

MYTHS AND REALITIES ABOUT WOMEN IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

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Introduction

The Israeli women are among the few women in the world who are perceived to hold significant power and to play a major role in their society. They appear to be actively involved in all sectors of Israeli society, including the military. A look at the country's laws would lead one to conclude that, indeed, the Israeli women are of equal footing with the menfolk.

Consider this: the 1948 Declaration of Independence ensures equality of all before the law regardless of religion, race or sex, thus guaranteeing the rights of all its citizen. The inclusion of gender equality in the Declaration makes it one of the earliest constitutional documents to have gender as a group classification for purposes of equal political and social rights. It also reflects the egalitarian ideology of the socialist forefathers and the political influence of women's interest groups in the prestate era. The principle of equality has been reinforced by the enactment of the Women's Equal Rights Law in 1951, which provides one law for men and women and declares null and void "every legal action and every judicial provision which discriminates against a woman..."¹ A line also goes, "Israel's women enjoy total equality of opportunity, reward, and status with Israel's men."

Despite the claims of egalitarianism as these lines imply, statements contrary to such claims have been aired by some sectors and organizations, such as the New Israel Fund, the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), Bat Shalom and Na'amat, which are all concerned with social issues affecting Israel society, especially the women. They have raised questions regarding the reality of the claims of equality and have conducted researches to uncover the inequity, injustice and maltreatment being inflicted upon and suffered by Israeli women. The threads of un-

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equal treatment and unbalanced representation between male and female allegedly still run through the fabric of Israeli society.

This paper² focuses on the role of women in Israeli society, particularly on the status, concerns and prospects of women in the areas of military, politics, community cooperatives and overall employment. This paper also seeks to determine the myths, realities and aspirations about women equality along these areas of Israeli society. For a better understanding of the society that holds these myths about its women, a socioeconomic background of the country and its recent history shall be presented.

Country Background

Land

The State of Israel lies in western Asia, occupying a narrow strip of territory about 22,6619 square kilometers, including lakes on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. It has a narrow outlet to the Red Sea at the northern tip of the Gulf of Aqaba. All the country's land frontiers are with Arab countries, the longest being with Egypt to the west and Jordan to the east. To the north lies Lebanon, while Syria is to northeast. Israel has a Mediterranean climate with hot summer spells and mild, rainy winters.

People

In 1977, Israel had around 5,836,000 inhabitants, up by a little over 600,000 from the 1992 population, and registered a density of 263.5 per square meter. Surprisingly, the City of Jerusalem, the country's capital and the most populated (with 613,600 population), is not recognized by the United Nations (UN). Most foreign governments maintain their embassies at Tel-Aviv, the second most populated place (with 349,200 people) in the country. The most sparsely populated town is Ramat Gan (with 128,300 population in 1997, up by merely 3,500 from 1992).³ Over the period 1990-1996, Israel's population increased by an annual average rate of 3.3 percent. For a country with an open policy for immigrant absorption and with more *in vitro* fertilization (IVF) clinics per capita than any other country in the world, the rate of increase is rather small.

The official language of Israel is Hebrew, spoken by about two-thirds of the population. About 15 percent of Israeli residents speak Arabic, which is also the

language spoken in the Occupied Territories of Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, as well as the semi-autonomous areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Judaism is the official religion, with about 81 percent professing adherence, while Islam is practiced by 14 percent of the populace. Christianity is embraced by around three percent of the population.

Among the Jews, the major division is based on the country of origin. Immigrants and their offsprings from economically less developed Muslim countries of North Africa and the Middle East, comprising about half of the Jewish population, are known as Easterners. Those who migrated from the industrialized Christian countries of Europe and North and South America are called Westerners. Westerners, Easterners and non-Jews are organized into a system of ethnic stratification with the European-American Jews on top, Asian-African Jews in the middle, and Arabs (Muslims, Christians, and Druzes) at the bottom.

Of the cultural minorities, 78 percent are Muslims, a mainly rural community of which 10 percent are Bedouin; 13 percent are Christians, a predominantly urban community; and nine percent are Druzes, living in large villages in the northern part of Israel. Of the Arab Druze inhabitants, 49.5 percent are women, having a median age of 18.7 years, thereby comprising a young and potentially productive group.

The resolution of conflicts and disputes between and among the people rests in the Israeli judicial system, composed of the civil courts and religious courts. The civil courts have the Supreme Court at the helm and under it are magistrate courts – with jurisdiction to try criminal and civil cases – and labor courts that hear cases arising from employer-employee relations and other labor-related problems. On the other hand, the religious courts have jurisdiction over cases of marriage, divorce and other matters of personal status. Comprising the religious courts are the Jewish Rabbinical courts for the Jews in Israel; the Muslim religious courts for Muslims who are not foreigners; the Christian religious courts for Israeli Christians; and the Druze courts for Druzes who are Israeli citizens or residents of Israel.

Economy

Israel is described as having a centralized and state-regulated economy, which is divided into three sectors: the private sector, covering privately owned firms including the stock exchange; the Histadrut (worker-owned General Federation of Labor) sector, composed of collective settlements and a variety of economic enterprises; and the government sector, the largest employer in the country that

employs around 29 percent of the labor force and comprised mainly of public services, the military and state-owned enterprises. The private sector owns 43 percent of the 100 largest industrial firms; the Histadrut holds 33 percent; the government, 21 percent; and three are controlled by foreign investors. Both the private and the Histadrut sectors heavily rely on the state as a major regulator of economic investment.⁶

For the past decade, the country's economy has shown relative stability, charting a generally not so remarkable up and down trend, except in certain sectors. Israel recorded a GNP of US\$78,113 million, equivalent to \$14,410 per head in 1994. The figures increased to \$90,310 million, measured at average 1994-1996 prices equivalent to \$15,810 per capita in 1996. A slight drop, however, occurred in 1997 when the total GNP was an estimated US\$87,600 million equivalent to \$15,810 per head. This could be partly attributed to the heightened political instability caused by Israel's checkered relations with neighboring Arab countries. It can be noted, though, that per capita income remained almost the same, implying that the earning and buying capacity of the people was not affected significantly.

