

ARTICLE 6

Suppression of the Exploitation of Women

State Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

1. General

There are no official numbers regarding the extent of prostitution and the traffic of women in Israel, but there is a general consensus that it is becoming more prevalent. A reporter who has done work in this area estimates that over 10,00 women in Tel Aviv alone engage in prostitution.

2. The Legal Framework

In addition to Israel's ratification of CEDAW in 1991, Israel has also ratified the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. In principle, the current Israeli legal framework for dealing with prostitution is based upon the abolitionist approach, as is the Convention's approach. However, the current legal arrangement and its method of enforcement suffer from inconsistencies and lack of protocol for dealing with the reality of prostitution. Prostitution in itself is not, and has never been, a crime under Israeli law, and the woman who engages in prostitution is not considered a criminal. Instead, the legal system engages in selective prohibition, by criminalizing exploitive conducts that surround prostitution, so that both the exploitive and practical aspects of prostitution are criminalized. Thus, engaging in prostitution as a client or sponsor is a criminal act, while prostitution itself is not.

"Procurement," defined as living off the profits or taking all or some profits from a woman who engages in prostitution, and solicitation of a woman to engage in prostitution, are crimes according to sections 199-201 of the Penal Law-1977, punishable by 5 years in prison, and up to 7 years under aggravating circumstances. Such aggravated circumstances include the following: when the woman is a minor under 18 years old; when the woman is the perpetrator's daughter, wife, or when he is her custodian, teacher, or otherwise in charge of her; when the perpetrator accused of soliciting was armed during the act. Case law, however, had interpreted solicitation to mean proven engagement in prostitution, thus making it much more difficult to prosecute for solicitation. Under section 202 of the Penal Law, soliciting a woman to leave her home with the intention of engaging her in prostitution is punishable by 5 years imprisonment, and if the woman is a minor - by up to seven years. Soliciting a woman to leave the country for the same purpose is also punishable by seven years. Section 207 imposes mandatory imprisonment on perpetrators convicted under sections 199-202, with no possibility of a suspended sentence. This is a highly unusual provision in the context of the Israeli criminal law and indicates the gravity which the legislator had attributed to these crimes.

Thus, these laws present potentially broad means to intervene for the purpose of lessening the exploitation, degradation and dangers facing women who engage in prostitution. However, these sections are rarely enforced. Instead, the prostitutes themselves are often arrested, not for engaging in prostitution - since that is not a criminal offense, but for related practices such as the enticement of others to engage in indecent acts in public places, a felony punishable by three months in prison, according to section 209(a). Usually prostitutes are released after several hours, but sometimes they are charged under section 209(a), which was never intended to serve as a regulation of prostitution, or under section 216(a) (5) which prohibits "strolling." Another criminal offense directly applicable to women who engage in prostitution, is section 215(c) which states that being in a place for the purpose of engaging

in prostitution, in circumstances which pose disturbance to neighbors or obstruction of traffic is punishable by up to one year in prison. Other crimes which may also be applicable to women prostitutes are sections 204-205 of the Penal Law, according to which the maintenance and management of a place for purposes of prostitution, including a motor vehicle or a vessel, are also criminal crimes, punishable by up to 5 years in prison. Similarly, lending a place for the purpose of prostitution is punishable by up to 6 months in prison. It should be noted that case law has interpreted these provisions to include situations in which women engage in prostitution in their homes, not just in brothels, or "massage institutes." These laws, again, are rarely enforced against women, as illustrated by the data supplied by the police in the following table.

Table 1 - Convictions in Prostitution Related Crimes

Offence	1994			1995		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Procurement						
number	30	18	48	42	11	53
percent	62.5	37.5	100	79.2	20.7	100
Solicitation to Engage in Prostitution						
number	3	1	4	15	2	17
percent	75	25	100	88.2	11.7	100
Solicitation to Prostitute						
number	8	3	11	12	5	17
percent	72.7	27.2	100	70.5	29.4	100
Keeping a House of Prostitution						
number	49	147	196	106	232	338
percent	25	75	100	31.3	68.6	100
Solicitation of Minors						
number	42		42	44	2	46
percent	100		100	95.6	4.3	100

Source: Israel Police

Notwithstanding the relatively large number of convictions, the overall level of enforcement remains rather low. In internal instructions issued by the State Attorney in January 1994, the police are instructed to commence investigations under each of the following circumstances: when minors are involved in prostitution; when those who engage in prostitution have been manipulated into it; when there is severe abuse of women who engage in prostitution by their procurer, including blackmail and violence; when additional criminal activity such as drug-abuse is taking place. When one of these circumstances occurs in relation to the prostitution-related offences described above, the State-Attorney Office shall consider pressing charges.

As to the specific legislation aimed at the prevention of traffic in women, the only specific expression is in section 202(2) mentioned above, regarding the solicitation of a woman to leave "the country," i.e. Israel, in order to engage in prostitution in another country. There is no parallel provision related to bringing women from another country into Israel for that purpose.

The legal framework theoretically offers means to criminally charge the clientele of the sex-industry under at least one section, namely section 210 of the Penal Law-1977, which states that approaching a minor under 16 or an adult woman with indecent insinuations is punishable by up to three months in prison. This section however, has never been enforced against clients of prostitutes.

3. Evaluation of the Actual Situation

In the last few years, the problem of prostitution has grown in Israel, particularly among foreign women. It is difficult to obtain official statements regarding the exact extent of the phenomenon, but most of this traffic in women comes from the former USSR; some of these women enter Israel as tourists, though many of them are given false identities which facilitates their immigration to Israel. According to authorities at the Neve Tirza women's prison, there has been a steady increase in the numbers of foreign women involved in sex-work who are arrested for illegal stay in Israel and who are detained before being deported to their home-countries; in over 95% of the cases, these home countries were in the former USSR.

The average time these women spend in prison is 50 days, but detention may vary depending on the time needed to verify their identities and prepare the necessary documentation for their deportation. The women themselves are supposed to pay for their expenses, but when their resources are inadequate, the Ministry of Interior finances their deportation from a special budget.

On the governmental level, a special Service for Girls in Distress in the Ministry of Labor and Social-Services is in charge of prevention and rehabilitation programs for girls in these situations, as will be detailed below.

On the non-governmental level, there is only one organization which deals exclusively with the problem of prostitution, namely Shani - Israeli Abolitionist Center Against Contemporary Slavery, which is the Israeli branch established in 1995 of the International Abolitionist Federation. Several of the more general women's organizations in Israel have also recently become involved in this area.

NGOs who work in this area observe that there is no organized "sex tourism" into Israel, although it is not uncommon for some hotels to supply their guests with information about "sex services." Outgoing "sex tourism" prompted various NGOs to advance legislation to prohibit Israeli citizens from engaging in commercial sexual-relations with minors outside the state of Israel.

4. Involvement of Minors in Prostitution

The issue of minors' involvement in prostitution is dealt with under the general provisions of their Penal Law-1977, in the sections constituting aggravated circumstances, as described above. In addition, there is a special prohibition, punishable by three years in prison, against permitting a minor (defined as a person between 2-17 years old) who is under one's supervision to live in or frequent a place of prostitution. Similarly, permitting a minor under 18 who is under one's supervision to engage in enticement under section 209(a), is also punishable by three years in prison. As part of the growing awareness of this problem, there are several related bills in progress, aimed at preventing minors from involvement in prostitution.

There are few NGO's who are devoted to work in the area of child-prostitution, of these the most prominent are Elem, which deals solely with minors, and Shani - mentioned above. Recently, as a result of the rising awareness of this problem on the international level as well as in Israel, other NGOs who deal with children's rights have joined in efforts to combat child-prostitution.

The head of the Elem organization testified in the Knesset Education Committee about the methods that are used to identify vulnerable girls in nightclubs and force them into prostitution. Once again, no statistical data has been obtained to indicate the extent of this phenomenon. According to Elem, there are not enough social services which target this vulnerable population, particularly school dropouts, which could help prevent them from being drawn into prostitution.

Another major problem, according to those NGOs who deal with minors, is the growing market for child-pornography, which although not produced in Israel, is imported and sold freely in response to ever growing demand. The use of child pornography is explicitly dealt with under the section 214 of the Penal Code, which prohibits the publication and presentation of obscene materials.

One significant aspect of the spread of prostitution is the profusion of sex service advertisements in daily newspapers. The expansion of this phenomenon led to a private bill, proposed in 1995, which would restrict these advertisements. Fearing restrictions on freedom of commercial expression, media and public representatives established an ad-hoc public committee which offered guidelines to publishers regarding these concerns. These guidelines were accepted by all the parties, including representatives of the written media. The significant consequences of this initiative were: 1) The cessation of advertisements which specifically mentioned or alluded to the age (under 18) of the women whose sex-services were being advertised. 2) The moderation of the overall tone of these ads and the pictures which accompany them.

5. Social Attitudes Towards Prostitutes

The overall attitude of courts toward prostitution can be characterized as negative; it is described as immoral and corrupt. The judicial attitude toward women who engage in prostitution is more complex, and varies according to the specific circumstances of each case. In some cases, sympathetic expressions toward these women can be found, in recognition of the harsh circumstances they face and the need to protect them from abuse and exploitation through appropriate legislation (State v. Prosper). More often, however, prostitutes are portrayed as untrustworthy witnesses and as deficient mothers.

5.1 The Connection between Prostitution and Women's Criminality (Mainly Drugs)

There is a significant correlation between prostitution and drug abuse. According to the Neve Tirza prison's officials' evaluation, of the 200 prisoners currently in Neve-Tirza, 70% are drug-addicts (mainly to heroine, which is the most common drug in Israel) and 10% are in a process of getting treated. Of the 80% with drug addictions, over 60% were involved in prostitution in order to finance their addiction.

6. Rehabilitation Programs for Women and Girls in Distress

When examining rehabilitation programs for women who engage in prostitution an important distinction should be made between those who are drug-addicts and those who are not. As mentioned above, some 80% of the women prisoners are drug addicts, and as the table below shows, there is a rise in the number of women drug abusers and other drug-related crimes.

Table 2 - Convictions in Drug-Abuse Offences

Offence	1994			1995		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Use of Dangerous Substances						
number	3595	516	4111	5112	668	5780
percent	87.4	12.5	100	88.4	11.5	100
Trade in, Importing, or Exporting Drugs						
number	1675	157	1832	1600	144	1744
percent	91.4	8.5	100	91.7	8.2	100
Cultivating, Making, and Distribution of Drugs						
number	128	30	158	191	26	217
percent	81	18.9	100	88	1.9	100

Possession of Drugs Not for Personal Use

number	2395	353	2748	2782	344	3126
percent	87.1	12.8	100	88.9	11	100

Source: Israel Police

A major rehabilitation organization for girls is the Service for Girls in Distress under the Ministry of Labour and Welfare, which treats adolescent girls age 13-22 in the Jewish population and up to age 25 in the Arab population. Of those treated at any given time, 20% are generally Arabs and 20% of are generally recent immigrants. They suffer from problems ranging from drug addiction to indiscriminatory sexual relations, and unwanted pregnancies, etc., which in many cases result from physical or sexual abuse in their families. The Service works to rehabilitate these girls and re-integrate them into society through therapy, vocational training, and IDF preparation classes which enables the Jewish girls to be conscripted into the army. The Service also operates halfway houses for girls age 17-18 who are capable of functioning independently. The length of stay in these halfway houses is generally one and a half years, and there are currently 6 such halfway houses, one of which is solely for Arab girls. In addition, there are two country-wide shelters, one for Jewish girls and one for Arab girls, which provide emergency protection and treatment of up to one month. Overall, the Service treated 5500 girls in 1993, 7744 girls in 1994, 9000 girls in 1995, and about 10,000 girls in 1996.

ARTICLE 7

Political and Public Life

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country, and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- To participate in non-government organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

1. The Right to Vote and Be Elected

There is full equality between men and women regarding the right to vote and to be elected in Israel. Section 5 of the Basic Law: The Knesset specifically states that every Israeli citizen aged 18 or older shall be entitled to vote, and section 6 of the same law states that every Israeli citizen aged 21 or older is entitled to run for election.

1.1. Voting Patterns

Israeli elections consistently draw turnouts which are among the highest in the democratic world (on the average 85% of those eligible to vote). There is no noticeable difference between men and women regarding the participation in the act of voting. The percentage of men and women voters remains approximately the same (85%). Women in the Arab-Israeli community show a higher rate of voting (89.1%) than the men (80.5%).

As to the question of the relevance of gender in casting a ballot, in a national survey conducted recently, an overwhelming majority of both men and women (81% and 79%, respectively) replied that the issue did not have any impact whatsoever on their voting behavior.

2. Women as Members of Political Parties

Women operate within political parties under two categories: in specific women's sections and as individual members. They are considered to have a dual role: to recruit support for the party among women constituencies, and to promote women's representation in the party. The significance of women members in Israeli political parties was accentuated in the 1992 elections when primary elections were first held. The introduction of primaries as a means for selecting parliamentary candidates sharpened politicians' sensitivity to the public mood. In the primaries, only the registered members of a certain party may vote in that party's internal elections and can thereby decide who will be the party's candidates to the Knesset.

2.1. Party Membership and Voting

In a survey conducted recently, 17.0% of the men and 10.9% of the women respondents reported actual membership in political parties. Moreover, 44.3% of the women polled stated that they did not support nor were they active in any political party.

Table 1 - Women Elected to Knesset, by Party

Party	Number of Men	Number of Women	% of Women in Party
1996			
Labor	31	3	9%
Likud	30	2	6%
Meretz	7	2	22%
1992			
Labor	40	4	9%
Likud	30	2	6%
Ratz	4	2	33%

This data shows that in left-wing parties (Ratz, Meretz, Labor) women representation is higher than in right-wing parties (Likud). Today, a small number of women hold high-ranking positions in political parties in Israel. These include: Zehava Galon - General Secretary of Meretz (Israel Democratic Party), Tamar Guzanski - Leader of Chadash (Democratic Party for Peace and Equality), Limor Livnat (Likud) - Minister of Communications, and until recently, Shualmit Aloni who founded the Civil Rights Party and served as Cabinet Minister under the government headed by the late Yitzhak Rabin. None of the religious parties had any female candidates in viable places on their party lists.

Women who attain top party positions, do not regard themselves as representing the female constituency but rather the public at large. Moreover, women members of parliament take pains to emphasize that their political careers are geared toward national ends, rather than towards promulgating women's interests.

2.2. Public Awareness of Women Candidates

The media has a very important role in publicizing election campaigns, particularly of women. According to a poll conducted two months before the recent 1996 elections, 94% of the people interviewed said that they received information about women candidates from the media, while only 11% reported they received it from the candidates' public activity. In the same poll, 68% of the people interviewed said they believed there was no discrimination between men and women by the media. 32% of the women interviewed and 25% of the men believed there was discrimination against women. The following table

describes the sources by which members of the public gain recognition of the candidates.

Table 2 - Sources of Recognition

Source	Public Awareness		
	by Men	by Women	Total
Media	94.8%	93.3%	93.8%
Public Involvement	9.8%	12.0%	10.9%
Personal knowledge	6.7%	7.0%	6.9%
Letters to Voters	1.0%	7.2%	2.5%
Other	1.0%	3.8%	2.0%

Source: The Institute for Special Analysis

This next table illustrates the effectiveness of campaigning by women candidates.

