition to this, we must caution and emphasize: despite the similarity found in the reported feelings of loneliness and depression among Yotzim and among non-Haredi Jews, one must be careful of drawing conclusions about how Yotzim are contending with the barriers they face, including the acute difficulties in the first years, and the extreme cases that require special assistance.

Chart 29: The proportion of respondents who experienced loneliness, worries and depression sometimes or often in the preceding year (%)



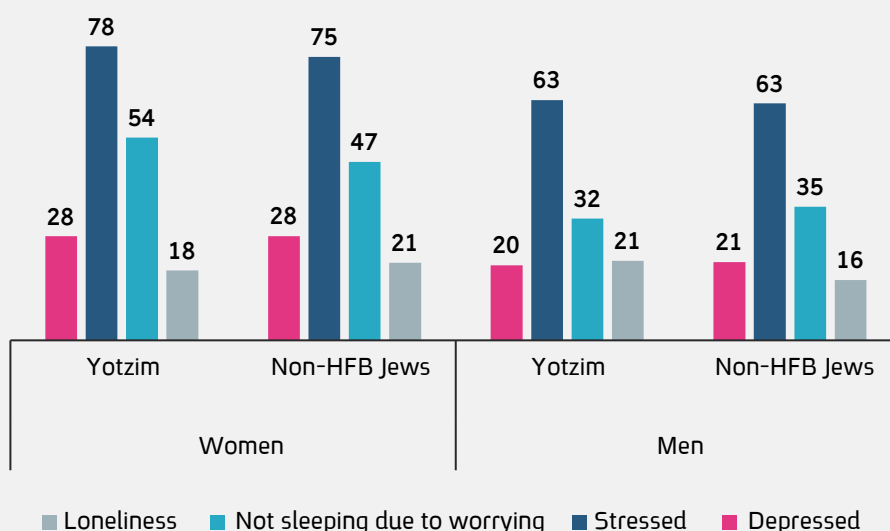
Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among Jews aged 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

Chart 30: The proportion of non-Haredi respondents who experienced loneliness, worries and depression sometimes or often in the preceding year, broken down by age group (%)



Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020 among ages 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

Chart 31: The proportion of non-Haredi respondents who experienced loneliness, worries and depression sometimes or often in the preceding year, broken down by gender (%)



Source: CBS Social Survey data for the years 2017-2020, among ages 20-54, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change.

Guest Paper

Preliminary Findings from the 2022 Yotzim Survey: Mental Wellbeing Among Yotzim

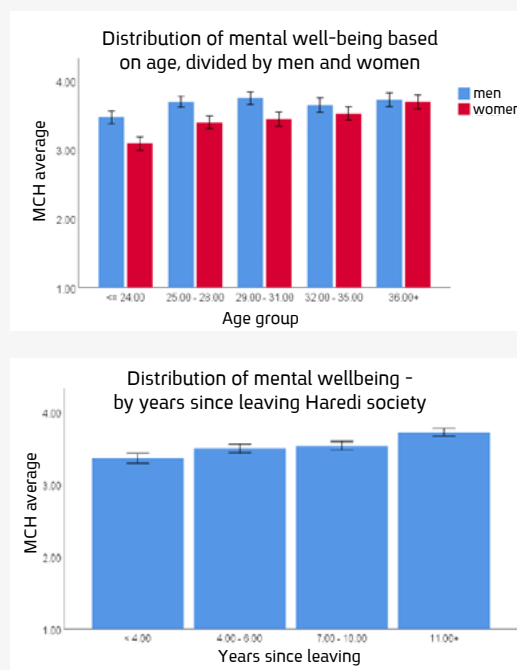
By: Dr. Yossi David and Estherina Trachtenberg

The 2022 Yotzim survey is based on a first sample of its kind, which included 1,148 Yotzim (religious, traditional and secular) in Israel and around the world, and was designed to enable an in-depth examination of the population of Yotzim.²⁷ The questions in the survey addressed a variety of topics: social values, social resilience, exposure to media, media use, social activity and activism, and demographic questions concerning the respondents and their affiliation with the subgroups of Haredi society. The survey was distributed between March 20 and April 14, 2022, among male and female former Haredim (graduates of Haredi education who are not Haredi today) using snowball sampling which included word-of-mouth distribution and using the distribution lists of aid organizations for Yotzim in Israel and overseas. The survey was also distributed through a web campaign run by the marketing team of Out for Change. The campaign included sponsored promotion and SEO, as well as distribution of the survey in dedicated groups on social media. Six vouchers, each worth 1,000 ILS, were distributed among the respondents. The vouchers were donated by Out for Change to promote the study and increase the number of respondents.