The largest income-generating sector is industry, encompassing manufacturing, power, construction and mining, which contributed 30.5 percent of the net domestic product (NDP) in 1992 and 29 percent of the gross national product (GDP) in 1994. It employed about 29 percent of the gross national product in 1994. It employed about 29 percent (the highest) of the working population in 1993, which dropped to 19.5 percent four years later. In this sector, manufacturing recorded the highest NDP (20.6 percent) in 1992 and employed 20.9 percent of the working population in 1993. The percentage of employment slightly dropped to 19.3 percent in 1997. The principal branches of manufacturing are: food products; beverages and tobacco; electrical machinery; chemical, petroleum and coal products; metal products and transport equipment. The leading branch of manufacturing is, however, diamond polishing. As to mining, Israel is a country rich in salt deposits such as potash, bromides and magnesium. In fact, it is the world's largest exporter of bromide. As regards power/energy capacity, the country operates 33 oil wells. And partly due to the influx of a huge number of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR, said to be the most significant factor affecting the Israeli economy in the 1990s a growth in construction, especially in the residential sector, ensued. Construction boosted GDP, contributing a significant 9.1 percent in 1994 and employing 7.2 percent of the labor force in 1997.

Tourism is also an important source of revenue, raking an earning of some US\$2,000 million annually. In 1993, around 1.6 million tourists visited Israel. How-

ever, the sector has been damaged by regional instability and a series of bomb attacks initiated by Islamic extremist groups in 1997 and 1998. Nevertheless, an increase in the number of tourists was still recorded, generating a total amount of US\$2,771 million in 1996.

Agriculture, which covers hunting, forestry and fishing, contributed 2.4 percent to the NDP in 1992 and 4.2 percent to the GDP after two years. It also employed 3.7 percent of the labor force in 1994, which slightly decreased to 2.4 percent four years later. Majority of the labor force in agriculture reside in *kibbutz/kibbutzim* (large cooperatives) or in *moshav/moshavim* (smallholder's village cooperatives). Although agriculture comprises a small sector in Israel, it has provided the country with sufficient foodstuffs. Citrus fruits constitute the main export crop. Other important crops include vegetables, wheat, melons, pumpkins and avocados. Production of poultry, livestock and fish is likewise important.

In the 1990s, the vibrant foreign trade has contributed to Israel's economic growth, helped by its free trade agreements with the USA and the European Union (EU). Israel's leading trading partner is the USA, registering US\$3,234,400 for imports and US\$3,995,700 for exports in 1993. The figures significantly increased to \$5,234,400 and \$7,212.9, respectively, after four years. Other major partners in the import business are Belgium/Luxemburg, Germany and the United Kingdom. For exports, tailing USA are United Kingdom, Germany and Japan, in changing order. In 1977, Hongkong joined the list by placing second only to United Kingdom. Machinery and parts, rough diamonds, chemicals and related products, crude petroleum and petroleum products, as well as vehicles comprised the principal imports in 1993. The principal exports included worked diamonds, machinery and parts, chemical products and clothing. Machinery and transport equipment, basic manufacturers such as non-metallic mineral manufacturers, as well as miscellaneous manufactured articles such as scientific and professional instruments comprised the largest imports in 1997. As regards exports, machinery and transport equipment topped the list, followed by basic manufactures.

Signs of economic slowdown were observed beginning in 1998, with the growth forecast at only 1.6 percent and unemployment rising to an alarming 90 percent. Foreign investment decreased sharply amidst fears of global recession and low business confidence, owing to the slow progress in peace negotiations. This led to some politicoeconomic measures toward improving the situation. For instance, in April 1998, foreign exchange restrictions were ended, allowing the shekel to become fully convertible in the near future. Progress has also been achieved in the Middle East peace process, which enhanced, to a certain degree, the relations with

other Middle Eastern countries, notably Jordan and the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Prior to 1997, Israel's plan for settlement construction in East Jerusalem obstructed the peace process for some months and undermined the economic rapprochement.

The Israeli government has still to resolve, or to bring under control, certain major problems such as its huge foreign trade deficit and high rate of inflation. Moreover, the government has to face economic challenges, which include accelerating privatization and financial liberalization as well as enhancing the country's infrastructure. However, long-term economic prospects and economic reorientation will essentially depend on the attainment of an enduring stability in the region. This regional stability could be a consequence of successful peace negotiations between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries.

Since its founding in 1948, Israel's major economic policy and investment goals have been "reconstruction of the Jewish homeland, immigrant absorption, and military security." Higher priority is accorded to national, political and social goals than to economic growth and efficiency. Competitiveness, profitability and other market forces are of secondary importance, if they were considered at all. Making this strategy possible have been "the continuous flow of foreign capital into the country from such sources as German reparations, USA aid and gifts from Jewish communities around the world."⁷ Attributing secondary importance to market forces has retarded the development of professional and market-oriented managers, which include women. This kind of environment is said to have provided the employers much room for discrimination against women and for overlooking women's potential.

Services

Israel has a high rate of literacy and high standards of educational services. Free compulsory education is provided for all children between five and 15 years of age. Primary education is provided for all children between five and 10 years old, as well as free post-primary or secondary education for six years, three years of which are compulsory. There are six universities, one institute of technology (the Technion), and one institute of science (the Weizmann Institute) which features a graduate school of science.

Compulsory education has been a significant factor in advancing the position not only of the Jews but also of all Israeli women and the cultural minorities. For instance, in 1947, less than one-third of the Arab/Druze youth attended school and

only 22 percent of these were girls. Today, almost all girls aged five to 16 attend school. More girls are completing high school and increasing numbers continue to take further studies. This shows that education for women has gained value in their society. The attainment of more education at the post-secondary and college levels has opened up new opportunities for economic independence and increased professional and personal fulfillment of the Arab Druze community. Women comprise 50 percent of Arab Druze teachers in the elementary schools and 35 percent in the secondary schools.⁸ The government expenditure on education in 1993 amounted to 10,295 million new shekels (11.9 percent of total spending), which increased to 17,046 million new shekels in 1995.

In 1996/97, there were 1,404 schools, 523,611 pupils and 43,460 teachers for the primary level among the Jews (the highest) and 335 schools, 156,265 pupils and 8,938 teachers in the same level for Arabs; secondary level among the Jews has 619 schools, 245,357 pupils and 32,556 teachers while Arabs have 109 schools, 45,395 pupils and 3,906 teachers in the same level. Arabs have more pupils at the intermediate level (47,934) than at the secondary level while the opposite is observable among the Jews. In early 1999, a legislation aimed at furnishing free education for pre-primary children was passed.