Table 3 - Public Awareness of Women Candidates

No. of Candidates Recognized	By Men (%)	By Women (%)	Total
0	13	21.9	17.8
1	.9	5.6	3.4
2	4.5	5.6	5.1
3	9.4	7.8	8.5
4	8.1	14.5	11.6
5	17.5	13.4	15.4
6 to 10	33.2	23.8	28
11 and up	13.5	7.4	10.1

Source: The Institute for Spatial Analysis

2.3. Securing Places for Women

In the 1996 elections, 69 women ran for elections within the parties (primaries). The Labor party secured 6 places for women on its list (out of 44) and the Likud party secured 3 places for women (out of 42). Meretz, the Citizen Rights Party, secured 3 places on its list (out of 14).

After the votes were counted only 3 women were elected from the Labor party and only 2 women from the Likud party. From Meretz only 2 women were elected out of 9 Knesset members (constituting 22%). These results are primarily because the large parties diminished in their strength.

3. Women's Representation in the Knesset

Chart 1 -Women MKs Throughout the Years

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

In the 1996 elections only 9 women out of 120 were elected to the Knesset. This figure represents a decline in the number of women in the Knesset.

3.1 Women as Knesset Members

Many of the powerful seats and positions in the Knesset have never been assigned to women. For example, there has never been a woman Knesset Speaker,

though in many Knessets women have served as deputy speakers. On the two most powerful Knesset committees, the Foreign and Security Affairs Committee and the Finance Committee, few women have been assigned. As in other countries, there are many women on committees which are responsible for matters associated with traditional women's interests, such as education, welfare, and social services. In addition, women Member of Knesset have been active in promoting bills and petitions which have dealt with family, welfare, social and economic matters.

In the present Knesset (1996 elections) the nine women in the Knesset serve on one or more of the following Knesset committees: 1 woman on the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, 3 women on the Labor Committee, 3 women on the Education and Culture Committee, 3 women on the Immigration Committee, 2 women on the Interior Committee.

4. Women in Government

Since the emergence of the State of Israel, only one woman, Golda Meir, has served as prime minister. Having served in the Knesset since 1949, Golda Meir was elected prime minister in 1969 and held the prime minister's office until 1974.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel, six women have served as cabinet ministers. In the current government only 1 of 18 ministers is a woman (Limor Livnat, Minister of Communications). In addition, the heads of 2 government offices, the Environment Protection Department and the Justice Department, are women.

5. Women in Local Authorities

Data indicates women's representation in local authorities has been extremely limited. Nevertheless, there has been a significant increase in women's representation since the first local elections were held in 1950:

Chart 2 - Women Elected to Local Councils

During the State's existence, only six women have served as heads of local councils, none of them in a city with a population over 10,000. Currently, there is only one woman head of a local council, and seven women serve as deputy mayors.

6. Women in the Civil Service

6.1 Ranks of Women in the Civil Service

Although women made up 59.4% of all civil-servants in December 1995, their rate among the senior staff (namely the three top ranks) of the four main classifications (which compose the main resource for managers in the civil service) was only 10.5%. Women's underrepresentation in the top positions is correlated by their overrepresentation in the lowest ranks (rank 8 and below), where they made up 64.2% of all workers in December 1995. Recent data submitted by the Civil Commission to the Knesset Committee on the Advancement of Women show that significant progress was made from December 1994 to December 1996: the number of women among the senior staff has more than tripled in those two years (from 25 to 85) so that women now make up 14% of the senior staff. However, this apparent progress is misleading, since between 1993 and 1994 a sharp decline in the rate of women in top positions took place, as a result of the new payment-agreements that were signed. This analysis is supported by an examination of the changes in the rate of women among the lowest ranks, relative to their total rate in those four main classifications: from December 1994 to December 1996 the total rate of women increased from 53.5% to 54.3%, and their rate among the lowest ranks increased from 63.7% to 64.3%. In other words, women continue to be overrepresented in the lowest ranks of the Service.

6.2 Tenders in the Civil Service

The increase of women's participation in internal job-tenders in the civil service, both as candidates and as appointees, is quite constant: in four years the percentage of women candidates has more than doubled, from 23.2% in 1993 to 51.9% in 1996, and the percentage of women who were appointed has likewise more than doubled, from 26.1% in 1993 to 55.7% in 1996. The situation in public tenders is far less positive: from a slight increase in the percentage of women candidates and appointees (from 33.6% in 1994 to 35.2% in 1995 among the candidates, and from 36% in 1994 to 36.7% in 1995 of those appointed), there was a sharp decline among women candidates, and an even sharper one of those appointed: only 30.3% among the candidates were women, and only 28.9% of those appointed were women. The decline in the actual number of women who presented their candidacy went from 3000 in 1994 to 1670 in 1996. Furthermore, while women are consistently appointed at a higher rate relative to the rate of women who presented their candidacy (with an exception in 1994 internal tenders), this has shifted in the 1996 public tenders. The Commission tries to explain this general decline by the overall cutbacks that were imposed on the Civil Service during 1996.

In 1996, an additional regression appears in the gender-composition of the tender committees. As explained under Article 2 above, one of the changes in the Civil Service Code following the 1993 Ben-Israel committee recommendations was reinforcement of the requisite representation of both sexes in tender committees. Although there was indeed a slow decline between 1993 to 1995 in the number of committees composed of men only, both in internal and public tenders (e.g. from 5.4% to 1.6% of all committees in internal tenders, and from 33.5% to 28.6% of all committees in public tenders), there was an unexplained increase in their percentage in 1996 (3.9% in internal tenders and 30.6% in public tenders).

A final piece of information concerning tenders will conclude this examination on a somewhat pessimistic note: upon examination of data that analyses the rates of candidacy and appointment in public tenders in five leading classifications (which together made up 80% of all public tenders) along the line of specific ranks, it appears that during 1995-96, very few women presented their candidacy to the top three positions, and no women were appointed to them, except in the lawyers classification. Furthermore, there is a consistent decrease in both the rates of women candidates and the rates of women appointed as their rank increases.

Notwithstanding this analysis, an inner report of the Civil Service Commission from July 1995 analyzes the data gathered from all tender committees and concludes that at present, women stand a higher chance of being appointed in tender committees than men. The report raises the question of why so few women present their candidacy to these tenders. This is clearly one area in which more analytical energy needs to be invested.

7. Women in Public Institutions

7.1 In the General Labor Union (Histadrut)

The General Labor Union is a powerful organization which acts as an umbrella for many workers' unions in Israel.

Table 4 - Women in the Histadrut

	Total	Men	Women	% of Women
Executive Committee:				
Members	188	158	30	16%
Deputies	194	155	39	20%
Histadrut Council:				
Members	508	392	116	23%
Deputies	257	181	76	30%

Histadrut Convention (Delegates)	1154	946	208	18%
Executive Committee of the Holding Co	22	20	2	9%
Secretaries of the Labor Councils	65	63	2	3%

7.1.1. Resolution Securing Equal Representation for Women In January 1995 an important resolution was passed in the Histadrut Convention. This resolution added a provision to the articles of association of the Histadrut which demands that in every Labor Union there shall be at least 30% women. In addition, the same shall apply to all Workers' Committees.

7.2. Workers' Committees and Labor Councils

At present, 10% of all workers' committees are headed by women, and 17% of the workers' committees membership is comprised of women. There are currently 3 women secretaries of Labor Councils, 2 women deputy-secretaries of Labor Councils, and 20 women secretaries of Labor Unions. Women hold managerial positions in many Labor Councils: there are presently 4 community welfare managers, 1 educational manager, 13 treasurers, 18 community managers, 3 absorption committee heads, 3 youth committee heads, 4 consumer committee heads, 10 cultural committee heads, 8 senior citizens committee heads, 19 accountants and one spokeswoman. Altogether, there are 530 women out of 1028 overall serving in labor councils, constituting 51% of those serving in labor councils.

8. The Judiciary

The percentage of women in the judiciary is extraordinarily high compared to other areas of public life. In all the different courts (Supreme Court, District Courts, Magistrate Courts, Labor Courts) there are 146 women judges and 229 men judges. In other words, women constitute 40% of the judiciary in Israel.

Table 5 - Judges, by Courts

	Female	Male	Total	%of Women
JUDGES				
Supreme Court	3	11	14	21%
District Courts	23	67	90	26%
Magistrates Courts	87	121	209	42%
Traffic Courts	14	15	29	48%
National Labor Court	1	3	4	25%
Regional Labor Courts	18	12	30	60%
REGISTRARS				
Local Courts	28	22	50	56%
Regional Labor Courts	9	2	11	82%

Source: Central Courts Administration

Chart 3 - Percentage of Woman and Men Judges in Various Courts

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Women's relatively large representation in the judiciary is also evidenced in the public sector of the legal profession. The present State Attorney is a woman. Her predecessor was the first woman to serve in this role and was later appointed to the Supreme Court. Four out of the five District Attorneys are women. In the District Attorneys offices, there are 207 women lawyers compared to 126 men, and 237 women public service attorneys compared to 115 men.

9. Representation in Religious Bodies

9.1 Rabbinical Courts

The Religious Judges Law - 1955 and the Druse Courts Law - 1962 have been interpreted by Jewish, Muslim and Druse religious leaders to mean that only men can serve as judges in these courts. Consequently, Israel has expressed its reservation with regard to Article 7(b) of the Convention concerning the appointment of women to serve as judges of religious courts.

9.2 Municipal Religious Councils

In recent years, changes have taken place in the representation of women in religious bodies. Following two landmark Supreme Court decisions in 1988, women were granted the right to participate in the committee for selection of chief rabbis and the right to participate in municipal religious councils. In *Poraz v. Tel Aviv Mayor*, the Supreme Court allowed women to participate in the committee for the selection of the Tel Aviv chief rabbi, emphasizing that exclusion of women from serving on political committees which deal with religious matters constitutes discrimination and is therefore void. In *Shakdiel v. Minister of Religious Affairs*, the Supreme Court granted Leah Shakdiel the right to be elected to the religious council of the city Yeruham in southern Israel.

Despite this landmark decision, which opened the doors to women who wished to serve on municipal religious councils, the number of women on municipal religious councils remains small. Out of 139 religious councils, only 12 councils include a woman. Almost a decade after the Supreme Court decision, women still have great difficulties in getting elected to municipal religious councils.

10. Government Corporations

As explained in Article 4 above, an amendment to the Government Companies Law-1975 was passed in 1993 which requires equal representation of both sexes in the board of directors of every government corporation. Furthermore, the amendment demands that in order to promote the goal of equal representation, the Ministers shall appoint directors from the less-represented sex until such equality is achieved.

A public committee, headed by a District Court Judge, was established to oversee the implementation of this amendment. The committee discovered that in most government corporations there were no female directors. Thus, the committee's main function has been to "remind" all government agencies of their duty, in accordance with the amendment, to appoint female directors to government corporations where openings are available.

This amendment came under judicial review when two government corporations, Israel Ports and Trains Authority and Israel Refineries, appointed two men to the board of directors, in each of which there were no women. The Supreme Court decided that these appointments were invalid because they disregarded the amendment. Justice Matza, delivering the opinion of the Court, justified the use of affirmative action in light of the conspicuous inequality of women representation in government corporations. Justice Matza relied on Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty, claiming that equality is an inherent attribute to a person's dignity. A more detailed description of the decision is found under Article 4 above.

According to a research conducted in 1996, this amendment's effects have been felt in 68% of government corporations. Still there are 18 corporations (16%) in which there are no women directors. In 12 corporations (11%) the number of women remains the same as it did in 1993, the year the amendment was passed. But there has been progress in many corporations: in 48% of those where there were no women directors in 1993, women have since been appointed as directors. In 21 corporations (18.9%) where women served as directors in 1993,

there has been a significant increase in their number.

Although the amendment has caused a substantial improvement in women representation, progress remains to be done since in the majority of government corporations women still constitute less than 30 % of the directors.

11. Women's Political Activism

The involvement of women in extra-parliamentary political activity has been aimed at influencing the decision making process from the grassroots level. The focus of these groups has been organizing demonstrations, rallies, peace marches and other activities aimed at influencing public opinion.

In 1977 the peace movement known as Shalom Achsav (Peace Now) was established with the aim of pressuring the Israeli government to consider constructive peace proposals. Although many women participated in the activities of this movement it was not an exclusively a women's movement.

Many women have linked their broader political involvement with feminist political strategies. In 1982, after the Peace for the Galilee Operation in Lebanon, some fifty women, and a few men, joined together under the name "Parents against the Silence," to collect signatures and sign petitions calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Another group called "Women against the Invasion of Lebanon" was formed consisting of feminist activists who demanded the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Lebanon.

After the Lebanon War ended, this group continued to operate under the name "Women against the Occupation." They protested the conditions under which Palestinian women were held in Israeli prisons.

After the Palestinian uprising (intifada) broke out in December 1987, a women's peace movement was formed which protested the military policy in the occupied territories. The group, called Women in Black, gathered every Friday afternoon wearing black at a central square in Jerusalem to mourn the victims of violence and called for the end of the occupation. Later this form of demonstration spread to 33 other locations in Israel. The Women in Black became an embodiment of peaceful protest which was widely imitated around the world.

Another peace group which was formed in Haifa was called Women for Women. This organization also demanded the end of the occupation and for the recognition of a national right to self-determination for the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP) was founded in 1988 and focused on the fate of individual Palestinian women who had been imprisoned. The WOFPP continually brought human rights violations in military jails to the attention of the Israeli public.

All of the women's peace groups and activities have been guided by a desire to establish and institutionalize a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. For this purpose, many joint conferences and demonstrations were held, and meetings between Israeli and Palestinian women were based on the assumption that concerned women could eliminate prejudices in personal conversations. The women's peace movement also managed to attract the attention of the Israeli population at large by organizing large-scale events and conferences which were open to the public. Thus, the peace initiative of the government headed by the late Yitzhak Rabin in 1993 can be partly attributed to the efforts and continued protest of the women's peace groups.

The efforts of Israeli women to join and influence the peace process continued after the Oslo Accords were signed in September 1993, when the Jerusalem Link

was founded. The Jerusalem Link comprises a coordinating committee of two women's centers, independent of each other, one Jewish in West Jerusalem, "Bat Shalom" (Hebrew for Daughter of Peace), and the other Arab in East Jerusalem, "Jerusalem Center for Women". They organize joint demonstration against human rights violations in Israeli jails and organize drives to collect signatures. Both organizations are concerned with promoting feminist ideas both in the Israeli and Palestinian public.

Another women's group called Association of Women for Peace was formed since the signing of the Oslo Accords. The association holds meetings of Israeli and Palestinian women, and its goal is to strengthen the peace process and to facilitate the implementation of the Interim Agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Since the Oslo Accords, a right-wing women's group was formed in protest against Israeli concessions in the peace process. This group, called Women in Green, derives its name from its rival Women in Black. They participate in demonstrations which oppose the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories, and protest the Israeli willingness to give up territory in exchange for peace.