Respondent characteristics:

54% self-identified as men and 44% as women, the rest self-identified as "Other". 58% of the respondents were under the age of 30, 34% between 30-40, and the rest were over the age of 41. 22% of the respondents self-reported that they are married, 18% in a relationship, 45% single, 13% divorced, 1% separated, and only one widowed respondent. Regarding the parental home: 45% were born to Haredi parents, and the rest were born to mitztarfim parents. Regarding how recently they left Haredi society: 39% left less than five years ago, 32% 6-10 years ago, and the rest 11 or more years ago.

The study focused on the mental wellbeing of the population of Yotzim. From the research perspective, it seems that the mental wellbeing index of Yotzim is lower than the average in the general population, as



27. We aim to conduct a similar survey annually, with the objective of identifying patterns over time among the growing community of former Haredim.

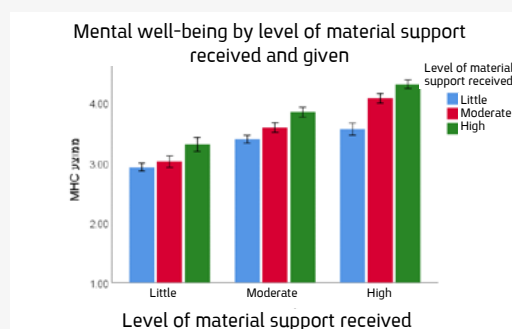
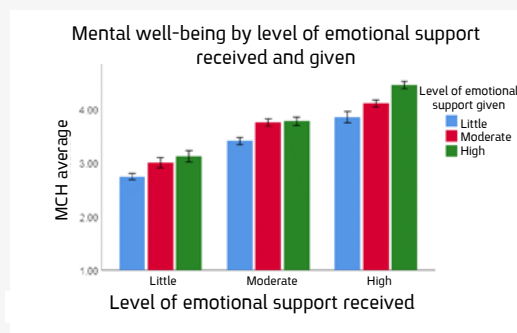
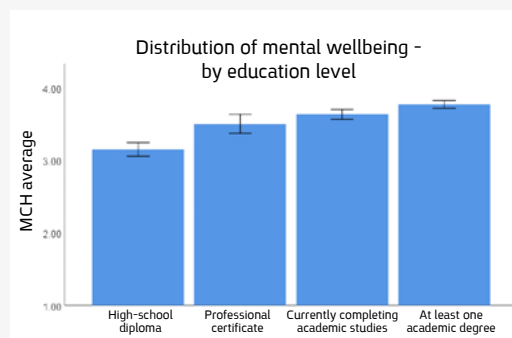
found in previous studies: an average score of 3.54 (standard deviation of 1.03) compared to the average score in the general population which stands at 3.95 (standard deviation of 0.85).²⁸

As we hypothesized, the findings show that the level of mental wellbeing is lower among Yotzim than among the general population in Israel. To understand if there are differences between subgroups of Yotzim, we examined the differences among the different groups. This examination revealed that women reported lower levels of mental wellbeing relative to the men, and we also found confirmation for the hypothesis that as age increases, the sense of mental wellbeing improves. Specifically, it was found that the level of mental wellbeing among young Yotzim (up to the age of 24) is particularly low.

Another finding shows that as the amount of time since leaving Haredi society increases, mental wellbeing further improves. We hypothesize that the reasons for this finding are that mental wellbeing improves with age and as the initial challenges of leaving Haredi society are overcome. We intend to expand our examination of this topic and related ones in future studies.

Acquiring an education is also closely related to mental wellbeing. We found that the level of mental wellbeing among respondents with an academic degree is the highest, while the lowest levels were found among respondents with only a high-school diploma. This finding is independent of age.

If so, it seems that the acquisition of a higher education, and in particular academic degrees, can improve the mental wellbeing of Yotzim.



28. Lamers, S. M., Westerhof, G. J., Bohlmeijer, E. T., ten Klooster, P. M., & Keyes, C. L. (2011). Evaluating the psychometric properties of the mental health continuum-short form (MHC-SF). *Journal of clinical psychology*, 67(1), 99-110.