The country has a highly advanced system of social welfare. As provided by the National Insurance Law of 1968, the State grants retirement pensions, benefits for industrial injury and maternity, allowances for large families, and unemployment insurance. At least two entities lead in the provision of social services: 1) the Histadrut, to which about 85 percent of all Jewish workers in Israel belong, grants sickness benefits and medical care, similar to the Medicare of the Social Security System and the Government Service Insurance System in the Philippines; and 2) the Ministry of Social Welfare which provides for general assistance, child care, relief grants, and other social services. In 1993, the country spent 3,548 million new shekels (.1% of total expenditure) for health and 20,134 million new shekels (23.2% of total expenditure) for social security and welfare. A decrease in expenditure is however observed in 1995 which recorded 2,470 million new shekels (1.7%) allocated to the Ministry of Health and 15,826 million new shekels (10.6%) given to the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare. This could mean either a shrinking allocation due to budgetary constraints, or, a decreasing number of needy beneficiaries due to socioeconomic enhancement.

Brief Recent History

Palestine, inhabited by the Arabs for so long, became part of Turkey's Ottoman Empire from the 16th century until World War I, during the first quarter of the 20th century, when the Arabs rebelled against the empire. After the Turks withdrew from Palestine, the British forces took over. Meanwhile, young Jews launched the Zionist movement in Europe during the 19th century. It was aimed at reconstituting an autonomous community in their historical homeland of Palestine (the Biblical Promised Land). The Zionist movement's subsequent growth was partly an outcome of racial and religious hostilities known as anti-Semitism, which included discrimination, persecution and massacre, as experienced by Jewish communities in many European countries.⁹ The Zionist pioneers arrived in Palestine a little over the first decade of the 20th century, mainly from Eastern Europe, mostly orphans and in groups of single men and women, although the men outnumbered the women.

On November 1917, the year when Great Britain commenced her rule over Palestine, the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, declared British support for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, on condition that the rights of existing non-Jewish communities in the area were safeguarded. The Balfour Declaration, as it is known, was confirmed by the governments of other countries then at war with Turkey.

After the war, the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, but the British occupation of Palestine lingered on. The otherwise smooth-sailing British rule in Palestine was distracted by the conflict between the declared obligations to the Jews stipulated in the Balfour Declaration on the one hand, and the rival claims of the indigenous Arab majority on the other. In accordance with the mandate, Jewish settlers were admitted only on the basis of limited annual quotas to Palestine whose inhabitants in 1919 comprised almost entirely of Arabs. Serious anti-Jewish rioting by Arabs were staged in 1921 and 1929, and attempts to limit immigration led to Jewish-sponsored riots in 1933. The extreme persecution of Jews by Nazi Germany increased the flow of Jewish immigrants, both legal and illegal, and intensified the unrest in Palestine. In 1937, Britain proposed to establish separate Jewish and Arab states, while retaining a British-mandated area. The Jews accepted the proposal but the Arabs rejected it, and as the year ended, the conflict between the two communities escalated into an open warfare. A British scheme offering eventual

independence for a bicommunal Palestine state was postponed as a result of the outbreak of World War II in 1939, lasting until 1945. During the war, Nazi Germany massacred an estimated six million Jews in Central and Eastern Europe, more than one-third of the world's total Jewish population. The massacre, known as the Holocaust, heightened international sympathy for the Jewish claim to a homeland in Palestine.

The Palestinian Jews strongly opposed the prolonged British occupation after the war. Their opposition was expressed through numerous terrorist attacks against British targets. On November 1947, the UN approved a plan for the partition of Palestine into two states – one Jewish, covering about 56 percent of the area, and one Arab. Again, the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab states rejected the plan. Meanwhile, the conflict between the two communities intensified into a full-scale war.

On May 14, 1948, the United Kingdom terminated its Palestine mandate, and Jewish leaders promptly proclaimed the State of Israel, with David Ben-Gurion as the first Prime Minister. Although the new country has no agreed frontiers, it immediately received wide international recognition. This was not without attempts from the neighboring Arab states such as Jordan, Lebanon and Syria to crush it. Fighting continued until January 1949, when a cease-fire agreement was forged. The agreement left Israel in control of 75 percent of Palestine, an area one-third greater than the area assigned to the Jewish state under the UN partition plan. The Jordanian forces controlled most of the remaining area of Palestine. This area, known as the West Bank, was annexed to Jordan on December 1949 and fully incorporated on April 1950. No independent Arab state was established in Palestine, and the independence of Israel received no recognition from any Arab government until 1980.

The Law of Return adopted on July 1950 established a right of immigration for all Jews. The accelerated influx of Jewish settlers enabled Israel to consolidate its Jewish character. Meanwhile, a number of former Arab residents of Palestine had turned refugees in neighboring countries, mainly Jordan and Lebanon. In 1965, some exiled Palestinian Arabs formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), with the aim, at that time, of overthrowing Israel. As time went by, hostilities continued between Israel and the Arab neighbors including the PLO, although efforts to settle their conflicts on the one hand, as well as negotiations, meetings, talks and aborted signing of agreements on the other, punctuated the Israeli-Arab relations. The US government did its share by mediating talks and hosting peace negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.¹⁰ On September 25, 1995, the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Self-Government Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was finally signed by Israel and the PLO. This triggered the assassination

of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 4 of the same year at Tel Aviv by a Jewish law student opposed to the peace process, particularly the withdrawal from the West Bank by the Israeli forces. The assassination failed to deter the completion of the Israeli forces' gradual withdrawal from the West Bank.

On May 1996, the first direct election of Prime Minister was held in Israel, with Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud Party emerging as the winner. He simultaneously occupied the position of Minister of Housing and Construction. Netanyahu's administration explored all possible avenues for establishing peaceful relations with his country's Arab neighbors. His peace efforts covered phase-by-phase withdrawal of troops, signing of the cease-fire agreement, allowing US top officials including Pres. Clinton to mediate, and toying with the idea of forging a military alliance with Turkey, among others. His successor, Prime Minister Ehud Barak, sworn into office on September 1999, appears to follow a similar path.