12. Women in the Security Forces: Military and Police

12.1. The Legal Framework

The Defense Service Law-1986, which replaced the 1949 version of the law, mandates service in the military for both men and women, while differentiating between the sexes regarding their conditions of service. Article 1 of the law states that the law applies to men between the ages of 18 and 54, and to women between the ages of 18 and 38. Gender-based differentiation is also made as regards the length of mandatory service in the Army, the extent of reserve duty obligations, voluntary service, and exemptions. According to the above law, women are exempt from mandatory service if they are married, pregnant, or mothers. In the very first years of the State, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion made a political arrangement with the leaders of the ultra-orthodox community in Israel, whereby young men would be allowed to postpone or cancel their service in the army in order to study in religious academies. While this arrangement continues to be utilized today, its application is restricted to a narrow segment of the population. The National Service Law, 1953 provides what may be seen as a parallel arrangement for young women who, for religious or conscientious reasons, are reluctant to serve in the Army. According to the National Service Law, 1953, a woman may substitute military service with two years of national service. This provision, however, is not strictly enforced. As will be shown below, the percentage of women who do make use of the various exemptions is significantly higher than that of men.

The Defense Service Law itself does not differentiate between the duties that may be assigned to men and those which may be assigned to women. In practice, however, IDF policy has generally been to discourage and forbid women soldiers from serving in combat positions.

12.1.1. The Miller Case

Until 1956, a number of women served in the Air-Force as pilots of carrier planes. Later, the decision was made that training women as fighter pilots only to employ them as pilots of carrier planes was not cost-effective, especially given their relatively short terms of service. Since then, and until 1995, there was only one instance of a woman being accepted as a pilot trainee.

In 1995, the Supreme Court decided in the landmark Alice Miller case that the IDF could not claim logistical and budgetary constraints as justifications for excluding women from serving as pilots in the Air-Force. Relying on the

Defence Service Law, 1986, the Army argued that the shorter mandatory service required of women, together with their more limited reserve-duty obligations and exemptions for pregnancy and childbirth, interfered with the ability of the Army to make efficient use of the resources and funds invested in the training of each individual pilot. In three separate majority opinions, the Court rejected this line of reasoning, holding instead that the principle of equality required the Army to overcome such obstacles and accommodate the natural biological needs of women, just as it would the natural needs of men. As Justice Matza stated: "Even if the assumption were that the average total contribution of the female pilot--from the point of view of length and continuity of service-- were less than that of the male pilot, this is a difference resulting from the very fact that she is a woman. This difference may not be held against her, and it can be dealt with logistically." Justice Matza, finding for Miller, suggested the Army conduct a trial period during which it would admit a limited number of female pilots and determine whether, in fact, such admission presented insurmountable obstacles.

The Army has since taken steps to implement the Alice Miller decision. Two classes of women candidates have begun the pilot training course, and guidelines have been established to adapt army policy regarding women's service to the potential reality of women combat pilots. The guidelines include provisions requiring women pilot candidates to volunteer to serve additional time and perform reserve duty, logistical arrangements regarding sleeping arrangements, and instructions regarding the event of pregnancy. They similarly provide that despite the general policy according to which the Commanding Officer (CO) of the Women's Corps has exclusive jurisdiction over women serving in the IDF (discussed below), women pilot candidates are to be subject to the jurisdiction of their course commanders. Perhaps most importantly (in light of the army's general policy regarding women in combat), the guidelines provide instructions whereby women pilots will perform combat duties or duties in hostile territory according to the decision of the CO of the Air Force, under the advisement of the Chief of Staff.

12.2. Women and Men in the Military--Some Data

Approximately 42% of all conscripted soldiers in 1996 were women. While approximately 68% of draftable women were conscripted in 1996 (the remaining 32% receiving exemptions of one form or another), 83.3% of draftable men were enlisted.

12.2.1. Women and Men Officers

The graph below compares the 1995 proportion of women officers during mandatory service to the total number of officers, as distributed among the various corps.

Chart 4 - Percent of Women Officers in Service (Mandatory and Career), by Corps

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Thus, the greater the combat component, the smaller the proportion of women officers. The graph below presents the same breakdown, this time for women career officers. It may be noted that in no corps do women constitute significantly more than half of the total career officers:

Chart 5 - Percent of Women Officers in Career Service, by Corps

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Because women do not serve in combat positions, they are excluded from the upper echelons of the military hierarchy and confront a classic "glass ceiling" in their efforts to advance professionally. As can be seen from the table below, there were only nine women at the rank of Colonel in 1985 and still only 11 in 1995, two of which served in Chen (the women's corps). In contrast, there was a significant increase in the proportion of women officers up to the rank of lieutenant colonel resulting from pressure from women wishing to move up the hierarchy and supported by the CO of Chen, as well as from the military's increased recognition of women's competence. It should also be noted that in 1995 women constituted two thirds of the second lieutenants, the lowest officer rank. The higher proportion of women junior officers among those in compulsory military service is explained by the profile characteristics of the women conscripted and the type of jobs women do. Women are recruited at what in military terms is defined as a significantly higher "quality-score" floor than men, and men with a high quality-score profile are more likely to be assigned to combat than to officer roles (Izraeli, 1997). Consequently, proportionately more women than men qualify to be officers and more are used in jobs of officer rank--mainly in the Personnel Corps. Furthermore, the proportion of women among Second Lieutenants has increased significantly in the last decade, as jobs done by women or to which women were transferred, primarily in the Personnel Corps, were upgraded from Non-Commissioned Officer to junior officer, resulting in an increase in the total number of officer roles at the lowest ranks:

Table 6 - Proportion of Women Among Officers, and Distribution of Officers by Gender and Rank

Rank	1985	1995	1995	
	% Women	% Women	Women	Men
Major General	0	0		
Brigadier	0	0		
Brigadier General	0	0.8		
Colonel	1.5	2.2	2	1.8
Lieutenant Colonel	4.6	10.3	2.5	10.4
Major	13.6	21.2	14.1	25.7
Captain	12.1	22.5	12.4	20.9
First Lieutenant	15.3	37.3	32.7	26.8
Second Lieutenant		66.6	35.5	8.7
Civilians Employed by Military		18.4	2.6	5.5
Total		32.8	100%	100%

Source: IDF Spokesman

The following table shows the differences between men and women regarding the amount of time each serves in their rank before being promoted. At all levels, women must invest significantly more time before they are promoted to higher ranks. The graph differentiates between the General and Personnel Corps on the one hand, in which there is a relatively high participation of women, and "the rest" of the IDF, including combat related fields on the other, where women's presence is far less marked:

Table 7 - Average Seniority (in months) Before Promotion- Women as Compared to Men

Advancement	General Army + Personnel		Rest of IDF*	
	Women Officers	Men Officers	Women Officers	Men Officers
Lt. Colonel-Colonel	135.2	79.9		78.1
Major-Lt. Colonel	90.1	75.4	101.4	69.7
Captain-Major	49.6	48.5	50.4	48.6
First Lt.-Captain	40	31.9	37.9	31.4

* Including Male Combat Positions

Source: IDF Spokesman

To round out the picture, the following table delineates the average age at which women receive their promotions, as compared to their male counterparts.

Table 8 - Average Age of Receiving Promotions

Advancement	General Army + Personnel		Rest of IDF*	
	Women Officers	Men Officers	Women Officers	Men Officers
Lt. Colonel-Colonel	48	40.1		39.4
Major-Lt. Colonel	35.4	35.9	37.3	35.3
Captain-Major	28.5	30.4	29.1	30.1
First Lt.-Captain	23.7	24.2	24.6	24.9

* Including Male Combat Positions

In 1995, a total of 3 officers were granted the title of Colonel.

One of them received her title at an advanced age.

Source: IDF Spokesman

The charts below compare the relative chances of men and women to be promoted at various levels of rank, in 1983, 1988, and 1995.

Chart 6 - Relative Chances of Reaching High Ranks

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

12.2.2. Distribution of Men and Women among Jobs in the Military

In recent years, more jobs have opened up to women in the army. In 1976, according to the abovementioned Commission on the Status of Women (1978), 210 out of 709 jobs were open to women, but women actually served in about half of those. Approximately 70% were in clerical positions. In 1988 women served in 234 of the approximately 500 jobs open to them. In 1996 they served in 282 of the 447 jobs open to them, while 178 were classified as combat positions and were closed to women. We can thus see that many more opportunities are open to women today than in the past.

The scope of this change, however, is significantly limited by the exclusion of women from combat roles. While the Defense Services Law, 1986 no longer differentiates between men and women as regards the jobs which they are permitted to perform in the army, IDF policy continues to exclude women from combat positions. A differentiation should be made between positions which actually involve combat--which are closed to women--and non-combat positions in combat fields, which are open to women. Thus, for example, women may serve as instructors for jobs that are in fact combat jobs, but they are not allowed to perform those duties in the field. A third category involves jobs performed in combat areas. Combat areas are in principle also closed to women, unless specific approval has been granted. No women today, for example, serve in Lebanon, regardless of the actual content of the duty they perform. Women do perform non-combat functions in the West Bank and Gaza. In addition to the actual combat positions which are closed to women, various positions, while not actually involving combat, have traditionally been viewed as requiring previous combat experience and have thus been closed de facto to women as well. These include Chief Educational Officer, CO of Intelligence, CO of Personnel, Military Spokesperson, Chief Medical Officer, Chief Mental Health Officer, Chief Military Prosecutor, and President of the Appeals Court. The exclusion of women from these high-ranking positions has been criticized as withholding from women what could be an alternative route to leadership.

The use of women instructors for combat units was introduced in the early 1980's and has become relatively accepted. Between 1983 and 1993, women's representation among instructors grew by over 400%. Serving as an instructor for men-only units is therefore among the most prestigious jobs open to women. It should be pointed out, however, that the actual number of women instructors relative to male instructors remains low. The following table presents the breakdown of jobs held by women in the army, as compared with men:

Table 9 - Distribution of Conscripts by Gender and Job Category (1995)

Job Category	Women	Men
Quality	32.6	13
Maintenance/Administration	39.1	18
Officers	6.4	4.6
Combat Instructors	4.6	19.8
Technical	1.7	18.1
Drivers	1.9	8.8
Not Yet Classified	13.7	17.5

Source: IDF Spokesman

A look at the composition of mixed courses for various jobs in the army shows the extent to which certain jobs are still considered "feminine," while other, relatively prestigious non-combat jobs, have become gender-neutral. Over 90% of participants in personnel and education-related NCO courses are women. On the other hand, courses for computer operators, air photo decoders, field security personnel, and flight supervisors have basically equal representations of both men and women:

Table 10 - Breakdown of Courses

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

In certain areas, such as the technical branches, women's participation remains low despite the willingness of the army to accept women into such positions. This is mainly due to the fact that few women who are enlisted in the army have the pre-army training necessary to effectively fill these positions, and their short service makes it cost-ineffective for the army to specifically train them for these positions. As the technological services are among the most essential in the IDF, the lack of women's participation in this area of the army, together with their exclusion from combat and their exemption from reserve duty, mean that women are effectively absent from three of the most significant branches of the army. The army has recently become involved in various projects in conjunction with civilian industrial bodies, designed to encourage women to enter technological fields.

One project, which has not yet been implemented, aims to encourage 9th grade girls to enter technological areas of study in high school, the assumption being that they would then continue working in these fields both in the army and after. Another program aims to encourage women finishing high school to postpone their army service while obtaining a degree in one of the technological fields, and then serve in the army in a position connected to what they have studied. This is part of a general program, called the Atudah, which enables men and women to postpone their army service while completing their studies beforehand. Women who join the Atudah program have a higher chance of actually performing their army service in their specialized area of study than do men, since men's ability to do so is subject to the army's need for combat soldiers.

12.3 Interaction Between the Military and Civilian Life

Various researchers have referred to the paradoxical effect of the military on Israeli women's status (Izraeli 1997). On the one hand, Israel prides itself on being the only nation in the world where women, like men, are conscripted for mandatory service in the military. Given the importance of the army in Israeli society, this represents a mark of gender equality. However, military service for most women is quite different than it is for men. While a certain amount of progress has been made in the last decade regarding the improvement of women's status within the army, and while more and more jobs have been opening up to them, women continue to be excluded from combat positions. Thus women remain excluded from the upper echelons of the military leadership.

In order to understand the impact of this dynamic upon the status of Israeli women, it is necessary to understand the social and political significance of the army in Israel. As a country preoccupied with security concerns, Israel has been forced to invest a tremendous amount in the military, both financially and socially. The army is therefore one of the most important public institutions. Sociologists have pointed out the role that has been assigned to the army as a major source for the formation and recruitment of the political, and to a certain extent, economic elite (Izraeli, 1997; Yishai, 1997). It is an important channel for political recruitment and a recruitment pool for civilian managers in business and industry. It also serves as an educational and socializing agency and provides a source of personal identity as well as of national pride and identification.

As sociologists assert, the role of women within the army, therefore, has tremendous consequences for their status outside the army. The fact that no woman possesses rank over Brigadier General and that only men are found at the top echelons of the IDF, essentially means that it is only men who define and determine issues of national security. (Izraeli, 1997). As prestigious combat positions are virtually the only avenue to the most senior positions in the professional army, and the symbolic rewards and glory associated with them, women's exclusion from combat units means their exclusion from the top ranks of the army.

A recent study by Professor Izraeli shows that in some cases, the link between military and civilian success has even been institutionalized. For example, El-Al, Israel's national airline, recruits its pilots exclusively from the military. While this policy is currently being challenged in the Labor Court on the basis of the Equal Employment Opportunities Law-1988 (see Article 2), and while women are currently being trained as IDF pilots, this restriction has meant that women can never be hired as El-Al pilots.

12.4 The Chen--Women' Corps

Today, all women enter the army through the "Women's Corps" (called in Hebrew by the acronym Chen). The Women's Corps was created during the War of Independence and was based on a compromise between two competing models--the "Palmach" model, in which men and women served in mixed units, and the English model, in which women served separately in an auxiliary unit. There is no "Men's Corps" in the army, and all other corps are identified by their respective functions. Chen has formal responsibility for all women soldiers with regard to military training (including officer training), job assignments, discipline and judicial matters, as well as welfare and well-being, including protection from sexual harassment. Since 1983, Chen has had a Women's Corps Social Worker, whose job it is to assist women soldiers in handling their unique problems, including how to proceed if pregnant, how to manage various sexual issues, and how to deal with problems of sexual harassment.

Until 1987, the rank of the CO of Chen was that of Colonel. Only after intensive public pressure from women's organizations and women members of the Knesset, was the rank raised to that of Brigadier General, one rank below the

CO of Personnel. Since the highest ranking woman in the IDF is a Brigadier General, and since there is only one woman of that rank, no woman is of high enough rank to participate in the meetings of the General Staff on a regular basis. The CO of Chen reports to the Chief of Personnel and may advise the Chief of Staff on matters of specific relevance to women. Until very recently, the CO of Chen was rarely consulted on matters of general relevance to women. For example, she was not party to the relevant decisions to cut women's military service from 24 to 22 and then 21 months.

Until the mid 1970s, the gender regime of the military, like most other aspects of the IDF, was not open to public critique. A number of social and political developments in the 1970s paved the way for a greater awareness of women's problems in and regarding the army, and in 1978 the report of the Prime Minister's Commission on the Status of Women challenged the prevailing myth of gender equality. The most direct frontal attack on the gender practices of the military, however, came from hearings conducted in the Knesset standing Committee on the Status of Women (1992-1996) and from the 1995 Alice Miller case (mentioned above).