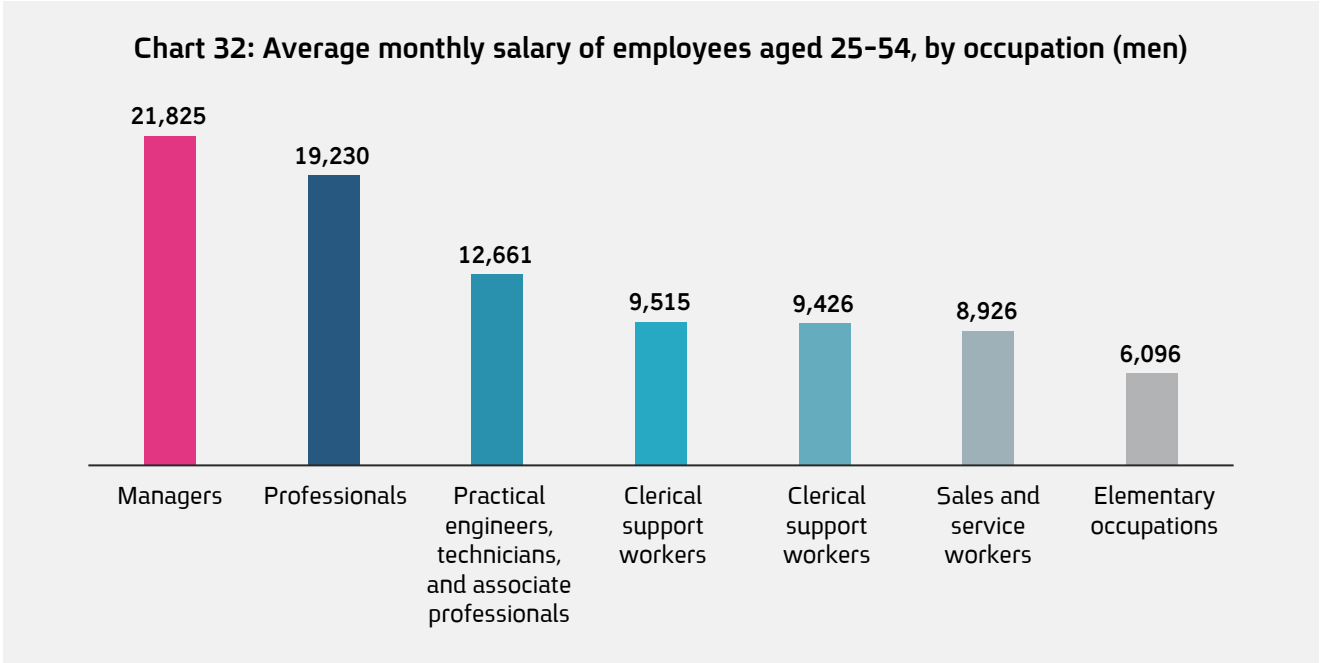
Mana, A., Super, S., Sardu, C., Juvinya Canal, D., Moran, N., & Sagy, S. (2021). Individual, social and national coping resources and their relationships with mental health and anxiety: A comparative study in Israel, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands during the Coronavirus pandemic. *Global Health Promotion*, 28(2), 17-26.

Receiving and giving emotional and material support, and their effects on mental wellbeing: As we hypothesized, we found a positive correlation between receiving emotional and material support and mental wellbeing. It was also found that giving emotional or material support to others improves mental wellbeing even among Yotzim who did not receive support. The Yotzim who reported providing a great deal of emotional and material support reported the highest levels of mental wellbeing. The positive effect is particularly significant among those who reported receiving little material support compared to the amount of support they provided to others. For those, the level of mental wellbeing was significantly higher than for those who reported that they did not provide support to others.

In conclusion: these initial findings from the comprehensive survey we conducted allow us to learn about significant patterns, about variations between groups and the changes that occur over time, as well as the confounding variables that would allow us to better understand how mental wellbeing among Yotzim can be improved. As expected, it was found that mental wellbeing among Yotzim is lower than among the rest of the population in Israel, that this is more acute among women than among men, and that time is an important factor (the age of the respondents and the time that passed since they left Haredi society) when it comes to mental wellbeing. Another important finding indicated the correlation between an academic degree and high levels of mental wellbeing, and it was also discovered that social involvement (providing support) can improve mental wellbeing, even if no support is received.