The Women in Selected Areas of Israeli Society

The Israelis believe that the early ideals of their founding fathers have set the tone for present-day Israel. When the young Jews came to the land of Israel 'to build and to be built by it,' they established a new society founded on the three elements of Zionism, socialism and egalitarianism.¹¹ The founders, most of whom coming to the country at the same time of the Second Aliyah in 1904-1913, were guided by this set of socialist principles, composing an ideology that pervaded not only the *kibbutz* movement which they initiated but also much of the urban life in the pre-state period.¹² This set of principles, which featured a strong endorsement of gender equality, found expression in the 1948 Declaration of Independence and in some earliest acts of legislation passed by the Knesset, Israel's unicameral parliament. A look into certain areas of Israeli society, namely the military, politics, community cooperatives and overall employment shall determine whether or not the observance of gender equality prevails in Israel.

Military

The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) comprise a small nucleus of commissioned and non-commissioned regular officers, a contingent enlisted for national service, and a huge reserve. As of August 1998, the total regular armed forces composed of the army (134,000 - the biggest), the airforce and the navy (9,000 - the smallest) numbered 175,000 including 138,500 conscripts. The full mobili-

zation of 605,000 can be immediately achieved with reserves numbering 430,000. The estimated defense budget for 1998 was at 25,100 million new shekels (US\$7,000 million).¹³ Small as it may seem, the Israeli military exerts great influence in almost all areas of private and public life and maintains tight linkages and widespread overlapping with political, managerial, financial, intellectual and cultural networks.

Israel is the only country in the free world with a Military Service Law ordering compulsory military conscription for both men and women.

This stems from the belief expressed by David Ben-Gurion that “the army represents a symbol of duty, and as long as women are not equal in this duty, they have not attained equality.”¹⁴ Apparently, the rest of Israeli society shares this belief. In accordance with the Military Service Law, men and women aged 18 are conscripted for compulsory service in the Israeli Defense Forces – men for 36 months, women for 24 and recently reduced to 21 months – after which, they remain liable for reserve duty, men to age 51 and single women to age 24 years old.

Married women and mothers are exempted from being drafted. Military service maybe deferred for women accepted by academic institutions in fields supportive of the IDF. After finishing their studies and undergoing officer training, they serve in their specific professions such as engineers, computer experts and doctors. While military service is compulsory for the Jews and Druzes, it is voluntary for Christians, Circassians and Muslims. Exemption is now allowed for a wider variety of reasons, but those exempted may volunteer for the National Service. They could work as medical assistants and teachers’ aides.

An Israeli woman soldier belongs to two commands: 1) the corps to which she is assigned, and 2) the CHEN or the women’s corps. Headed by a brigadier-general who is a member of the IDF General Staff, the CHEN holds the responsibility for the training, welfare and discipline of women soldiers in the course of their service.

The Israeli women’s involvement in the country’s defense predates the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. In the early 20th century, women did their share in guarding new isolated Jewish settlements. At the time of the British Mandate from 1922 to 1948, they actively participated in defending the Jewish community against Arab attacks. A number also joined the military underground organizations which opposed the British restrictions of Jewish immigration and settlement. During World War II, some 5,000 women enlisted in the British forces to struggle against Nazi Germany. In Israel’s War of Independence in 1948-1949, women fought alongside men in the ranks of the newly established IDF. One of them was Tova Eizik, who was held captive as Prisoner of War by Syria for almost a year.

Noncombat rather than combat jobs are preferably assigned to women. Except during the War of Independence, which witnessed some Israeli women soldiers performing combat duty, women occupy a wide range of noncombat jobs in the army, navy and air force as soldiers and officers. They perform duties ranging from administrative and logistics functions, to highly sophisticated technological and specialized tasks. This is because the "front line was and is considered unsuitable for women, and, by and large, the very thought of having women in direct contact with the enemy raises horrifying images of women POWs being raped and tortured," if not Israel being compelled to pay ransom for women in captivity. Around 17 percent of women soldiers prefer to serve in the IDF on a career basis, in command posts and in various technical, professional and administrative capacities.

In 1983, Amira Dotan served as the commander of the Women's Corps, the first woman to become a brigadier-general, a rank normally held by heads of all army corps. More women were integrated into the various units of the IDF, many of them serving as training officers of future combat troops. By 1984, almost 40 percent of IDF occupants were, in principle, available to women, compared to only 29.6 percent in 1976. The favorable change of policy towards women was, however, shortlived. After 1988, the IDF considered it a waste of resources to train women for jobs which they would perform only for a short period of time and for which they could not be called upon in time of national emergency or calamity. Thus, a current policy allows only the young women who have completed at least 11 years of schooling to serve in the IDF.

What about the opportunity to rise in the military? Women who serve in the career army reveal the presence of an invisible ceiling that hinders most of them from rising higher than the rank of a colonel. All the higher ranks in the IDF are held by men, while majority of the women serve as subordinates and are assigned to auxiliary facilities. The military being the central point in the life of an Israeli, not being able to serve in the defense force relegates one, even a woman, to "second class, dependent and even 'useless' citizen."¹⁵

While the military offers a vast opportunity for men to improve their life and career as well as to reach the highest echelon of their profession, it is not so among women. For an Israeli woman, the IDF does not offer a sure access to more senior military positions or high positions in other areas of employment. Legally restricted from engaging in combat duty, she lacks the eligibility for promotion to all high ranking positions for which combat service is a requirement. The Israeli military considers "experience in a combat role as a prerequisite for access to the great majority of senior-level military positions." Majority of women officers belong to the

women's corps, where they perform social service tasks, or are assigned to administrative and professional positions in the general army. Except for the commander of the Women's Corps, no woman occupies the two ranks immediately below the chief of staff and only about a dozen women occupy the third rank just below the chief of staff. At the most, an Israeli woman assumes an auxiliary or a secondary role in the military. As a civilian, she performs the traditional supportive tasks of a wife, a lover and a mother, fixing the uniforms, writing comforting letters and sending goodies during the men's compulsory service.

Perhaps, in recognition to this inequity, Brig. General Orit Adato of the IDF's women's corps announced on October 1999 that all positions in the military will be open to women including the combat units. This opportunity requires new legislations that will extend the length of service by women as well as provide equal salary scales for both sexes in combat unit. The implementation of this new policy still remains to be seen, hence, a call for celebration would be premature at this point in time.