12.5 Sexual Harassment in the Army

While the army has begun to recognize and deal with the problem of sexual harassment, its handling of the issue has been criticized by women's groups for focusing on treatment and guidance for the victims or potential victims, rather than on educating the men soldiers and commanders to behave properly. In the IDF, as in the civilian sector, it is lives of the women complainants which are disrupted by their coming forward, rather than those of the sexual harassers; the preferred solution in fact being to transfer the complainant to another base rather than to suspend the man.

All women soldiers who are conscripted into the army are provided with information about sexual harassment and about the options available to those who experience it. They are encouraged to view harassment as the fault of the perpetrator and to come forward and report the incidents. Confidentiality is ensured, and the soldier's right to choose which one of the available services she turns to is emphasized (i.e. Women's Corps Social Worker, Military Police, Women's Corps CO, immediate commander, etc.). Various services, such as a hotline for sexual harassment complaints and a program in which victims of sexual harassment are provided with the counseling of a Chen officer, have recently been implemented. A comprehensive proposal for dealing with the phenomenon of sexual harassment in the army has recently been discussed, and the likelihood of its implementation is high. This proposal provides a broad definition of sexual harassment, emphasizing that it may be verbal or physical, and that it may involve explicit or implicit exploitation of authoritative position. It also obligates various officials to report to the military police all instances of physical harassment which come to their attention. Investigation by the police is then conditional upon the victim's consent and the Women's Corps Social Worker's assessment.

In 1994 the Chen Corps issued an internal report discussing the phenomenon of sexual harassment within the military, and found that most incidents of sexual harassment and indecent acts resulted only in absurdly low fines to be paid by the perpetrator. Recently, efforts have been made within Chen to ensure that punishments for sexual harassment reflect the severity of the damage caused to women soldiers who experience it, and in some cases sentences of 8 years imprisonment have been imposed. Similarly, the Personnel Division of the IDF recently decided to increase the severity of the punishments imposed and to ensure that any career soldier convicted of sexual harassment be discharged.

12.6 Women in the Police

According to statistics of the Police Force of Israel, as of December 1995, women constituted approximately 18% of the Police (3583 women, as opposed to

16,490 men). While in 1995 women constituted approximately 25% of the applicants and only 12% of those who were eventually accepted, in the first part of 1996 (until May), women constituted 20% of the applicants and 20% of those who were accepted.

While the police force has no official policy regarding the areas within which women may serve, various positions either require army combat experience as a precondition for acceptance or indicate army combat experience as a preferred criterion. Given the policy of the IDF regarding women in combat, discussed above, this precondition effectively bars or hinders women from being able to serve in such positions.

In 1996 a petition was filed to the Supreme Court by several women applicants who felt that they had been discriminated against in their attempts to gain acceptance to the police force, and especially to what are considered "combat positions" within the force. In response to the petition, the Police decided to establish a committee to investigate the issue of women in the police force, and to reevaluate the policies according to which acceptance into its various branches is determined. The petition has not yet been decided by the Court.

ARTICLE 8

International Representation and Participation

State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and, without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

1. General

Women in Israel represent the Government on an international level, however the current numbers of women serving in this capacity are not yet equal to that of men. The present level of women's participation in the foreign service can be seen as a reflection women's overall position in the Israeli labor market, particularly in the civil service.

2. Details on Women's Representation

The following table shows the number of men and women in the foreign service.

Table 1 - Representation in the Foreign Service

	Home Office			Abroad		
	Men	Women	%Women	Men	Women	%Women
Diplomatic Status				Diplomatic Status		
Senior Ranks				Senior Ranks		
Ambassador	56	1	2%	Ambassador	14	1 7%
Minister	30	2	6%	Minister	45	- 0%
Minister Counselor	13	19	59%	Minister Counselor	54	6 10%
Junior Ranks				Junior Ranks		
Counselor	45	29	39%	Advisor	41	16 28%
First Secretary	29	40	58%	First Secretary	36	14 28%
Second Secretary	8	16	67%	Second Secretary	51	14 22%
Administrative Status						
Deputy Director General	13	-	0%			
Sub-Department Heads	9	3	25%			
Division Heads	58	14	19%			

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

In 1996, 55 men and 21 women were recruited to the foreign service which indicates some improvement in women's representation.

Chart 1 -Percentage of Women New Recruits- Through the Years

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 2 - Number of New Recruits Through the Years

Year	Total	Men	Women
1972	4	3	1
1973	9	9	-
1975	6	5	1
1976	13	10	3
1977	10	10	-
1978	10	8	2
1979	6	5	1
1981	13	11	2
1982	12	11	1
1983	16	11	5
1984	7	6	1
1985	9	9	-
1986	21	18	3
1987	9	8	1
1988	13	11	2
1989	11	10	1
1990	15	12	3
1991	20	16	4
1992	18	15	3
1993	22	14	8
1994	45	31	14
1995	52	34	18

Source: Foreign Ministry

While there is no formal affirmative action policy in the foreign service, two years ago a decision to correct the discrimination in the numbers of women as heads of missions (which currently stands at 91 men and 9 women) was made, and a commitment to reach at least 50% female representation within ten years was taken. Of the 9 women heads of missions, 4 are political appointments (as are 7 of the 91 men).

3. Women Representatives to International Organizations

Israel has representatives in three of the Human Rights conventions of the UN: Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women - Dr. Carmel Shalev; Convention on the Rights of the Child - Deputy Attorney General Yehudit Karp; and Convention on Political and Civil Rights - Prof. David Kretchmer. The first two are women.

Among the representatives to the Peace Talks with the Palestinians, the percentage of women varies. For the most part, there are no women in high level positions, although at the middle working levels they are fairly represented. This is partly a result of the fact that the talks are run mainly by representatives of the army or by former army officials.

ARTICLE 9 Nationality

State Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change, or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.

States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men in respect to the nationality of their children.

1. Citizenship

The Nationality Law-1952 states that Israeli nationality is acquired in one of the following ways: through The Law Of Return-1950; residence in Israel; birth or naturalization. Israeli citizenship laws do not differentiate between men and women. Both genders have equal rights in regard to acquiring, changing or retaining their nationality. Neither the change of nationality by one member of a couple nor marriage to a non-citizen has any effect on one's citizenship. According to the laws relating to citizenship acquired by birth, both the father's and mother's citizenship carry equal weight.

According to The Law of Return, Jews and their relatives may acquire citizenship upon arrival in Israel. The law defines a Jew as either someone born to a Jewish mother, or a convert, and excludes Jews who have converted to another religion. The familial relationship required to determine Jewishness under The Law of Return is quite lenient and reaches back three generations. Its leniency is reflected in the fact that even one married to a grandchild of a Jew is entitled to acquire Israeli citizenship through The Law of Return.

In addition, other sections of The Nationality Law illustrate the identical rights available to both men and women. Section 7 states that the spouse of an Israeli national who has applied for citizenship through the naturalization process and who meets all the necessary requirements may obtain citizenship through naturalization even if he/she does not meet the necessary requirements. Furthermore, Section 8 of the law states that naturalization also confers Israeli citizenship on the minor children of the naturalized person who were residents of Israel or the occupied territories at the time of his/her naturalization. However, if the minor was a citizen of another country, and both parents were entitled to custody, but only one went through the naturalization process, the child will not obtain citizenship if one parent declares that he/she is against his/her child becoming an Israeli citizen. In any case, these provisions do not differentiate between the parents at all on the basis of gender.

A 1980 amendment to The Nationality Law illustrates the effort that Israeli legislators put forth to avoid discriminating against women. In section 4 of the 1952 version of the law. It states that where one is born after one's father's death, it shall be sufficient that the father was an Israeli citizen at the time of his death in order for him/her to acquire Israeli citizenship. Following the amendments this section speaks of the situation where one is born after the death of either parent. Although practically this amendment seems superfluous, it represents a legislative attempt to create total gender equality within Israeli citizenship laws.

According to The Passport Law 1952, any Israeli citizen is entitled to a passport upon request. Furthermore, in section 3 it states that a minister may allow a child under the age of seventeen to obtain a joint passport with either one of the minor's parents. There is no distinction between the parents in either acquiring an independent passport for a child or in acquiring a joint passport. Under regular circumstances the passport is obtained upon the request of one parent. However, when parents are divorced or due to other exceptional circumstances, the agreement of both parents are necessary. In addition, since there are no restrictions on women's rights to travel, Israeli lawmakers felt it unnecessary to protect these specific rights in the law. Once again, the Israeli law in this area provides for equal and

identical rights for both men and women.

2. Residency

According to section 2 of the Entry into Israel Law -1952, entrance and residential visas are issued based on the discretion of the Minister of Interior. The visas are issued according to the policy set by the Ministry of Interior. According to the existing policy, visas are given to spouses of permanent residents of Israel on the basis of family unity, subject to security and other limitations, and are distributed equally to both female and male spouses.

Regulation 12 of the Regulations on Entry into Israel states that the status of a child born in Israel but who is not a citizen is determined according to his or her parents' status. If the parents have different status, the child receives the status of the father or a guardian, unless the mother objects in writing. In such a situation, the child will receive the status of the parent as decided by the Minister of Interior. Due to the inequality in this regulation, the current practice, is to skip the first stage and decide the status of the child based on the parents' request. A child will be registered as a permanent resident upon the request of the parents, after proving that the central components of the family's life are in Israel.

ARTICLE 10 Education

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organisation of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;
- g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;
- h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

1. General and Legal Introduction

The Israeli educational system consists of kindergartens; elementary schools; secondary schools (vocational and general), which are sometimes divided into upper school and middle schools, teacher-training institutions, post

-secondary schools for continued and vocational studies, colleges and universities. The school year is approximately ten months long, and the study week in elementary schools is between 30-35 hours. In addition to formal studies, there is an extensive range of extracurricular activities. The educational policy reflects the needs of Israeli society, including the absorption of immigrant students, the advancement of disadvantaged population groups and social and academic integration. The school system consists of two streams: State and State Religious. The State Religious system is autonomous with respect to pedagogic considerations and curriculum. The ratio of enrollment of Jewish students in the two streams is about 3/4 in the State system, to 1/4 in the State-Religious system. There are also independent "recognized" schools outside the State school system, most of which provide an ultra-orthodox Jewish religious education or Christian religious education. The independent "recognized" schools operate as non-profit organizations, financed by the government. The teachers who teach in those schools are not employed by the government, but rather by the schools themselves. The structure of the institutions and content of the studies in the non-Jewish sectors are analogous to those in the Jewish sector, with necessary differences that reflect the different languages and cultures of these populations. This Article will focus mainly on the Jewish schools within the State school system, which compose the majority of schools in Israel.

The Israeli education system is financed primarily by the central government and local education authorities. National expenditure on education has remained steady at 8.5% in recent years, but it is estimated that an increase in the prioritization of education will lead to an increase in the portion of the GNP allocated to education. According to the Long School Day Law-1990, which was passed under the initiative of the Knesset Committee on Education and Culture, and with the support of the Ministry of Education and of the social lobby in the Knesset, the duration of the school day shall soon be extended to eight hours. Although this law formally applies throughout the country, due to budgetary restraints, it has so far been implemented only in peripheral areas.

Through examining the legal basis of education within Israel, it is evident that the law provides equal opportunities for both men and women. According to The Compulsory Education Law -1949, compulsory education is required for all children between the ages of 5 and 15. Education is provided free of charge through the age of 17, and for 18 year olds who have not yet completed the eleventh grade. In 1991 this law was amended and section 3B currently includes a prohibition against discrimination in acceptance, placement, and advancement of students. The State Education Law-1953, provides for a six day school week and determines the content and procedure of State education. It further states that State education is to be based on building society on the foundations of freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance and love of mankind. It should be noted that this law applies only to State schools, and excludes independent "recognized" schools. The Minister of Education, however, is authorized, under the The School Inspection Law-1968 to apply those educational goals to the independent "recognized" schools as well. The Special Education Law-1988, mandates special education for individuals between the ages of 3 and 21 whose capacity for adaptive behavior is limited and who are in need of special education. The Council For Higher Education Law-1958 defines the tasks of the Council For Higher Education, which is responsible for accrediting and authorizing institutions of higher education that award degrees.

2. Illiteracy Rates and Educational Levels

An illiterate person is defined by the Ministry of Education as a person who has had less than four years of schooling. The table below illustrates that although the total illiteracy rate is higher among women, there has been much improvement in this area.

Table 1 - Population with 0-4 Years of Education

JEWS

Sex and Age	Thousands	Years of Schooling (percents)	
WOMEN		0	1 to 4
Total	1,681.30	4.3	2.1
15-17	111.4	0.1	0.3
18-24	260.8	0.5	0.2
25-34	302.5	1	0.4
35-44	311.4	1.5	0.4
45-54	232.6	2.5	1.4
55-64	178.8	11.3	5.5
65+	283.8	13.3	6.7
MEN			
Total	1,588.00	1.7	1.8
15-17	118		0.2
18-24	271.2	0.4	0.4
25-34	307.9	0.7	0.5
35-44	302.2	0.8	0.4
45-54	219.8	1.5	0.8
55-64	156.6	3.6	4.4
65+	212.2	6.3	7.3

ARABS and OTHERS

WOMEN		0	1 to 4
Total	318.2	13.6	6.6
15-17	34.1	2	0.7
18-24	74.1	2.9	1.5
25-34	83.9	3.6	3.2
35-44	54.3	8.7	9.5
45-54	32.2	31.6	18.9
55-64	20.8	47	19.6
65+	18.8	67.1	8.2
MEN			
Total	315.7	4.1	5
15-17	35.7	1.6	1.3
18-24	76.4	0.9	1.1
25-34	83.9	1.1	1.4
35-44	53.2	3.1	3.4
45-54	32.1	5.1	10.7
55-64	19.5	13	23
65+	14.9	34.6	24.5

Source: CBS, SAI 1996.

It is important to note that although the median years of schooling among Arab women is the lowest (9.7 years, as compared to 10.6 among Arab men, 12.2 among Jewish women and 12.3 among Jewish men), there is a steady increase in the educational level within the general Arab population, and when specific age groups are examined, within the group of Arab women.

Chart 1 -Median Number of Years of Study of over 15 year olds

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Another indication of levels of education can be seen in the following table. The table illustrates that there is a somewhat low percentage of graduates of

higher education. However, it difficult to gather an adequate understanding of the current percentages, since this table includes past, generations, when the education system was not as advanced.