We intend to further examine the data that emerged from this survey, and from follow-up surveys, to analyze and conclude how the mental and social wellbeing of Yotzim may be improved, what contributes to their resilience and success, with the aim of improving accuracy and efficiency in the assistance provided to them by the various sources of aid.

References Appendix – expanded employment data



Source: Data from the 2019 CBS Expenditure and Income Survey.

Table 3: Occupations - 2016-2019

		Jews who are not Present Haredim		Present Haredim	
	Skill level	Not yeshiva gradu- ates	Yotzim	Haredi gradu- ates of yeshivas	Mitztar- fim
Managers					
Legislators, senior officials and chief executives, and man- aging directors	4	3	<1	1.2	<2
General managers	4	12.9	6	6.7	3.4
Hospitality, retail and other services managers	3	2.7	<2	3.3	<2
Professionals:					
Information and communications technology, science, engi- neering and health	4	16.9	3	2.3	5.7
Teaching	4	3.6	6.5	27.6	10.6
Legal, social and cultural	4	6.2	4.8	7.5	5.5
Business, Administration and Other	4	4.7	<2	1	<2
Practical engineers, technicians, agents, and associate professionals:					
Information and communications technology, science, engi- neering and health	3	5.4	2.1	2.2	3.6
Legal, social and cultural	3	2.4	3.3	9.1	8.5
Business, Administration and Other	3	7.9	8.2	6.7	6.3
Clerical support workers					
	2	4.3	8	5.4	8
Service and sales workers					
Personal service workers	2	4.2	7.9	7	7.6
Sales workers	2	3.5	5.4	4.4	6.2
Protective services workers	2	3.6	5.3	0.5	<2
Tradesmen in manufacturing, construction, agricultural and other tradesmen					
Building and related trades workers (excluding electricians)	2	3	6.3	2.6	3.7
Metal, machinery and related trades workers	2	2.2	5.5	0.5	2.6
Electrical and electronic trades workers	2	2.6	3.4	0.8	2.9
Skilled agricultural workers	2	2.6	4.7	3.4	4.3
Drivers, Plant and machine operators, assemblers					
	2	6.3	11.7	3.6	8.4
Elementary occupations					
	1	2.1	4.1	4.1	5.8

Source: Data from the CBS LFS for 2016-2019, processing by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Israeli-born Jewish men aged 25-54.

General managers: Administrative and commercial, managers, production and specialized services managers

Table 4: Industries of Employed Persons - 2016-2019

	Jews who are not Present Haredim		Present Haredim	
	Not yeshiva graduates	Yotzim	GHYs	Mitztarfim
Manufacturing	16.7	15.9	7.9	11.7
Construction	6	9.1	4	7
Wholesale and retail; Repair Vehicle	12.3	15.4	10.7	16.2
Transportation, storage, and courier services	5.8	6.7	2.9	6.3
Accommodation and food service activities	3.9	4.2	3.6	4.7
Information and Communications	11.1	3.7	3.4	3.6
Financial & Real Estate activities	5.8	4.9	3.5	4.4
Professional, scientific and technical activities	11.2	4.6	3.3	7
Administrative and Support Service activities	4	8	2.1	3.8
Public and local administration	9.2	9.3	3.2	5
Education	5.5	8.8	36.7	15.4
Human health and social work activities	3.6	4.4	7.4	6.1
Other	4.8	4.9	11.4	8.9

Manufacturing: includes agriculture, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, electricity and water supply industries

Table 5: Employment Indicators for 2016-2019

Variable	Jews who are not Present Haredim		Present Haredim	
	Not yeshiva graduates	Yotzim	Not yeshiva graduates	Yeshiva graduates
Employment rate	89.7	80.9	60.2	48.4
Number of individual observations	26,007	642	1,026	2,739
Average working hours	43.8	41.0	35.7	34.2
Number of individual observations	23,684	527	674	1,505
Unemployment rate (job-seekers out of the entire labor force)	3.8	6.3	5.5	5.6
Number of individual observations	24,620	576	724	1,609
Rate of jobseekers and people who despaired of finding a job (out of the general population)	3.6	5.7	3.8	3.1
Number of individual observations	26,007	642	1,026	2,739

Source: Data from the CBS LFS for 2016-2019, extrapolated by the research department of Out for Change. Included are Israeli-born Jewish men aged 25-54.