Politics

Before discussing the status of women in Israeli politics, it would be better to briefly describe the country's political system. The highest authority in Israel rests with the Knessets, a unicameral body composed of 120 members elected through universal suffrage for four years based on proportional representation. The President, the constitutional head-of-state currently in the person of Ezer Weizman, is elected for five years and the executive power lies with the Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister. The Cabinet ministers are usually members of the Knesset to which they are responsible, although nonmembers may be appointed.

Israel is divided into: six districts; 31 municipalities, which include two Arab towns; 115 Councils, of which 46 are Arab and Druze; and 49 Regional Councils (with one Arab) composed of representatives of 700 villages.

Women's participation in the democratic and multi-party system is coursed mainly through women's sections in the various political parties, public bodies and women organizations. The issue of women suffrage was first raised in 1903 when delegates of the Jewish community in Eretz assembled in Zikhron Ya'akov to decide on the establishment of their first elected body of representatives. In this event, an overwhelming majority denied the granting of women's voting rights and this decision was repeated in 1918 during the meeting called in order to draft the constitution

for a "Founding Assembly." However, in December of the same year, the Founding Assembly passed a resolution allowing women to vote without referring to their right to be elected. This infuriated both women and their opponents, resulting in frequent postponement of elections. The following year, the Jewish Federation of Equal Rights was founded in Eretz. Majority of its members were middle class urban women with a higher degree of education than their rural sisters.

Elections were finally held in April 1920 and described by Shalvi, thus:

Separate polling booths were set up for the ultra-Orthodox men, who were allowed two votes – one for themselves and one on behalf of their wives. Of the Women Federation, which ran its own independent list, seven members were elected who, together with a further seven women elected by various workers' parties, constituted 4.5 percent of the total number of representatives.

It was only in 1925 when the principles of equal voting and election rights were finally confirmed at the national level. But women continue to be discriminated against as evidenced by the fact that even today, over 25 percent of the villages deny women the right to vote.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it may be said that Israeli women have been involved in politics since the founding of the first political institutions in the country at the turn of the century. Yet, it is still virtually an all-male political establishment where women are underrepresented at both national and local levels. Based on a study, two main reasons account for this: a) the reluctance of women to participate in public life, and b) the prevailing electoral system in which women are considered as a competing interest group rather than as a huge part (one-half) of the population.¹⁸ Large political parties tend to restrict the number of women in their list of candidates, while small parties allow women to compete with men for available positions.

The 1991 Gulf War served as an eye-opener for many Israeli women, as it made them realize their vital role in maintaining balance and order in the midst of chaos, in providing care, affection and strength to their families in times of despair, and in preparing secure places for people to congregate when the alarms sounded. This awareness made it easier for more women to be persuaded to run for office in the Knesset elections of June 1993. Party leaders also came to realize that women voters could not be ignored, and women voters were urged to consider a party's stand on women issues as one criterion for deciding whom to vote for.

Consequently, for the first time in the country's history as an independent state, the following took place:¹⁹

- 1) two women with portfolios have served as cabinet ministers – Shulamit Aloni for Communications, Culture and Science, and Ora Namir for Labor and Social Welfare;
- 2) the Knesset has established a House Committee on the Status of Women, headed by MK Yael Dayan;
- 3) the heads of three women's organizations – Na'mat, WIZO and the Israel Women's Network (IWN) – held a joint conference to express their concern for a proposed Bill of Human Rights which could perpetuate the rabbinate's (office of Jewish professional religious master/teachers) current monopolistic control over personal status; and
- 4) more than a dozen women's organizations have banded together to link up with their counterparts abroad in the International Coalition for Agunan Rights (ICAR) which is concerned with reforms in the system of divorce.

Moreover, following the 1999 elections, women membership in the 120-member Knesset has recorded an all time high of 15 or 12.5 percent from the usual record of 9.1 percent. Two of them occupy cabinet positions, i.e. Dalia Itzik as Environment Minister and Yael Tamir as Minister of Immigration. Unlike in the past, all these elected women have expressed dedication "to furthering women's issues, improving their status, and ensuring their equal rights and opportunities."²⁰ It is to everyone's knowledge that prior to these developments, Israel has been under its first woman Prime Minister in the person of Golda Meir, the second woman in the world to hold such a position, the first being Indira Ghandi of India. Golda Meir was a signatory to Israel's Declaration of Independence in 1948 and led Israel during a volatile era in the country's history in the 1970s. She was a Zionist (a person dedicated to creating a homeland for the Jews).

At the local level, results of the November 1993 elections increased by 2.4 percent the number of women elected, as compared to the results of the local elections held in 1989. From 1993, the number of women elected to municipal councils remarkably increased by 40 percent. In 1999, for the first time in 43 years, two female mayors were elected in Israel, i.e. Yael German of Herzeliya and Miriam Fireburg of Netanya.

Constituting an important factor in the increased conscientization of the Israeli women are the various organizations concerned not only with advancing the status of women but also with the processes of women empowerment. Starting from a handful of feminist organizations established in the early 1970s, there now exist over 80 women's organizations in Israel. These organizations dedicatedly tackle issues confronting women such as rape and other forms of violence against women, employment discrimination, women's rights, gender bias, religious and ethnic dis-

crimination, and so forth. They also provide services ranging from skills training, psychological and legal counseling, health and medical services, day-care center, to consciousness-raising outreach such as environmental awareness and educational programs for women and children in Arab villages.

Women's organizations have indeed sprouted freely in Israel, the three largest of which are the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) established in 1920 and with a membership of around 100,000; the NA'MAT (Movement of Working Women and Volunteers) created in 1921 and with about 750,000 members; and the EMUNAH (national Religious Women's Organization) having a membership of 80,000. Other organizations concerned with women's plight include: the Women's Israel ORT, affiliated with ORT Israel and ORT Women's sections all over the world, which aims at promoting and advancing vocational and technical education; the Organization of Herut Women in Israel (affiliated with the Herut political party), which maintains day care centers and senior citizens clubs as well as works towards more participation of women in public life; the B'Nai Brith Women in Israel, a Jewish service organization which serves society through a variety of projects based solely on volunteers; the Bat Shalom, a Jerusalem-based feminist center working to promote peace and social justice through community projects, human rights advocacy and leadership training; the Association of Rape Crisis Centers, which supports efforts to reduce the incidence of sexual violence and improve services for survivors of assault; the Israel Childbirth Training Center, which supports child birth training, education, pregnant women and new mothers as well as advocates reforms in maternity care in Israel; and the Bedouin Women's Council of Israel, which supports educational and training programs that promote the status of Bedouin women in Israel.