Table 2 - Population Aged 15 and Over, and Last Educational Institute Attended, (percents)

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

3. High Schools in Israel

3.1. Basic Description of the School System and the Opportunities Available to Students in High Schools

In order to understand the relevance of much of the statistics and research conducted, it is essential to have a basic knowledge of the Israeli education system, especially the somewhat complicated divisions within the post-elementary (secondary) schools. The first six years of schooling, from the age of 6 to 12, are conducted in elementary (primary) schools. The next three years (13-15) are spent in intermediate schools, and from the ages of 16 to 18, education takes place in high-schools. The Israeli secondary-education system is made up of both technological/vocational and general high-schools. Most of the students that take their matriculation exams study in the general schools. The students within these high-schools select, with the help of advisors, a certain track within which to matriculate. This is accomplished by choosing to study specific subjects on enhanced levels. Towards the end of the intermediate school, the tracking process begins. Researchers describe the process as beginning in eighth or ninth grade, when the students are placed with the direction of an advisor, in either the technological or general track. As of 1985, 43.6% of girls studied in the general track, while only 27.7% of boys studied in the general track. Students are able to study most subjects on a variety of levels, however, not every combination of subject and level is possible or available; in addition, in certain subjects, such as mathematics and English, a minimum required level of studies may be imposed by the school. Both boys and girls are able to learn the same subjects throughout elementary school and high-school. However, it is apparent that there are differences between the sexes regarding courses of study.

3.2 General and Technological / Vocational Tracking

Table 3 - Students in Technological Secondary and Post Secondary Education

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The table above depicts machinery or electronics as almost exclusively male subjects. It further shows building and architecture as subjects studied equally by men and women. Statistics reveal, as expected, that fashion and nursing/paramedics are clearly female dominated fields. Surprisingly, the majority of biotechnical engineers and technicians are women.

Table 4 - Matriculation Examinees and Percent Entitled to Certificates (Hebrew Education), 1993/94

	Boys	Girls
EXAMINEES		
Total	23,187	27,866
General	14,651	21,333
Technological/Vocational	8,536	6,533

ENTITLED TO CERTIFICATES

Total	14,130	17,887
General	9,771	15,307
Technological/Vocational	4,359	2,580

PERCENT OF EXAMINEES ENTITLED

Total	61	64
General	67	72
Technological/Vocational	51	40

Source: CBS Education and Culture, Selected Data

3.3. Matriculation Levels

In 10th grade, a gap in the math level between girls and boys becomes evident. Statistics show that in 1985 there was more than a 2:1 ratio of boys to girls in the five point math matriculation level. By 1992 there were no drastic changes in these results, but the ratio was reduced to slightly less than 2:1 (Amit 1993). It is essential to note that researchers show that the achievements of the girls before the division into levels, which is done in the 10th grade, are equal to or greater than the boy's achievements, and the gap is created only following the segregation into levels. Thus, girls tend to choose a matriculation level below their true abilities (Rom 1993). Researchers believe that the differences and gaps in the professions, levels, and achievements of the sexes are a direct result of the tracking system (Amit, Movshovitz- Hadar 1989). The tracking may limit one's access to certain areas in higher education and therefore effect the profession one will chose. Thus, many researchers contend that the tracking system only helps to amplify the inequality.

Table 5 - Matriculation Examinees, and Percent Entitled to Certificate, by Subject

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

It is evident in the above table that approximately 2/3 of all matriculation examinees are girls, and that a higher percentage of girls have passed their matriculation exams. The table also illustrates that a higher percentage of male examinees took the matriculation exam with two or more scientific subjects, while a higher percentage of female examinees took the exam with two or more humanities subjects.

3.4. Education Rates, Attendance Rates and Drop-Out Rates

Among the non-Jewish population, there has been a drastic decrease in the educational gap between the sexes. While in 1949, girls made up only 18.6% of the students in elementary schools, by 1979 they made up 46.9% of the students. However, in comparison to the Jews, non-Jewish education is still low. In 1995, the median educational rate among the Jewish population aged 15 and over was 12.2 years, as opposed to 10.2 years among the non-Jewish population. Jewish men's median educational rate was 12.3, a little higher than the Jewish women's rate of 12.2. Arab men's median educational rate was 10.6, quite a bit higher than the Arab women's rate of 9.7. However, among Arab youth the gap between the education level of boys and girls is diminishing. Statistics show that among Arab girls ages 15-17 the median educational rate in 1995 was even higher than that of Arab boys of the same age group, 10.6 years among the girls compared to 10.5 among the boys. The median rate among the 18-24 years old in the Arab sector was the same for men and women (11.6), and only among the older population group is the gap between men and women visible. Approximately 95% of the non-Jewish communities in Israel finish at least 8 years of education. The gap between the sexes that existed in Arab education has been bridged, and surprisingly enough Arab girls currently have a higher attendance rate (see table below).

As of the school year 1994/95, the attendance rates of 14-17 year olds in Jewish education revealed that 92.6% of boys and 99.6% of girls were continuing their education. Such post-elementary school attendance rates have increased dramatically within the past years, yet the gap between the sexes has remained steady. As of 1994/95, the attendance rates of 14-17 year olds in Arab education revealed that 65.7% of boys and 69.2% of girls were continuing their education. This trend of continuing education is apparent through decreasing dropout rates. In Jewish education, there has been a decrease in the dropout rates from 20.4% in 1971/72 to 5.5% in 1991/92. In Arab education, drop-out rates have fallen from 25.3% in 1971/72 to 14% in 1991/92. There is, however, a problem with determining the dropout rate since there are no official statistics taken by the Ministry. It should be noted that the statistical data here is based on the amount of students that register for school, not the actual attendance rate.

Table 6 - Attendance Rates of 14-17 Year Olds, by Type of School and Religion

Rates per 1000 in respective group of population

	Girls	Boys	Total
Hebrew Education			
1969/70	707	631	668
1979/80	865	729	795
1989/90	957	855	905
1993/94	981	909	944
1994/95 Total	996	926	959
Primary Education	23	28	25
Post-Primary Education			
Intermediate Schools	177	180	178
Secondary Schools- Total	796	718	756
General	459	336	396
Technological/Vocational	337	382	360
Arab Education			
1993/94	675	652	664
1994/95 Total	692	657	673
Primary Education	19	22	20
Post-Primary Education			
Intermediate Schools	153	163	158
Secondary Schools- Total	520	472	495
General	404	341	372
Technological/Vocational	116	131	123

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

4. Talented and Gifted Children

The Minister of Education and Culture created a special Department to deal specifically with gifted children. The Ministry's express goal is to provide educational opportunities for gifted children which are suited to their special talents and skills, while adhering to the values of democracy and equality inherent in Israeli society. Some of the Department's activities include: testing gifted children throughout the country, establishing unique enrichment programs, and providing for in-service training and seminars for teachers of the gifted. The Ministry of Education's data, depicts a 2:1 ratio of boys to girls in the programs for gifted children. This ratio, calculated in both 1992 and 1996, has remained constant. The Ministry claims that this 2:1 ratio, also exists throughout the world and in professional literature.

5. Classroom Interaction and Teacher- Student Relationships

Classroom dynamics are important factors in the assessment of gender differences in the education system. Researchers state that teachers relate differently towards boys and girls, often unconsciously, and are more attentive to male students. This can be partly attributed to the fact that behavioral problems are more common among boys. Yet the message conveyed to girls is "to continue being cute and quiet," while the message to boys is "to try harder and improve" (Avrahami-Ainat 1989). In addition, these low expectations from girls lead to self fulfilling prophecies.

6. Activities and Educational Programs Adopted by the Ministry of Education in Order to Prevent Discrimination

6.1. Gender Stereotypes Within School Books

Research conducted on messages conveyed in school-books, from 1989-1992 examined books from various subjects and intended for different age groups. The study revealed that women are depicted as being emotionally unstable, overly concerned with their appearance, weak, lacking personality, ignorant, jealous, disloyal, dependent, overly inquisitive, and as failing to contribute to society. These characteristics create negative stereotypes of women. In addition, men are mentioned in school books three times as often as women.

In 1993, in an attempt to combat sexist stereotypes, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport issued a new list of criteria for school books. Among these criteria are: 1) since Hebrew is a gender-specific language, grammar forms should be used in order to avoid being exclusive; 2) effort should be made to combat occupational stereotypes in textbooks and to prevent new stereotypes from being created; 3) it is important to stress that the choice of professions is open to everyone based on their individual strengths, abilities and talents, without discrimination on the basis of gender; 4) books must include equal use of descriptive character traits, so that a specific characteristic is not used exclusively for either men or women; 5) the activities and achievements of women should be described along side those of men; and 6) equality must be conveyed through the writing style; for example by not always referring to teachers in the feminine form.

Some critics of the education system point out that although the Ministry of Education has created a list of "rules" for improving the current situation, it must continue to act. These critics believe it is essential that: 1) the Ministry of Education carefully examines all the books they publish and concern itself with the content of privately published school books; 2) it is necessary to educate teachers about the existing sexist messages in school books, and to equip them with tools to deal with social messages that contrast with the goals of education and of an enlightened society; and 3) women's involvement in the Ministry of Education, especially at the higher levels may help the next generation create a society in which there is more equality between the sexes.

6.2. Other Instructions and Intervention Programs of the Ministry of Education Which Aim to Prevent Discrimination

In addition to these concentrated efforts on the specific problem of stereotypical images in school books, the Ministry has acted in a variety of ways in order to eliminate and prevent gender discrimination. One such form of action is through issuing internal instructions and guidelines, such as those issued in 1986, in which the Ministry instructed nursery teachers to contain themselves from pressuring boys to act masculine or girls to act feminine.

There are also stipulations set out by the Ministry of Education in 1987, that currently guide girls to learn in technological schools, where in the past these schools were only for boys. This is partly implemented through cooperation with private educational initiatives, such as the Na'aleh Project.

Na'aleh, an intervention program carried out in some upper and middle schools, allows for female students, parents, and school staff to work together and make careful decisions about studying sciences, such as math, physics, chemistry, and computers. These decisions include helping students decide which level matriculation exam is appropriate for them, and helping students choose a future profession. The program aims to increase the number of female students studying the sciences on a high level and to influence girls to study math on the five point (highest) matriculation level.

As a result of a report written following a one day seminar on equality within the education system, which was organized and written by the Israel Women's Network in 1993, the Minister of education created a budget of resources and declared in the Knesset in 1995 a policy for the advancement of equal opportunity between the sexes in education. As part of the new policy, the Minister appointed a Supervisor on Equality between the Sexes within the Ministry of Education. A steering committee of the Israel Women's Network that consists of experts from different areas of education works together with the Supervisor to offer advice and provide support. One of the Supervisor's main activities so far has been the publication of a reader titled "A Gender Found Its Equality", which includes many articles, reform programs, and research findings on the issue of gender equality in education (Segen 1995). Other activities of the Ministry under the initiative of the Supervisor include: 1) building a training program for teachers; 2) establishing seminars to create awareness of the problem; 3) teaching children's magazines to be careful of hidden messages they might convey; 4) checking school books and curriculums; sending reports from time to time to the general administrator; 5) creating a connection with women's organizations in Israel; 6) establishing seminars for different audiences (teachers, advisors, administrators); and 7) coordinating activities with the educational television, academic institutions and local councils interested in the advancement of women.

The Ministry's plans for the future include, an experimental project known as "Equality 2000." Initiated by the Israel Women's Network, this project is a three year long intervention program which will be carried out within 5 different middle schools. While the execution of the program will be undertaken by the Ministry, the Network's steering Committee will also be involved. The project will involve 10-15 teachers within each school, who will be specifically trained to deal with issues of gender-equality. "Equality 2000" contains elements of both a research project and an active intervention program; it is meant to bring about change in the attitudes and behavior of teachers, advisors, administrators, students and parents regarding gender equality.

In addition, a number of books have been published recently by Israeli academic women, regarding gender equality in education. For example Her and Him in Class by Avrahami-Ainat, published in 1989, provides the teacher with important information, and suggests curriculums and activities aimed at creating equality.

6.3. Young Leadership Programs in Schools

The position of girls in programs that cultivate young leadership seems to be at least equal, if not better to that of boys. In every school there are elections for a student council. Generally, representatives are chosen from each class. The Ministry's statistics depict a slightly higher number of girls chosen from eighth grade and above. Every school sends representatives to the local council. This council is composed of representatives from schools, community centers, youth groups, and different organizations. The national council which is made up of 40 representatives from all sectors of society: religious, secular, Druze, Arab, Bedouin; is currently headed by a girl, although the majority of the representatives are currently boys. In addition, three out of the four committees within the national council are currently headed by girls.

7. Sex Education and Education on Family Life

In 1987 the Ministry of Education stated that a program on sex education and education on family life is mandatory from first to twelfth grade. In elementary school children are taught the meaning of being a girl or boy and their respective roles in the family. In middle and high-schools the Ministry tries to convey awareness, understanding and knowledge of the meaning of force, being taken advantage of, and violence, as forbidden forms of relationships within family and outside of it. The basic view of the educational system is that sex education should not just include education on the physical aspects of sex, but rather it should also include information on the emotional and social aspects. The program concentrates on the following topics: physical development, body image, sexual identity, femininity/masculinity and equality between the sexes, family, reproduction, interpersonal and couple's relationships, and sexual health.

8. The State Religious Education

When discussing the values that the Israeli educational system wishes to promote among its students, the differentiation between the various streams within the State educational system should be noted. Specifically, it should be understood that the State-Religious education (SRE) stream is free to establish values and norms that guide its operation. According to estimates, 21% of Jewish students belong to the SRE stream, or approximately 235,000 children, 50% of whom are girls. Most SRE schools are segregated, with separate classes, often in separate schools for boys and girls. The Administrator of the SRE estimates that, in the elementary level, 35% of the classes are separate, and in the high-school level, 90% of the classes are separate. The Administrator claims that the budget allocated to girls' schools is the same as the budget allocated to boys' schools.

9. Teachers

9.1. Teaching- as a Feminine Profession

The teaching profession in Israel is composed primarily of women. As of 1992-93, more than 75% of all the teachers in Israel were women. Among Arabs however, the gap between the sexes within the teaching profession is considerably smaller. Furthermore as the level of the educational institution increases the female majority of teachers decreases. This is illustrated through the following 1993 statistics. In 1993, women made up 90.4% of teachers in Hebrew elementary schools and 53% of teachers within Arab elementary schools. In post- elementary schools women made up 70.2% of teachers in Hebrew schools and 29% in Arab schools. These post-elementary schools can be divided into middle school and upper school. Within middle schools 76% of the teachers in Hebrew education and 32% of the teachers in Arab education are women. In high schools, 62% of teachers in Hebrew education and 26% in Arab education are women. The percentage of women teachers has been steadily increasing throughout the past years.