Methodological appendix

Definitions

Definitions of employment indicators - for more details see the CBS LFS

Employed persons: those who worked in the week preceding the survey - including those temporarily absent from their workplace.

Unemployed: looking for work in the 4 weeks preceding the survey.

Belongs to the workforce: employed or unemployed.

Unemployment rate: the proportion of the workforce that are unemployed.

Despaired of looking for work: an unemployed person who did not look for work in the 4 weeks preceding the survey, because they thought they would not find a suitable job in the profession in which they wish to work, or in their area of residence; they would have started working had they been offered a suitable position.

Industries - High-Tech

Classification code	Classification description
21	Manufacture of pharmaceutical products, including homeopathic preparations
26	Manufacture of computer, electronic and optical products
303	Manufacture of air and spacecraft and related machinery
62	Computer programming, consultancy and related activities
631	Data processing, hosting and related activities; web portals
720	Research and development centres
721	Research and development in engineering and natural sciences

Occupation - High-Tech

Classification code	Classification description
133	Information and communications technology service managers
211	Physical and earth science professionals
212	Mathematicians, actuaries and statisticians
213	Life science professionals
214	Engineering professionals (excluding electrotechnology)
215	Electrotechnology engineers
251	Software and applications developers and analysts
252	Database and network professionals
311	Physical and engineering science - practical engineers and technicians
314	Life science practical engineers and technicians and related associate professionals
315	Ship and aircraft controllers, practical engineers and technicians
351	Information and communications technology operations and user support practical engineers and technicians

Occupations by skill levels

The CBS classifies occupations into four skill levels, reflecting the requirements for optimal performance in the given occupation.

- **Level One:** Jobs that involve performing simple and routine physical or manual tasks. For example: cleaning, digging, manually carrying or transporting materials, sorting, manual storage or assembly of products, manually picking fruits and vegetables.
- **Level Two:** Jobs that involve performing simple technical tasks. For example: operating machinery and electronic equipment, driving vehicles, maintenance or repair of electrical and mechanical equipment, etc.
- **Level Three:** Jobs that involve performing complex technical tasks, which require extensive operational, technical and procedural knowledge in the given field. For example: preparing detailed estimates of quantities and costs of materials and labor for specific projects; coordinating, supervising and controlling the activities of other employees; performing technical tasks with the support of professionals, etc.
- **Level Four:** Jobs that involve complex problem-solving, decision-making and creativity. For example: analysis and research, diagnosis and treatment of diseases, imparting knowledge to others in the field of construction or machinery design, construction and production processes, etc. Examples of occupations classified at this level: sales and marketing executives, civil engineers, secondary school teachers, musicians, operating-room nurses and information systems analysts.

The number of observations in the Social Survey

Table of the number of observations in the Social Survey, grouped by age and gender - 2017-2020

		Not Present Haredi		Present Haredi	
		Non-HFB Jews	Yotzim	HFB Haredim	Mitztarfim
Men	29-20	1,898	55	358	38
	54-30	4,636	42	404	216
	54-20	6,534	97	762	254
	54-25	5,585	67	567	240
	59-20	7,247	101	796	294
Women	29-20	1,774	37	324	38
	54-30	4,472	34	402	169
	54-20	6,246	71	726	207
	54-25	5,371	49	544	191
	59-20	7,030	73	754	230
Total	29-20	3,672	92	682	76
	54-30	9,108	76	806	385
	54-20	12,780	168	1,488	461
	54-25	10,956	116	1,111	431
	59-20	14,277	174	1,550	524

Sampling errors

In annual reports it is less common to present confidence intervals and standard errors. For the most part, the samples are large and there is no concern for meaningful sample errors. Furthermore, annual reports contain many variables, and discussing each variable as a conclusion according to the level of the statistical significance would require adjustment for the multiple comparisons problem. Our main goal is not drawing such conclusions but presenting a comprehensive picture of Yotzim. Overall, the data reflects a representative sample of estimates pertaining to each group and is less concerned with the differences between the groups.

The relative sampling error is defined as the ratio between the standard error of the estimate and the estimate X' (estimate, for example mean)

$$\frac{\sigma(X')}{X'}$$

We adopted the recommendations of the CBS:

- We do not present data for variables where the relative sampling error is above 30 percent.
- We qualify the data if the relative sampling error is in the range of 15-30 percent.



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