Last but not the least is the International Women's Network (IWN), a feminist coalition which aims at attaining equality of the sexes. More than one-third of the elected women in Israel had taken part in the IWN leadership training courses, where women learned such basic skills as media appearance, speech training writing and delivery, fund raising and networking, thereby equipping them better for a public life.

Indeed, the Israeli women's visibility in the political firmament has become more observable, and women have been gradually gaining ground in their quest for political empowerment. This may be attributed to the numerous and still increasing conscientization programs being conducted by concerned organizations, especially women's organizations.

Cooperative Communities

As mentioned earlier, majority of the people involved in agriculture live in *kibbutz/kibbutzim*, which numbered about 280 in early 1993²¹ but decreased a little to 267 in 1995,²² or in *moshav/moshavim*, which totalled around 410 and inhabited by a total of 155,700 people in December 1991,²³ and which increased to 411 in 1995. About six percent of Israeli women establish their homes in these unique cooperative rural communities, which substantiates the pioneers' vision of returning to the country to labor on the land "in the framework of a productive, egalitarian society." It is said that in all respects, women are equal members of the *kibbutz*, described below thus:²⁴

Kibbutz is a unique form of collective settlement developed in Israel. It is a collective enterprise based on common ownership and resources and on the pooling of labor, income and expenditure. Every member is expected to work to the best of his ability and he is paid no wages but is supplied by the *kibbutz* with all the goods and services he needs. *Kibbutz* is based on voluntary action and mutual liability, equal rights of all members, and assumes for them full material responsibility. The *Kibbutz* is the central provider and decisions are taken by the General Assembly of its members. Meals, eaten in a central dining hall, are prepared in a communal kitchen; clothing and linen are washed, mended and distributed by a central laundry, and children grow up together in organized framework.

With these arrangements, women are released from their time-consuming domestic duties. They have become equal participants in the *kibbutz* labor force, and jobs in all branches of the *kibbutz* economy are accessible to them. This appears to be in contrast to the *kibbutz* women two generations ago who preferred "men's work" to prove their worth. Majority of the *kibbutz* women today show reluctance in engaging in agriculture and industry, preferring instead jobs in education, health and other services.

Paradoxically, the granddaughters of women who, 75 years ago insisted on being released from domestic chores, now figure as the leading force within the *kibbutz* for "more parental involvement in the upbringing of children and for allocating women more time at home with their families." These granddaughters, now in the state of motherhood themselves, have chosen to nurture their children at home, instead of having them reared in children's houses and dormitories provided by the *kibbutz*. It resulted in a switch from communal child-rearing to what is called 'home-sleeping.' This change in women's attitude may be attributed to their present predicament being at variance with their grandmothers' past experiences. It may

also be due to the relative stability of the current situation, as compared to the time of the pioneers when the joint efforts of men and women was necessary in rebuilding the nation. Theodor Herzl, during the First Zionist Congress in 1897, declared: 'A nation striving to be recognized as equal among other nations can ill afford not to recognize women as equal among men.'²⁵ This statement underscores the inevitability of combined efforts of men and women in the national revival of the Jewish people in the Promised Land. Consequently, the women now simultaneously bear the burden of individual homemaking and the responsibility of attending to the domestic aspects of communal life.

On the other hand, *moshav* is a self-governing agricultural community where membership is by family, and the family is the basic work force in each farm,²⁶ although both husband and wife are considered members in their own right. It is comprised of 60 families on the average, each maintaining its own household, while purchasing, marketing and provision of community services are managed cooperatively. Individual farms in any village are of equal sizes and every farmer works in his own farm. But his economic and social security is ensured by the cooperative structure of the village, which provides him with equipment, credit and many other services.²⁷

Both in the *kibbutz* and in the *moshav*, the respective committees dealing with the various aspects of community life – from economics to education – make all policy decisions. Women constitute a vital factor in many committees, particularly those that concern cultural, social and health-related issues, thus, playing an important role in the formation and direction of life in these communities.²⁸ While the men engage in 'real' work, i.e. income-generating productive labor – considered as the true basis of power and prestige in the *kibbutz* as elsewhere – the women work as "general-secretaries" and treasurers, manage the *kibbutzim* and transact with the external world. If women were elected to any office, it was usually "Education and Culture Coordinator" and only recently have some *kibbutzim* elected women to "more crucial, more prestigious and more powerful positions."

Many of the women in *moshavs* and *kibbutz* are trained in agricultural work. Israel takes pride of an Agricultural School for Women founded in 1911 at Kineret by Hanna Meisel after studying agriculture in Europe. She built this school primarily for women who choose either to join the existing *moshavs* and *kibbutz*, or form themselves into separate, self-supporting women's cooperatives. Others form themselves into groups of six to 10 members, moving together in search of employment, such as serving as mentors for younger women.

Overall Employment

Socialist ideology and economic exigencies are said to have given rise to egalitarian aspirations in Israel. The economic needs of a country then experiencing a fast-paced development necessitated women's involvement in the work force, resulting in the expansion of an already significant number of child-care centers, most of them established and maintained by major women voluntary organizations. Working mothers were the norm in the 1950s, although a number of them were employed as fairly low paid child-caregivers for the professionally more skilled. At a period of rapid economic growth, full employment was a national need. Encouragement for women to join the work force came in the form of such measures as maternity leave (for 3 months at 80 percent of full salary for women gainfully employed for at least 9 months prior to childbirth), decreased work hours for mothers of school-age and younger children, and the right to apply for sick leave in order to care for ailing children. In the free professions where the academic qualifications constituted a primary requirement, women earned as much as their male colleagues. For instance, no difference in income existed between male and female faculty members in the country's only university from 1925 to 1956, although almost all the professors in that university were men.

Underneath this show of equality between men and women was the existence of sexual inequality on Israel's security and economy, which was made to surface by a series of events such as the Women's Liberation Movement that swept the US in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Yom Kippur War that broke out on October 6, 1973 (coinciding with the Yom Kippur or Day of Atonement, the holiest day of the Jewish year; also the most extensive and longest of all Israel's wars), and lasted until 1974, as well as the Gulf War in 1991.²⁹ During the Yom Kippur War, when a very high proportion of the male population was conscripted for an entire year, vital services in the factories, on the roads, and in *kibbutzim* almost broke down, highlighting the lack, if not the absence of women in these important sectors of the economy. The presence, if not sufficient number of women in these sectors would have enabled them to manage the production machineries and to make important decisions needed to keep the economy going.