Chart 2 -Increase of Women Teachers in Elementary Schools

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Chart 3 -Increase of Women Teachers in Secondary Schools

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Dr. Hertzog, CBS

Table 7 - Number of Teachers, by Years

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 8 - Number of Teachers, by Type of School

Source: CBS, Ministry of Education, Culture, and Survey of Teaching Staff, 1992/3

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 9 - Teachers by Subject

Subject	Jewish		Arab	
	Total	%Women	Total	%Women
History	318	84.5	284	23.4
Bible	1,454	74.4		
Talmud	1,429	39.5		
Hebrew Language			608	36.1
Hebrew Literature	919	96.9	154	32.7
English	2,116	95.4	548	53.8
Arabic			1,453	50.2
General Teaching	16,545	94.6	1,699	69.1
Nature	1,872	92.3	524	34.8
Mathematics	3,273	89.5	1,130	47.3
Computers	569	84.4	92	39.8
Shop/Arts/Crafts	1,569	93.2	188	86.5
Physical Education	1,828	67	309	13.8

Subject	Jewish		Arab	
	Total	%Women	Total	%Women
History	1,072	75.8	118	25.6
Bible	1,599	74		
Talmud	1,221	42.5		
Islamic Culture			165	26.7
Hebrew Literature	1,466	93.5	187	25.7
English	1,746	89.3	315	45.5
Biology	1,054	86.4	131	45.8
Chemistry	159	77.3	71	31
Mathematics	1,963	76.1	391	25.6
Physics	529	63.4	84	32.1
Computers	290	67.1	63	30.2
Electronics	59	15.3	5	
Accounting	28	76		

Subject	Jewish		Arab	
	Total	%Women	Total	%Women
History	1,490	64.9	140	10.9
Bible	2,203	68.5		

Talmud	874	28.3		
Islamic Culture			72	15.3
Hebrew Literature	1,811	87.8	141	90.3
English	2,174	84.9	281	48.9
Biology	1,071	78.8	164	27.4
Chemistry	667	79.9	128	19.7
Mathematics	2,200	65.8	310	20.8
Physics	840	40.3	135	10.8
Computers	379	67.6	72	16.9
Electronics	72	18.3	7	0
Accounting	86	87.2		

Source: CBS

9.2. Teacher's Salaries

Inequality exists in the salary levels of men and women working within the educational system. Statistics reflect this relative inequality among the teaching staff. Recent data supplied by the Treasury Ministry regarding teachers' salaries who are employed by the Ministry of Education for full-time work reveals that overall, women earn on average 87% of men's salaries.

The table below which details the number of teachers in each salary level, further illustrates the differences in the salaries of men and women within the educational system.

Table 10- Salary Levels

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

9.3. Administrative Positions.

The number of men working in educational institutions increases with the level of the position. Relative to men, there are many more women who have acquired Master and Doctorate degrees, yet who still work in non-administrative positions within the educational system (Hertzog).

Table 11- Teaching and Administrative Positions

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The number of men teaching in religious educational institutions is greater than that in secular institutions. In institutions that are more gender-segregated or that are independent (Arab or religious) men hold more teaching positions. Furthermore, men hold a large number of administrative positions within these schools.

Table 12- Teaching and Administrative Positions in Arab Schools

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The number of women currently studying to be teachers illustrates the fact that this trend is unlikely to change in the near future.

Table 13- Teacher Training Colleges

1969/70	1979/80	1984/85	1989/90	1994/95	1995/96
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	Hebrew Education					
Total Students	4,994	11,285	12,482	12,333	18,380	20,003
%Men	13.9	10.3	15.7	16.6	16.3	15.9
%Women	86.1	89.7	84.3	83.4	83.7	84.1

	Hebrew Education					
Total Students	370	485	423	576	1,193	1,598
%Men	46.9	45.2	49.9	22.9	16.2	12.9
%Women	53.1	54.8	50.1	77.1	83.8	87.1

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

10. Physical Education and Sports

The Sports Law-1988 provides for equality within sports and physical education. Section 10B of this law requires that the regulations of a sports union or association include statements concerning the equal opportunity of women to sports and physical education.

In Israel, girls make up 21% of all those involved in competitive sports. In countries throughout Western Europe 35%-40% of competitive athletes are women.

Within athletic institutions and organizations in Israel, there are almost no women in senior positions, despite the fact that many female students graduate from physical education colleges. Only 5% of the administrators of sports unions are women, and between 10%-15% of coaches are women. In regard to competitive sports, women's teams receive a coverage of 5% relative to men's competitions.

In 1993, the Dekel Committee which was established by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport as the committee for the advancement and development of physical education and sport in both formal and informal education within Israel, presented its recommendations. The committee requested the establishment of a sub-committee for the special purpose of examining and improving the situation of women's sports. The sub-committee suggested that a special unit for the advancement of physical education and sport for girls and women should be established. The special unit for the advancement of women in sport, recommended by the sub-committee, was established in 1994 in accordance with the new policies of Deputy Minister of Education Culture and Sport. The purpose of the unit includes increasing the number of women involved in different branches of competitive sports, the number of women coaches, and the amount of women as decision making administrators. Furthermore this unit intends to initiate a program to widen the knowledge and research on girls and women in sport. The unit decided that there was no need for formal legislation and that the legislative situation for equality in sports was sufficient as a result of the Sports Law-1988 and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

In addition, the sub-committee decided to adopt policies of affirmative action in order to increase the amount of female participation in competitive sports.

This sub-committee has also created a list of instructions which it plans to enforce within the education system. For example, a school will only be allowed to participate in sports competitions on the condition that 40% of the students involved are girls. Furthermore, if a school does not have a minimum participation of 30% girls on their selected sports team, they will not receive financial aid or be allowed to participate in competitions. It is also recommended that school administrators develop programs that make teachers, parents and students, aware of the importance of the involvement of girls in sports and the importance of equal opportunities in physical education and sport. Administrators can accomplish this goal by creating programs encouraging girls' involvement in sports such as training seminars, special

sports days and events, and meetings with outstanding female athletes. Recommendations to elementary schools and middle schools include requiring sport classes to consist of at least 40% girls. Recommendations for high schools include the equal distribution of resources such as convenient times for competitions, uniforms and equipment. There should also be a program parallel to that of the boys which prepare girls to be physically fit for the army.

The sub-committee stresses: 1) the importance of programs in teachers' training colleges that create awareness of the need for equality in sports and physical education; 2) the inclusion of programs for the advancement of female graduates of such teaching training colleges to administrative positions in the physical education system; 3) the encouragement of these graduates to belong to Israeli and international unions that promote the advancement of physical education and sports for women; 4) the involvement in supervising post-high school programs, such as rewarding exceptional female athletes with scholarships; and 5) the belief that they must involve the media to help change popular attitudes towards women in sport..

Until 1996 the following activities had been executed in order to improve the situation of women in sports. The Ministry of Education and Sport established a union of sports among the schools. The union includes a budget that is favorable towards the women's teams. Within the budgeting of the sports authority, there is an equal distribution of the total amount of money spent on sports for men and women, while for competitive sports, 50% more money is spent on women's teams. These extra funds are part of an affirmative action policy to improve the current discrimination

Furthermore, in 1995 Israel adopted the 1994 Brighton Declaration, which states that every effort should be made by State and government machineries to ensure that institutions and organizations responsible for sport comply with the equality provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

In Israel, in addition to the funding from local municipalities and the Ministry, much of the funding used to encourage and support sports is acquired through the lottery. The Committee involved in the division of this money recommends that there should be no discrimination in the division of funds, and that women's sports should be equally supported. As a result, changes took place in the monetary division of the lottery funding within basketball. Where in 1994 the men's national budget was double that of women's, according to the new directives the budget would be equal.

Supplementing these developments, there has been some litigation in this area.

In *The Basketball Union of Israel v. L.C.N. For the Advancement of Basketball for Women*, there was a discussion on the discriminatory regulations of the union of basketball in Israel. These regulations state that while the men's national league is allowed to sign foreign players, the women's league is not.

Furthermore, the men's team is allowed to spend more money than the woman's team. The District Court invalidated the discriminatory sections of the regulations because they were against public policy and in contradiction to section 10 of The Sports Law-1988 (see introduction to physical education). The Israeli Basketball union appealed to the Supreme court, which accepted their appeal on formal grounds without dealing directly with the issue. The internal court within the sports union later accepted the claim of discrimination.

Recently, one of the leading women's national basketball team, turned to the High Court of Justice because they were receiving half the amount of funding as the men's team. The court decided to establish a nation-wide committee which would create tests and criteria on the issue of a local municipality's

monetary support to sports groups so that there will be equality between male and female sports teams.

11. Higher Education

11.1. Women as Students

11.1.1. Opportunities

Everyone, regardless of gender, has the same opportunity to study any subject, or major in whatever they wish, at the level of higher education. Opportunities are limited to the extent that certain departments have prerequisites which require students to have taken high level math or science matriculation exams. As discussed earlier, many girls do not sign up for these high level classes and as a result are limited in their choice of subjects in higher education.

11.1.2. Percentages of University Students and Graduates

In 1995, statistics showed that 55% of undergraduate students in Israel are women. This favorable majority of women within higher education is only matched by France, in which the female percentage in higher education slightly exceeds that of Israel. In addition, over 50% of all graduate students in Israel are women. This percentage exceeds that of all countries except the United States where the percentages are basically equal to those in Israel. The percentage of women among university degree recipients is similar to their share in the total number of students, and women participate equally in the higher education system overall. In addition, it must be noted that among the students receiving third degrees, women number less than half. In 1992/93, women accounted for 56.2% of all undergraduate students, 53.6% of master's degree students, and 43.8% of doctoral students.

Table 14 - Students in Universities, by Degree and Subject

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 15- Students in Universities

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The following two tables provide data on the recipients of degrees: The first provides the numerical progression of women students throughout the years in absolute numbers.

Table 16- Recipients of Degrees From Universities

Source: Council for Higher Education, Planning and Budgeting Committee

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The second table shows the breakdown of degrees earned by subject and level. Here too it is apparent that women concentrate in certain topics, such as humanities, and are less likely to enter fields such as Business and Mathematics / Computers.

Table 17- Women Recipients of University Degrees, by Fields of Study 1992/93

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Other statistics show that women make up a large majority of those studying health care (93%) and studying to be teachers (84%), but are underrepresented in the technological fields (20%). Their presence in the humanities is high (71.4%), while only 13.3% of those studying to become engineers and archaeologists are women. Statistics further demonstrate that there is approximately equal numbers of men and woman studying medicine (46% women), law (46% women), and the social sciences (59% women).

11.2. Average Age at Which Students Receive Each Degree

The next two tables show the number of students in university by median age, and the percentage of students aged 20-29 enrolled in universities. Women prove to be generally younger than men when receiving their bachelor's degrees, 26.0 versus 27.6, mainly due to the fact that their mandatory army service is one year shorter than that of their male counterparts. For master's degrees, however, the median age for women is virtually identical to that for men, and for doctoral degrees, the median age for men (35.7) is a year lower than that for women (36.7).

Table 18- Median Age of Recipients of Degrees, 1989/90

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Although in the past, the percentage of men aged 20-29 enrolled in university was higher than the percentage of women, by the mid-1980's the numbers were approximately even, and by 1993, the percentage of women surpassed that of the men, with more than 10% of that population group enrolled in university.

Table 19- Enrollment in Universities

percents of ages 20-29 in the Jewish population

	1964/65	1969/70	1974/75	1984/85	1989/90	1992/93
Total	3.8	6.3	7.2	7.6	8	8.9
Men	5.4	7	8	7.5	7.3	7.8
Women	2.8	5.6	6.3	7.6	8.7	10.1

11.3. Non-University Higher Education

Aside from Government Universities, a number of alternative institutions of higher education, and institutions which grant diplomas other than bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees exist in Israel. The following table shows the number of men and women students earning their first degrees in such institutions in 1996, and their breakdown by various fields. Once again, while women make up more than half of the total students, it is apparent that there are certain professions preferred by each sex.

Table 20- First Degree Students in Non-University Institutions for Higher Learning

Year/Subject	Total	Men	Women	%Women
1995/96- Total	23,747	8,582	15,165	64%
Teacher Training	10,781	1,364	9,417	87%
Technology Sciences	2,497	1,894	603	24%
Economics and Business Administration	4,923	3,299	1,624	33%

Arts Design and Architecture	2,201	790	1,411	64%
Law	973	409	564	58%
Communication	1,032	341	691	67%
Social Sciences	1,340	485	855	64%

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

11.4. Minorities in Higher Education

Among non-Jewish communities in Israel, the amount of female students decreases as the educational level increases. The gap between men and women who pursue post-secondary degrees, which is relatively small among Jews, is rather large among other communities. More than three times the number of men receive higher education.

11/5. Women in the Academic Staff

11.5.1. Percentage of Women Among the Academic Staff

As of 1992/93, women represented approximately 20% of senior academic staff financed by the Council for Higher Education budget, while in 1978/79 women represented only 16%. There is clearly an increase in the number of women across the ranks, but as the rank increases, the percentage of women at a given rank decreases.

The following table shows the number of women at each academic staff level, and the percentage they comprise of the total. The graph illustrates that the highest percentage women have attained is 33.9 in the humanities. And among those positions attained, the majority are of the lowest rank, that of Lecturer; while the percentages of women who are "full professor" are the lowest of all.

Chart 4 - Women on Senior Academic Staff, by Subject

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 21- Women on Senior Academic Staff, by Subject and Rank

Field	Total	RANK			
		Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	Associate Professor	Full Professor
Absolute Numbers					
Total	842	236	352	161	92
Humanities	412	127	199	63	23
Social Sciences	121	46	52	15	8
Law	16	4	1	6	4
Medicine	105	26	39	25	15
Mathematics, Stst. & Computers	23	4	10	5	4
Physical Sciences	32	3	6	15	8
Biological Sciences	70	7	23	18	21
Agriculture	7	3	3	1	1
Engineering and Architecture	37	7	12	12	6
Other	21	9	8	2	2
Percentage of Total Staff					
Total	20	36.6	30	14.2	7.3
Humanities	33.9	50	40.5	23.1	11.4
Social Sciences	18.4	30.4	27.1	8.1	5.9
Law	19.1	29.6	7	24.5	15.2
Medicine	30.8	56.6	45.1	22.1	15.7

Mathematics, Stst. & Computers	6.6	10.4	13.5	6.1	2.6
Physical Sciences	6.1	10.5	7.2	10.9	2.9
Biological Sciences	19.2	27.3	31.3	14.5	15.3
Agriculture	7.2	15.5	15.6	2.9	2.5
Engineering and Architecture	7.7	14.6	11	7.9	3.4
Other	18.1	35.9	21.6	6.7	8.5

Source: Council For Higher Education, Planning and Budgeting Council

This next graph shows the progression of women attaining the ranks of lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor, and full professor. The numbers have been increasing, but only slightly. Between 1991/92 and 1992/93, the percentage of women granted full professorship did not increase, and the total number of women in this category is still extremely low.

Chart 5 -- Percentage of Women Among Senior Staff

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Council for Higher Planning

11.6 Percentages of Women in Various Departments

A study of the influences on the division by gender between academic departments in Israel demonstrates that as the age of the department increases so do the chances of finding women professors in that department. This study also shows that the growth of the number of women in a department will increase their power, which influences their chances to reach the level of Professor.

11.7 Activities to Improve the Situation

Women's under-representation in higher education, especially in senior ranks, has begun to draw attention in the past few years. The Knesset Committee on the Status of Women dedicated several sessions to discuss the problem, and has urged the various institutes of higher education to appoint special internal Advisors on the status of women.

12. Adult Education

The activities that the Ministry of Education began through the department of adult education include: 1) the absorption of immigrants through assistance in language; 2) cultural absorption; 3) assisting immigrants in their roles as parents and workers in society; 4) enabling the elderly the opportunity to receive elementary and high-school education; 5) providing education as a means of personal development and professional advancement; and 6) opening a center for educational enrichment and continuous learning throughout ones lifetime. In addition, there are activities geared towards parents which help provide them with tools to deal with life changes. In 1996 alone, approximately 162,621 adults will have participated in the different activities provided for by this branch of the Ministry of Education.