Efforts have been exerted during the administrations of Prime Ministers Yitzhak Rabin, Menachem Begin and their successors in order to ameliorate the conditions of women and to ensure equal opportunities between men and women through legislative and administrative measures. Aside from the Equal Pay Law of 1964, also passed were the Equal Retirement Age Law of 1987 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1988. In 1990, the Employment of Women Law

was amended in order to provide for an allowance of 25 percent of the average wage for working women medically required to rest during pregnancy, among others. And in 1992, Knesset formed the Committee on the Status of Women to initiate legislations aimed at uplifting women's status and enhancing their role in all aspects of Israeli society.

The Israeli women in contemporary times allegedly define equality in terms of equal opportunity. Notwithstanding the level of position they occupy, they participate in almost all spheres of work in the country, comprising nearly half of its professionals. Women's role is dominant in the service sector, while production is for men. But critics feel it is pervasively prejudicial to women due to the possible consequence of permanently typecasting and relegating women to domestic and non-productive endeavors. It is significant to note that a large percentage of women workers at present tend to join the so-called female professions such as teachers, social workers, nurses and secretaries, in contrast to the pioneer women who insisted on shared labor with men. The pioneer women struggled within the Labor Zionist movement for the chance to perform "men's work," thus, they "cleared rock-strewn fields, harvested crops, built roads and houses and guarded their villages alongside men. While the two generations of women both sought equality, they differed in the preferred areas of actualization.

In 1922, Israel's total civilian labor force was 1,857.8 million, broken down into 776.6 million women and 1,080.9 million men. Most of them worked in public and community services (483.2 million), in manufacturing (344.3 million), and in trade/restaurants/hotels (29.1 million). The agricultural sector had one of the lowest economically active population (fourth from the lowest, with only 57.8 million).³⁰ In 1997, Israel's total labor force rose to 2,210 million, divided into 1,240 million males and 970 million females. From 1995 to 1997, a shift in the top three sectors with the most economically active population as well as women labor force was observed. Within this timeframe, the manufacturing sector employed most of them (397.9 million and 393.1 million, respectively), followed by wholesale and retail trade (248.6 million and 263.1 million, respectively), and education (235.8 million and 246.2 million, respectively). Agriculture's employment record further eroded to 48.9 million. Although belonging to the largest income-generating sector which is industry, mining and quarrying recorded the lowest employment of 6.2 million and 5.1 million, respectively, within the same timeframe.³¹

Women comprise about 40 percent of the total labor force and their participation rate is a function of age, education, background, and family size. To illustrate: 32 the majority of women in the labor force are within the 35-44 age

group, which is 63 percent of the employed women. Half of the 18- to 20-year olds are serving their compulsory military term or are engaged in voluntary national service. Of the 20- to 24-year olds, a substantial number is enrolled in some type of higher education, while many between the ages of 25 and 34, which comprise 58 percent (the second largest age group), stay home to raise their families. The third largest age group is between 45 and 54, constituting 53 percent of the working women.

Seventy-seven percent of women university graduates obtain employment outside the home while only 17 percent of those with incomplete elementary school education are employed. Those who finished post-secondary and vocational school record 67 percent employment rate while 31 percent of primary school graduates gain employment. This shows a positive correlation between employment and education.

Ideological tradition still casts a shadow over Israel's employment sector. Until the 1960s, collective ideology was prevalent in Israeli society; an ideology "not of personal entitlements but of social obligations, not of equal opportunity for individual advancement but of commitment to a collective." The term *career* was frowned upon as it implied putting one's personal success above the needs of the collective. But *careeristit* (career-oriented women) even received greater disapproval than *careerist* (career-oriented man).³³ The collectivist ideology became much weakened in the later decades, but the inhibition of women from pursuing personal and professional advancement continued. Even at present, the number of working women in every ethnic community in Israel reflects a particular community's attitude towards women working outside the home. Some communities show encouragement and support while others regard employment as a violation of tradition. To illustrate: 34 women with parents born in Europe or America recorded the highest employment percentage (62 percent), followed by those whose parents were born in Asia or Africa (52 percent), and in Israel (47 percent). This reflects a more open attitude towards work among the parents born in the continents of Europe and America than those parents born in Israel. Perhaps, Israeli-born women are preferred to non-Israeli born women because the former are perceived to possess a more profound understanding of the working norms and habits of society, thus possessing the ability to work more efficiently and harmoniously with employers and colleagues.

As to family size, women's participation in the work force tends to decline in relation to the number of children and the age of the youngest child in the family, inasmuch as maternal role is accorded with priority. Israel is a family-centered

society that considers marriage and motherhood as social imperatives. This explains the fact that more than 95 percent of women are married by the age of 40, with children at an average rate 2.8 per family, and are left with no choice between starting a family or building a career. Working mothers adopt a number of strategies that *appropriately* combine paid work with family life but mostly *inappropriate* for getting promoted at work. To cope with dual responsibilities of home and work, women gravitate to part-time jobs with working hours that fit into the domestic schedule. Hence, 38.6 percent of the employed women work on a part-time basis. They prefer positions with flexible working hours, such as nursing and social work. Others choose to postpone accepting more responsible positions until such time that the children have grown up. And although Israel's law guarantees equal pay for both sexes, women tend to be found on the lower wage scales due to the part-time basis of their work. Control over time is a primary consideration even among the female professionals. For instance, 83 percent of female doctors specialized in fields adjudged as high on allowing time control, compared to 38 percent of male physicians. In the government service where fixed and relatively short working hours serve as attractions, 73 percent of the pharmacists and 68 percent of the lawyers are women.³⁵

It is claimed that most spheres of activity in Israel are made accessible to women, and opportunities remain available to those who dream of reaching the top. True enough, not a few Israeli women occupy prestigious positions in a wide range of fields. Some are managers of commercial and cultural enterprises, others run their own businesses, head public institutions such as universities and hospitals, and many serve as officers in the police and armed forces, or work as researchers and senior scientists. Moreover, some major gains have been charted for the past two decades, especially in the area of management in the public sector.³⁶

However, when pictured in relation to the total higher professions, top level career women comprise only a small percentage of those who have availed themselves of these opportunities. A considerable majority of women remain in the middle rungs of the occupational ladder. Consider this: while 88 percent of all elementary school teachers and about 35 percent of university faculty members are women, only about 50 percent of school principals and 22 percent professors are women. About 50 percent of medical practitioners in the numerous sick-fund clinics are women, but very few females are professors of medicine, surgeons or gynecologists. A similar trend can be observed in management and in the military, as previously discussed.

Interpretations of this trend seem to fall along two main lines. On the one hand, the government considers this phenomenon as a "women's choice." It con-

tends that women themselves are “reluctant to make the commitment of time and energy required to achieve high-ranking executive and professional positions” due to the centrality of maternal responsibilities.³⁷ On the other hand, some women’s groups attribute it heavily to gender bias observed at the top echelons of the occupational ladder. Explanations for this trend have likewise been offered, such as blocked opportunities for women, limited access to information, lack of support and devalued entitlements.³⁸ Whichever it may be, the fact remains that women’s secondary status in certain areas of Israeli society necessitates rectification.

Aspirations

Women’s organizations in Israel deeply feel the need to incessantly labor for the alleviation of Israeli women’s plight in more meaningful ways. First, they claim that the promise of gender equality provided in Israel’s Declaration of Independence in 1948, is a promise “counteracted by the Labor Party’s co-opting of the affiliated women’s organizations and their consequent inability to put women’s interests above those of the party.”³⁹ Second, their analysis of present trends in employment and management has revealed the necessity for some changes in work patterns and in the adoption of measures such as flextime, job-sharing, and work-based child care facilities. These would facilitate the combining of wage-earning work with home-making and child-rearing activities by both spouses. Moreover, they propose that more women be trained in management and decision-making skills and that the employers provide women employees with more opportunities for promotion to higher rungs of the professional ladder. Inculcating the concept of role-sharing and eradicating the stereotypical and outmoded divisions of male and female functions have also been suggested to be incorporated in family studies. Most of all, women academics who are experts in every aspect of gender-equality education must be given broader opportunity to influence the educational system of Israel. They believe that educating both the young and the old, the male and the female, the officials and the common people on gender sensitivity and equality would deepen their understanding of women issues and elicit from them a stronger support for a truly satisfying and more profound gender egalitarianism.

Concluding Notes

Israel's claim of granting equal rights to men and women in accordance with its ideology appears to be more in writing and less in practice. Despite its egalitarian discourse, limitations to women's rights still prevail as manifested in the areas of military, politics, community cooperatives and overall employment, which this paper focused on. Perhaps, this can be attributed to an observation that Israeli society, like many other patriarchal societies, generally observes the traditional division of functions according to biological imperatives: *women in the home and family, men in the workplace and in public life*. While this division of social functions is normally accepted as a matter of course in many countries in the East as well as in the West, some consider this as "pervasively prejudicial to women's status in Israel where the family is considered not only as normative but the ideal value in the country's social structure."⁴⁰ Israel wants to preserve the ideal nuclear family, composed of a male head of the household and a wife-mother who bears and rears children, as a national imperative "for the survival of the Jewish people," considering its ambivalent, if not turbulent relations with its Arab neighbors.

Regardless of the guiding ideology, one aspect of Israeli life is said to remain unchanged: *men are the primary breadwinners and women the primary home-makers*. This particular role designation between male and female, however, is being observed or practiced not only in Israeli society but in other countries around the world, both industrialized and developing, including the Philippines.

The fact is, tremendous efforts still have to be exerted in order to upgrade the condition of women in general. Absolute equality between male and female seems to be an impossible dream, but dreaming of it is definitely far better than complete resignation to male domination.

Notes

¹*Women in Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Information Center, 1991. p.17.

²Conceptualizing this paper did not pose a problem, but data gathering was quite a problem due to the paucity of materials on the subject matter. A visit to the Israeli embassy yielded only two thin booklets on the women of Israel, and some historical notes were generated from a reference material found at the Asian Development Bank Library. It was not until a new friend, to whom I mentioned my problem, gave me photocopies of some materials she gathered through the Internet did I start writing this article.

³*Middle East and North Africa 1995 Yearbook; Europa World Yearbook 1999*, vol. 1

⁴Dafna N. Izraeli, "Outsiders in the Promised Land: Women Managers in Israel," *Competitive Frontiers*. Ed. by Nancy J. Adler and Dafna N. Izraeli. Mass., USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994. p.303

⁵*Women in Israel* (1991), *loc. cit.*, p.26

⁶Izraeli, *op. cit.*

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Middle East*, *loc. cit.*

⁹*Europa World Yearbook 1996*, vol. 1, p. 1662

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp.1663-1668

¹¹*Women in Israel* (1991), *loc.cit.*, p.2

¹²Alice Shalvi. *Women in Israel*. Published by New Israel Fund and the Israel Women's Network, 1996.

¹³*Europa*, *loc.cit.*, p.1668

¹⁴*Women in Israel* (1991), *loc.cit.*, p.24

¹⁵ Shalvi's *Women ...*, *loc.cit.*

¹⁶ *Women in Israel* (1991), *loc.cit.*, p.25

¹⁷ Shalvi's *Women ...*, *op.cit.*

¹⁸ *Women in Israel* (1991), *op.cit.*, p.16

¹⁹ Shalvi's *Women ...*, *op.cit.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Middle East*, *loc. cit.* p.536

²² *Europa*, *loc.cit.*, p.1668

²³ *Middle East*, *loc. cit.* p.536

²⁴ *Ibid.*, and *Women in Israel* (1991), *loc. cit.*, p.8

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.6

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.9

²⁷ *Middle East*, *loc. cit.* p.536

²⁸ *Europa*, *loc.cit.*, p.9

²⁹ Shalvi's *Women ...*, *loc.cit.*

³⁰ *Middle East*, *loc. cit.*

³¹ *Europa World Yearbook 1996*, vol. 1

³² *Women in Israel* (1991), *loc.cit.*, p.11

³³ *Izraeli*, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ *Op. cit.*

³⁵ *Op. cit.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* p.314

³⁷ *Women in Israel* (1991), *loc.cit.*, p.13

³⁸ *Op. cit.* p316

³⁹ *Ibid.* p.317

⁴⁰ Shalvi's *Women ...*, *loc.cit.*

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