In certain areas of adult education, the percentage of women is particularly high. These include the schools for Hebrew language. In the field of general education, a program called "Tehila" serves all citizens who are illiterate, or have not completed their elementary education. The program strives to provide basic tools such as reading, writing, and comprehension. Approximately 90% of those studying in "Tehila" are women. There is also a program which provides a high school education for adults. The average age of those studying are 35, and 70% of the students are women. The department of adult education also provides enrichment programs where scientific,

professional and artistic subjects are studied on high levels. These activities are intended to enrich ones education and provides one with the opportunity to develop hobbies and artistic skills. Out of the 35,000 students involved in these activities, approximately 70% are women.

ARTICLE 11 Employment

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to insure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
- b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;
- c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security, and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;
- d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;
- e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old-age, and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;
- f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to insure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:

- a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;
- b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;
- c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of childcare facilities;
- d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.

3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

1. Legislative Measures

1.1 Protections Against Discrimination

Until the end of the 1980's, there were few laws which specifically dealt with matters of gender equality in the workplace. The Equal Pay (Male and Female Employees) Law-1964 (since replaced in 1996) was perhaps the most important piece of legislation which addressed discrimination in the workplace. Its provisions were far from exhaustive, the law simply demanded that male and female workers receive comparable pay for comparable work. A more general condemnation of discrimination against women could be found in the Women's Equal Rights Law-1951, which, while not dealing explicitly with labor-related issues, demanded that "one law apply to men and women regarding every legal action." Although lacking the constitutional status of a "Basic Law," the Supreme Court has construed it as containing norms of a constitutional nature, and has held that, where possible, other laws should be interpreted so as to conform to its provisions.

This lack of legislative activity, combined with the fact that the few laws which were enacted failed to provide serious remedies or enforcement tools, resulted in a parallel lack of litigation.

In 1987, the Equal Retirement Age (Male and Female Employees) Law-1987 was enacted, prohibiting employers from forcing early retirement on women workers.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Law-1988 prohibits discrimination in the workplace, based on gender, sexual orientation, marital status, parenthood, race, age, religion, nationality, country of birth, political or other orientation. Neither governmental nor private employers may take the above classifications into account in determining hiring, promotion, termination of employment, training, or work and retirement conditions of employees, except in special cases where the unique nature of the position makes these classifications relevant. Protections offered to women employees which take into account their special needs as women or mothers are not to be considered discriminatory, although the law specifies that any such rights offered to working mothers must equally be given to men who either have sole custody of their children, or whose wives work and have chosen not to make use of these provisions.

The law recognizes sexual harassment as a form of discrimination in the workplace subject to civil and criminal sanctions, and, although it provides a narrow definition of harassment and fails to address the issue of hostile working environments, it forbids employers from penalizing employees or job candidates in any manner for refusal to accept proposals or advances of a sexual nature. A 1995 amendment to the law has placed the burden of proof upon the employer in civil sexual harassment suits; where an employee has proven refusal of a sexual advance, the employer must then prove that there has been no violation of the law (i.e. that the employee has not been penalized in any manner). While, as noted, the other provisions of the law are limited to those employers who employ more than 5 workers, the provision forbidding sexual harassment applies to all employers.

Violation of the primary provisions of the law constitutes a criminal offense, punishable by fine. Unlike its 1981 predecessor, however, which merely criminalized discrimination, the law offers the worker whose rights have been violated access to civil remedies as well. Exclusive jurisdiction over civil disputes which arise under the law is given to the Labor Courts, and despite the fact that Israeli contract law generally prefers the remedy of compensation over interfering in employee-employer relationships, the Court is specifically authorized by the law to grant enforcement injunctions in cases where mere compensation would not serve the cause of justice. The statute of limitations on civil suits under this law is 12 months. Workers may also file a complaint against their employer in the Woman's Employment and Status Branch of the Ministry of Labor and Welfare.

In civil suits according to the law, the burden of proof is generally placed on the employer. In cases relating to advancement or work conditions, the employer must demonstrate that where specific requirements for the above matters exist, and where the employee has fulfilled these requirements, the employer has not violated the law in denying the relevant benefit. Where termination of employment is concerned, once the worker shows that there has been nothing in his/her action or behavior to justify termination, the employer must prove that he/she has not violated the law in firing the worker. The court may order that proceedings relating to sexual harassment or to discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation be held in closed chambers. An explicit provision of the law seeks to ensure that workers who file complaints or who assist others in doing so may not be penalized by the employer.

The issue of sexual harassment in the civil service is also dealt with in the Civil Service Code. Sexual harassment had been proscribed as a disciplinary

offense in a 1990 supplement to the Civil Service Code. Its definition then was already broader than the definition in the Equal Employment Opportunities Law-1988. The Code's definition related to any act with the characteristics of a sexual act, including speech or insinuation. Furthermore, it did not limit its application to circumstances involving supervisors and their workers, and covered a range of acts between co-workers as well. With respect to sexual harassment between supervisors and workers, the Code specified that the worker's consent was irrelevant, and that it did not matter whether it was the worker or the supervisor who initiated communication of a sexual nature. A 1995 amendment to the Civil Service Code added the creation of a hostile working environment to the definition sexual-harassment and provided for legal and professional aid to the plaintiff. The amendment directs the employee to turn to either the disciplinary superintendent or to the Supervisors on the Status of Women in each ministry, and designates the General-Supervisor on the Advancement of Women in the Civil Service, together with the Superintendent over Discipline in the Civil Service, to handle all complaints regarding sexual-harassment in the service. The amendment further obligates all employees who suspect sexual-harassment to report their suspicion. It is interesting to note that in a clarifying comment to this amendment, the general-supervisor mentions the Convention as a supplementary source of the government's obligation to eliminate discrimination against women.

The Equal Pay (Male and Female Employees) Law-1996 aims to further equality and prevent gender-based discrimination in the area of work compensation. Replacing a similar law from 1964, this new legislation expands protection against discrimination by widening its definition, providing greater access to remedies, and implementing the progressive notion of pay-equity. While the 1964 version of the law dealt merely with "salaries," the law now extends to "all other forms of compensation," including benefits, additions, grants, coverage of expenditures, car/telephone expenses, and overtime--all of which previously served as "loopholes" for employers wishing to evade the spirit of the law. While the law previously required employers to pay workers in "essentially equal" positions at the same workplace equal salaries, today's law extends its protection to positions at the same workplace that are "equal in value." The law specifies that two jobs are considered of equal value, even if they differ from one another, to the extent that they demand equal qualifications, effort, expertise, and responsibility. Any deviation from this standard of equality requires the employer to prove that non-gender-related circumstances justify this deviation.

Exclusive jurisdiction over disputes arising under this law is given to the Labor Courts, which are authorized to appoint court experts to evaluate whether positions under dispute are in fact of equal value. The costs of the evaluation are generally covered by the litigants; in recognition, however, of the fact that such costs often deter potential complainants, the law authorizes the court to decide--under special circumstances--that the State cover the cost of the evaluation. Employees who are found to have been underpaid according to this law may sue for up to twenty-four months' back wages.

Suits may be filed either by the employee, the representative organization of employees, or--with the worker's consent--an organization dealing with women's rights. Class-action suits may also be filed by one worker whose rights have been violated on behalf of a number of such workers, an option that is rare in the Israeli legal system. The court is given broad powers to allow statements to be made by various non-parties to the dispute, including women's rights groups, other employees who may be harmed by the suit, etc. Employee's rights according to this law may not be forfeited, nor may conditions be attached to them. Additionally, benefits granted to workers for pregnancy or parenthood are not taken into account for the purposes of this law.

2. Women's Health and Employment

The Employment of Women Law-1954 authorizes the Minister of Labor and Welfare

to regulate the employment of women in positions or fields that are uniquely dangerous to a woman's health or that are hazardous to her reproductive capabilities. The Employment of Women Regulations (Exposure to Ionized Radiation)-1979 differentiate between relatively low levels of exposure, which require supervision for all women employees, and relatively high levels to which women in their child-bearing years (defined as under 45) may not be exposed at all. Women who work in supervised areas must immediately notify employers of pregnancy, and once they have done so they may be exposed to far lower levels of radiation. Employers are similarly required to take "all reasonable measures necessary to maximally reduce the amount of exposure" in workplaces where women are employed. The Employment of Women Regulations (Forbidden and Restricted Jobs) apply solely to women under age 45 and forbid their employment in situations where they may be exposed to certain amounts of lead filings or vapors. They similarly regulate the exposure of pregnant and nursing women to various substances, including benzene, benzol, arsenic and compounds, and methyl mercury and its derivatives.

The Employment of Women Law-1954 additionally authorizes the Minister to regulate the conditions deemed necessary to protect the safety and health of women working at night. The regulations currently in force provide that women must be given transportation to and from night employment where suitable public transportation does not exist, and that women must be given hot drinks and time to rest. Likewise, subject to a number of exceptions, employers may not refuse to hire women workers who state that for family reasons, they are unwilling to work nights.

3. Pregnancy and Maternity Leave

Pregnant workers, as well as those who have just given birth, are provided with various legislated rights and protections, most of which are dealt with in the Employment of Women Law-1954. A pregnant employee must notify her employer of her condition by the fifth month of her pregnancy. From then on, she may not be employed for overtime or more than six days a week, and may not be required to work nights. A recently-proposed amendment to the law seeks to allow pregnant women to decide for themselves whether or not to work overtime.

By the same token, pregnancy may not serve as grounds for termination of employment.

3.1. Fertility Treatment and Medical Absences During Pregnancy

Both men and women are allowed to take leaves of absence, characterized as sick leave, while undergoing fertility treatments. Likewise, pregnant women are entitled to paid absences from work for routine medical examinations.

3.2. Maternity Leave

A mandatory twelve-week leave of absence may be taken by the pregnant woman at any point after the middle of the seventh month of pregnancy. Under special circumstances, including sickness, the birth of more than one child, or the need for the baby's hospitalization, the leave may be extended. Until November 1994, employees on maternity leave received merely 75% of their missed pay from Social Security. Realizing that this constituted discrimination against women, especially in light of the full compensation given to men who miss work in order to fulfill their yearly military reserve duty obligation, the Knesset amended the National Insurance Law in 1994 so as to provide women with the full equivalent of their salaries. However, while the 75% previously granted was not viewed as taxable income, the full compensation now given is taxed as regular salary. The main practical beneficiaries of the amendment are those women who need it most--poorer women whose earnings are taxed according to lower tax brackets. Women insured by National Insurance, and in certain instances home-makers whose husbands are insured, are eligible to receive various other grants, as detailed under Article 13 below. This provision, as well as the provision for unpaid leave

of absence, applies with the necessary changes to adoptive mothers. A 1996 proposed amendment to the Employment of Women Law-1954, seeks to offer fathers the right to paid paternity leave so that couples may divide the twelve week period among themselves.

3.2.1. High Risk Pregnancy Leave

A pregnant woman who receives medical confirmation of her inability to work for a specified period may absent herself from work, without such absence affecting her seniority rights. A recent amendment to the National Insurance Law entitles women on high-risk pregnancy leave to receive the equivalent of their salary from Social Security (as long it does not exceed 70% of the average work force wage). Women's rights organizations, making the above comparison to men's reserve duty obligations, are lobbying to further amend this provision so as to provide for full compensation. According to the National Insurance Law, it is preferable that the employee arrange with her employer to work at home while on leave and thereby continue to receive her regular salary directly from her employer.

3.2.2. Unpaid Leave of Absence

Mothers or fathers who have been employed by the same employer or at the same workplace for at least two years may take an unpaid leave of absence of up to twelve months following their maternity leave. The amount of leave they are entitled to is dependent on how long they have been employed.

3.2.3. Permitted Absences Upon Return to Work

For four months following her maternity leave, a woman who works full-time may absent herself from work for one hour each day, without such absence affecting her salary.

3.2.4. Dismissal

Terminating the employment of a pregnant woman who has been working for the same employer or at the same workplace for at least six months is illegal without permission from the Minister of Labor and Welfare. Women on maternity leave or on high-risk pregnancy sick leave may not be fired under any circumstances, nor may they be given previous notice that their employment is to be terminated during that time. Women who have chosen to take the unpaid leave of absence discussed below may not be fired during their leave without permission from the Minister.

4. Parenthood

In keeping with the requirements of the Equal Employment Opportunities Law-1988 discussed above, the Employment of Women Law-1954 allows fathers whose wives have been working for at least six months to take the unpaid leave of absence instead of their spouse. This applies in like manner to fathers who either have sole custody of the infant or whose wives are incapacitated. This applies, with the necessary changes, to adoptive fathers. A 1995 proposed amendment to the Employment of Women Law seeks to entitle adoptive fathers to a paid paternity leave in addition to the unpaid leave of absence.

Similarly, other laws which seek to protect the needs of parents allow parents the freedom to choose which one of them will take advantage of the various protections offered. For example, the Severance Pay Law provides that an employee who quits his or her job during the first 9 months after childbirth, in order to care for a child, is entitled to severance pay, as long as the other parent has not done the same. According to the Sick Pay (Absence from Work due to Child's Illness) Law-1993, parents may decide which one of them will absent him/herself from work for a combined total of six days a year in order to care for a child under the age of 16. According to the above Equal Employment Opportunities Law-1988, any daycare services offered to mothers, or

daycare expenditures covered by employers, as well as any shortened work-days or absences offered to mothers must also be offered to fathers.

5. Affirmative Action

See discussion under Article 4, below.

6. Social Security Benefits

6.1. The National Insurance Law (New Version)-1995

The definition of the term "housewife" in the National Insurance Law varies according to the context in which it is used. Generally, however, a housewife is defined as a married woman who is not employed outside of the home and is therefore not obligated to pay Social Security. While married men are obligated to pay Social Security whether or not they are employed, married women must pay only if they are employed outside the home. Until 1995, a wife who chose to stay home was not eligible for an old-age pension, unless she chose to insure herself with voluntary insurance. In 1995, the National Insurance Law was amended so as to include home-makers in their husband's mandatory coverage, allowing them to receive the minimum old-age pension, while still exempting them from contributions. Thus, the law now gives a certain degree of recognition to the economic contribution of home-makers. However, since "housewives" are still not considered as workers, they are not eligible for income-replacement benefits, such as employment injuries insurance, maternity allowance, unemployment benefits, and the like.

7. Taxes

As in other areas of Israeli law, significant progress towards achieving legal recognition of women's equality has been made in recent years in the area of tax law. The Tax Code as it was in effect upon the establishment of the State viewed the married couple as a single unit for tax purposes, with regard to the manner in which income was calculated and to the procedural obligation to report. The Tax Code obligated the man--automatically designated "household head"-- to report the joint income of his wife and himself in all instances, and denied any option for separate calculation of income. As a result, it both refused to relate to married women as taxpayers and created a situation in which it was often not economically beneficial for women to seek employment outside the home.

In 1992, the Tax Code was amended to widen the instances where separate calculation would be allowed for husbands and wives, and to grant equal recognition to married women as taxpayers. Instead of referring to "husbands" and "wives," the Tax Code now differentiates between the "registered spouse" and the "other spouse." The registered spouse may be designated according to income level, the decision of the assessing officer, or the couple's personal preference. Whereas previously only husbands were obligated to submit income reports, today this obligation rests on the "registered spouse," with both spouses criminally and civilly liable for the information contained therein. Both spouses may appeal decisions of the tax authorities, and both may receive credit points for dependents. And while the 1992 amendment continues to view the married couple as a single tax unit, it has expanded the instances in which separate calculations are permitted. Separate calculation is now allowed not only for income earned by the "other spouse" in "personal toil," but also for income earned on property either obtained by the "other spouse" at least one year prior to marriage or inherited by that spouse during marriage.

8. Employment of Women - Data and Analysis

Participation in the workforce, distribution within the labor market, work patterns, and salary levels, are all significant indicators of women's situation in society. Generally, the Israeli experience has been ambiguous:

while the level of women's participation in the labor market has risen dramatically over the years, reaching almost 50%, the occupational segregation and the glass-ceiling phenomenon remains entrenched, indeed the salary gap between men and women has even increased slightly in the past few years.

8.1. Women in the Labor Market

8.1.1. Women's Participation in the Workforce

Participation in the workforce includes all people of 15 years of age and over who were either employed (i.e. worked for pay for at least one hour during the week of the survey) or unemployed. Women's participation in the workforce (i.e. the percentage of women aged 15 and over who belong to the civil workforce, from among all women aged 15 and over) has been steadily rising throughout the years, with a yearly increase of about 1%, whereas the men's participation has remained the same. Women's participation in the workforce reached 45.5% in 1995 (after reaching 44.7% in 1994 and 43.4% in 1993), compared with men's participation, which reached 62.6% in 1995 (after reaching 62.8% in 1993 and in 1994). Women composed 43.2% of the total workforce in 1995 (compared to 42% in 1992 and 33% in 1975). The increase in women's participation is evident in almost all age-groups, except for the youngest and the eldest. Jewish women's level of participation is higher than the overall women's participation, and passed the 50% in 1995 (50.5%). Nevertheless, increase in women's participation is taking place among Arab women as well, although the level of participation within that group was low to begin with (16.8% in 1994, compared to 16% in 1993 and 13.9% in 1992). The following graph demonstrates the steady increase in the overall women's participation in the work force:

Chart 1 -Population Aged 15 and Over in Workforce

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

The following two charts demonstrate the characteristics of population groups of men and women over 15, in terms of work or of other status. The striking differences are in the work-patterns of men and women in full-time versus part-time work, and in the category of homemaker which is exclusively female by statutory definition. Note that by definition, a homemaker is not part of the labor force, since a person who is a homemaker does not work for pay, yet does not actively seek work for pay. Consequently, the work done by homemakers is not taken into account when analyzing labor force data.

Chart 2 -Characteristics of Population Aged 15 and Over

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

Table 1 - Population Aged 15-34, by Work and Studies

Age Group	J e w s				A r a b s and		O t h e r s	
	15-17	18-24	25-29	30-34	15-17	18-24	25-29	30-34
Grand Total								
- thousands	229.3	532.1	307.8	302.6	69.8	150.5	86.1	81.7
- percents	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Men

- thousands	118	271.2	155	152.9	35.7	76.4	43.4	40.4
- percents	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Work	13	31.5	75.3	81.1	15.5	62.6	81.1	86.1
Study	9.7	6.1	11.9	5.3	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.5
Do Not Study	3.3	25.4	63.4	75.8	13.7	61	79.9	84.6
Do Not Work	87	68.5	24.7	18.9	84.5	37.4	18.9	13.9
Study	79.4	16.6	10.4	5.9	68.5	14.7	3.2	0.2
Do Not Study	7.6	51.9	14.2	13.1	16	22.7	15.7	13.7
Women								
- thousands	111.4	260.8	152.8	149.7	34.1	74.1	42.7	41.2
- percents	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Work	10.8	42.3	65.8	68.6	2.1	21.5	24	24
Study	8.8	10.9	9.5	5.1	0.2	1.4	0.6	0.8
Do Not Study	2	31.4	56.2	63.5	1.9	20.1	23.4	23.2
Do Not Work	89.2	57.7	34.2	31.4	97.9	78.5	76	76
Study	83.4	17.3	4.3	1.8	75.3	15.1	2.2	0.4
Do Not Study	5.7	40.4	29.9	29.6	22.5	63.4	73.7	75.6

*Work and Do Not Work: including not known

Source: CBS, SAI 1996

We see from the above table that women's participation in the labor-force increases as their educational level increases. In 1995, among Jewish women with 16 years of schooling and over, 77.5% belonged to the work-force, as compared to 74.9% of the Jewish men with similar level of education. Among those Jewish women with 0-4 years of schooling, only 10.1% participate in the work force. The differences in the participation rates of women according to their years of schooling are much larger than the differences in participation of men by years of schooling. This has implications on the relative educational level of men and women in the workforce, and explains the higher educational rate of women, as discussed below.

Women's marital status, the number of children they have and their age, are all variables that greatly effect women's participation in the work-force. Consistent with the steady increase in women's overall participation in the work-force, there is a constant increase in the level of participation among married women, as shown by the following graph:

Chart 3 - Married Women in the Civilian Labor Force

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

Women's participation in the work-force decreases as their number of children increases, and rises with the maturation in age of their youngest child. Thus, in 1994, 74% of Jewish women with one child were in the work-force, compared with 43% of those with four children or more. 54% of Jewish women whose youngest child was less than one year old were in the work-force, compared with 71% of those whose youngest child was between 10-14 years old.

The Central Bureau of Statistics data also examine the variable of employing domestic-help and its influence on women's level of participation in the work-force. Not surprisingly, the data reveals that the level of participation increases along with the increase of weekly hours of domestic-help, from 63% among those who employ domestic-help for 7 hours a week to 76% of those who employ over 16 hours of domestic-help per week. This data supports the demand for the tax-deduction of payments for domestic-help.

8.2. Work Patterns

One of the major differences between working women and working men in Israel is in the area of part-time work. Significantly many more women (almost three times as many) work part-time, which is defined as any work between 1-34 hours per week, regardless of how the work is officially defined. Thus, for example, in 1994, 72% of those who regularly worked part-time were women. Of all working women, 38.4% regularly worked part-time, while only 10.6% of all working men regularly worked part-time. The most common reason given for women's part-time work is child-care and housework (21%). For 18.2% of women part-time workers, the work was considered full-time (as among school-teachers). Of the men part-time workers, 24.8% were self-employed, and 18.4% studied in addition to their part-time work. For 17% the part-time work was considered full-time.

Table 2 - Employed Part-Time

1995	Total	Men	Women
Grand Total (Thousands-Absolute No.s)	520.7	177.6	343.2
Usually Worked Full-Time (Thousands)	133	74	59
Percent	25.6	41.8	17.2
Usually Worker Part-Time (Thousands)	386.7	103	283.7
Percent	74.4	58.2	82.8
Reasons for Part-Time Work (Percents)			
Total	100	100	100
The Work is Considered Full Time	18	16.4	18.5
Sought Additional or Full-Time Work and Did Not Find	14	10	15.4
Illness and Disability	5.1	8.7	3.8
Retirement	5.7	13.1	3.2
Housewives	15.7	0.3	21.1
Studies	14.6	22	12.1
Not Interested in Full-Time Work	12.3	5.3	14.7
Other Reason	1.3	0.9	1.4
Self Employed, Kibbutz Members, and Unpaid Family Members	13.3	23.4	9.7

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1995

An important feature in the Israeli labor-market is the fact that part-time workers accumulate social-benefits just like full-time workers, relative, of course, to the amount of hours they actually work. Similarly, a part-time worker gains tenure just like a full-time worker. In addition, the prospect of promotion is not negated by part-time work, although it may be much slower than in full-time work.

The following graph depicts the distribution of working patterns among the total working population of men and women:

Chart 4 -Employed Persons, Aged 15 and Over

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

The relatively high increase in the rate of women working full-time in the last few years is clear, and it remains to be seen whether this is a constant trend which will have implications for women's status in the labor-market.

According to data from the National Insurance Institute, there are further major differences in earnings between men and women who are self-employed, as demonstrated by the following table:

Table 3 - Self employed, by monthly income

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

8.3. Unemployment

Unemployed persons are defined as persons who did not work for pay for one hour during the week of the survey, and who were actively seeking work. As part of the general economic slowdown that occurred in Israel during the 1980's, the rate of unemployment among women rose sharply from about 6% in 1980 to 11% in 1990. The older and more educated women were those who suffered the most. The unemployment rate among women peaked at 12.1% in 1993, went down to 10% in 1994 and to 8% in 1995. The following graph demonstrates the differences in unemployment rates of men and women in the workforce throughout the last decade:

Chart 5 -Unemployment of Population Aged 15 and Over

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys 1995

The following graph depicts the gender makeup of the total population of the unemployed, and clearly shows the gradual process leading to over-representation of women among the unemployed, which is not proportional to their representation in the workforce in general. Thus, while women made up 43.2% of the total workforce in 1995, they made up 54.4% of the unemployed that year:

Chart 6 -Unemployment, by Years

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys 1995

According to the Employment Service, which is the governmental agency in charge of referring unemployed persons to available jobs, 55% of all those seeking work in the last few years were women. This rate is particularly high among unemployed women who lack job-qualifications; in some areas 70%-80% of those who are unemployed are unqualified women. Furthermore, unemployment is not evenly distributed throughout the country, and there are specific areas, particularly in development localities in the south, where the unemployment rate of women reached 15.4% in 1995 (the men's unemployment rate was high as well, 11.1%, but not as high as women's.)

8.4. The Careers of Women: Levels and Salaries

8.4.1. Women's Occupational Distribution and Gender Segregation

Since the Central Bureau of Statistics switched to using the new classifications of economic branches and occupations in 1995, based upon the UN and the International Labor Organization recommendations, most of the data presented here will relate to the recent 1995 survey alone. The following section will analyze these data to show the gender segregation in the Israeli labor market, both in economic branches and in occupational categories.

The following charts depict the distribution of men and women in 14 primary branches of the economy.

Chart 7 -Employed Persons, by Economic Branch, 1995

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

The following table presents the average amount of weekly work hours of men and women in each economic branch; considerable differences in earning gaps are evident.

Table 4 - Average Weekly Work Hours, and Percent in each Branch

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1995

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

The following graph depicts the relative percentage of men and women in each branch of the economy. Several branches are predominantly male: agriculture, manufacturing, electricity and water supply, construction (building and civil engineering projects), transport, storage and communication. The predominantly female branches include: education, health, welfare and social services, and private households with domestic personnel.

Chart 8 -Percent of Men and Women in Each Branch

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Work-segregation is further evident when examining data regarding women's and men's occupation. In 1995, close to 30% (28.3%) of the employed women were clerical workers (a figure that has remained unchanged since 1980) compared to 8% of men, and more than 20% (20.4%) of employed women were agents, sales workers and service workers (compared to 14.4% of men). More encouraging figures concern women academic professionals (12.5%) and associate professionals and technicians (19.5%), rates that are higher than the rates of the employed men in these occupational categories (11% and 9.4% respectively).

However, it should be noted that most women in these occupational categories are teachers, nurses, social workers and the like, mostly in the public services. 38% of the employed men are concentrated in industry, construction and other skilled work, (compared to only 7% of the employed women).

Chart 9 -Employed Persons, by Last Occupation Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

Source: Labor Force Surveys, 1995

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

8.5. The Glass Ceiling

Comprehensive data which documents the existence of a glass-ceiling at all levels of the labor market is difficult to gather, since it necessitates a complete breakdown and analysis of the job-structures within all economic branches, both in the public and private sector.

One piece of data that is examined by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and is relevant to a discussion of workplace hierarchies, concerns men and

women workers in managerial positions. As management is not just an occupation, but represents authority and command (Izraeli, 1994), this data is indicative of women's overall position in the workforce. According to the CBS data from 1995, 6.9% of all working men were managers, while only 2.2% of all working women were managers. Of the total managers, 19.5% were women (18,700 out of 96,000). This represents a certain increase when compared to 1990 data, when the rate of women in management positions was 18% of all managers (12,000 out of 66,000). The CBS data further indicates that women made more than 25% of the increase in total managers during the decade between 1980-1990. Notwithstanding the gradual increase of women's representation in managerial roles, their rate is still very low when examined in light of the increase in the general rate of women in the workforce.

For example, the Union of Industrialists recently conducted a survey of 152 hi-tech corporations to examine the situation relating to women in managerial positions. The survey revealed that 14% of the total managers in these companies are women (totaling 900 women), while in 51% of these corporations there were no women managers at all. On the other hand, among the larger corporations (those with 100 employees and more,) 44% have more than one woman in managerial positions. The average age of the women managers is 39, and 77% of them are married.

The structure of women's positions in the Civil Service has been dealt with extensively under Article 7. Since information on this issue is available, and since the Civil Service is a public institution which is subject to on-going scrutiny and inspection, both formal and informal, it is illuminating to examine gender stratification in the Civil Service as an example of gender stratification in the labor-market. However, it should be noted that less than 4% (3.8%) of all working women directly belong to the civil service (32,131 out of 835,700 in 1995). The significant fact regarding gender stratification in the Civil Service is that while women made up close to 60% of all workers in the Civil Service in 1995, only 10.5% of the senior staff were women.

8.6. Salary and Earning Gaps

In all branches of the labor market, a male employee's average monthly income was 1.7 times higher than that of a female employee (1992-1993). In other words, women's average monthly income was less than 58% than that of men. This is partly explained by the differences in the average weekly work hours, which were 46.3 for men and 34.1 for women. However, the data shows that a large gap exists in the average income per hour as well, which was 1.25 times higher for men. In other words, women's hourly income is 80% of that of the men.

This gap remains constant when other variables are taken into consideration. For example, men with 5-8 years of schooling earned 38% more per hour than women with a similar educational level. Among those with 13 years of schooling and over, men's average income per hour was 30% more than women's. The gap in income per hour increases with age, from 12% among 25-24 years olds, up to 37% among the 45-54 year olds. Even within those occupations which are dominated by women, such as clerical work, the men's hourly income is 34% more than the women's (1992).

The following four tables present a more complete picture which illustrates the break-down of earnings by age, educational level, economic branch and occupation. The tables show that when the relevant variables of women and men employees are the same, the monthly and hourly salary gaps remain constant:

Table 5 - Gross Income, by Age

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 6 - Gross Income, by Years of Schooling

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 7 - Gross Income, by Economic Branch

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Table 8 - Gross Income by Occupation, 1993

It was not possible at this time to reproduce the chart or table which appears here in the text, but you may obtain it by contacting the Division for the Advancement of Women directly.

Data published by the National Insurance Institute (NII) revealed that the monthly average salary of women was 55% of the monthly average salary of men during the years of 1992-94. The yearly average income of women was even lower, comprising 51% of men's salaries in 1992, 54% in 1993, and 52% in 1994. Examination of the estimations based upon the NII 1995 income survey regarding the overall rate of employees who earn less than the minimum wage (described below) reveals that 26% of all women employees do not reach the minimum wage, while only 11.7% of all men employees earn less than the minimum wage. In other words, 69% of all employees who earn less than the minimum wage are women.

Dr. Linda Efroni's specific investigation of the civil-service revealed a salary gap of 29% between men